Geographies of creative production: The perspective of visual artists in Paris

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GEOGRAPHIES OF CREATIVE PRODUCTION: 
THE PERSPECTIVE OF VISUAL ARTISTS 
IN PARIS

by

ULRIKE WAELLISCH

A Doctoral Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences 
and Humanities at Loughborough University in the partial 
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Abstract

In recent years, various factors have contributed to the growing interest in the creative industries, yet little research has been conducted on the geographies of the contemporary visual arts within the context of these recent debates. Therefore, this research focuses on geographies of the visual arts by the location, working practices and networking of contemporary visual artists in Paris. The research uses a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods that includes the mapping of artist's studios in Paris, ethnographic observation of the visual arts sector in Paris, a web-based survey amongst visual artists in Paris and in-depth interviews with artists and art dealers. This research identifies Paris as a major hub for contemporary visual arts and further identifies distinct creative neighbourhoods such as Belleville and Montmartre with large concentrations of visual artist studios in Paris. By exploring artists' practices and their close proximity to other members of the contemporary visual art sector it was suggested that place influences the artists' work on different spatial scales.

For example, at the local scale, collaborative actions - such as the formation of artist's associations, studio sharing and co-operative selling - were found to be associated with such agglomerations. On the city scale, there were found to be important links between artists, galeries, art schools and museums. On the global scale, Paris was identified by interviewees as a global hub in the flow of art that is controlled and shaped through certain global art cities, and increasingly associated with corporate collectors.

The mapping of visual artists in Paris completed in this thesis has shown that most - but not all - artists agglomerate in specific urban milieus to locate themselves advantageously in local, national and global networks of art that facilitate the making, displaying and circulation of art.

Key words: creative industries, visual artists, Paris, creative neighbourhoods, social networks, global art cities.
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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

Harry Potter, U2, and the Louvre cultural products in a global world The book series around the young magician Harry Potter has sold world-wide 400 million copies in 67 languages since its first release in 1995 ¹ Spin-off products such as the film series produced in Hollywood, computer games, a theme park in Disneyland Orlando (US), and hundreds of merchandise products display the huge financial success of Harry Potter. Hence, the cultural impact of Harry Potter is not to be underestimated - from a boost to reading in society amongst all age groups, to ‘happenings at book stores’ world-wide, and night-time book releases²

Secondly, the Irish rock band U2 have been commercially successful in the music business since 1976 (Flanagan 1996) For decades, they have used their success and global fame for engaging in social and environmental debates (Bordowitz 2003). But they also work with other industries - for example in 2004, U2 collaborated with the technology giant Apple for a marketing campaign to promote the U2 iPod, an digital music player with designs and features around the band U2³

Thirdly, the Louvre in Paris is regarded as one of the most attractive tourist spots worldwide with around 6 million visitors a year (Delassus and Camors 2004) The Louvre is home to famous art works such as the Mona Lisa by Leonardo da Vinci. It also hosts fairs and fashion shows and is also an art academy to study fine arts or restoration In 2012, the Louvre will open a branch in Abu-Dhabi⁴ There exists an increasing demand of unique pieces of art but also reprints. Take the Mona Lisa for example, copies can be bought nearly everywhere including the Swedish furniture store giant IKEA, with 186 branches worldwide. They discovered the arts as part of mainstream lifestyle product and sell prints of the

¹ See Dammann, G 2008 Harry Potter breaks 400m in sales Guardian, 16 June 2008 http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/jun/16/harrypotternews
⁴ See press releases of Louvre, e.g. online via www.louvre.fr
Mona Lisa  The copyright for this painting owns the Louvre in Paris which marks another source of revenue for the famous art museum.

All three different types of cultural brands have one thing in common; they show the emerging public and economic interest in cultural products in recent decades (Lash and Urry 1994, Scott 1999) This interest has changed business models for cultural products and the products itself. Higher investments and more risk are taken to produce and sell cultural product as return figures rise high due to its global markets (Scott 2002). Global marketing campaigns and emerging markets such as India and China allow such high margins (Appadurai 2002). Along with these global cultural products come localised production spaces where individual creatives, small and medium sized companies and global conglomerates collaborate. The highly specialised skills required for cultural production needs a pool of talented labour that cluster geographically in distinct areas in global cities (Hall 2000, Florida 2002b) – and especially the individual creatives such as painters, actors or musicians combine their creativity, skills and talent to create innovative, cultural goods They have a distinct set of work conditions marked by flexibility, risk and project-based engagement and often they seek proximity to each other (Ley 2003, Neff et al 2005) So called creative clusters are said to have competitive advantage as geographical proximity sparks creativity, increases collective learning process and creates a certain air for cultural production (Maillat 1991, Porter 1998, Bathelt et al 2004) Creative clusters can be found in many major cities with the famous example of Hollywood, one of the striking examples for the dense proximity of labour involved in movie production from star actors to musicians, producers, and directors (Aksoy and Robins 1992, Scott 2002, Currah 2007) Other places like Greenwich in New York or Montmartre in Paris are known for their clusters of creative talent The fine arts in particular are marked by localised clustering of painters, galleries and art institutions with famous examples of Hackney in London, Soho in New York or St Germain-de-Prés in Paris (Watson 1992, While 2003) On the other hand, the international trend of high investments in art works has changed the fine arts in recent years with international fairs, superstar artists such as Jeff Koons and
Damien Hurst, global acting gallennes and art dealers trading pieces with skyrocketing prices (Smiers 2003, Quemin 2006b, Zetterman 2006)

Academia tackles the creative industries in various ways. The categorisation and definition of cultural industries were an initial starting point in the 1990s (Crane 1992, Pratt 1997). Hence, research moved towards cluster-based theories to explain geographic pattern and organisational structure of creative industries. Within this path, economic researcher focused on agglomeration advantages and spill over effects in localised milieus (Storper and Christopherson 1987), and others described the urban impact of the creative class (Ley 2003, Lloyd 2004). In the past two decades, researchers concentrated their work almost exclusively on the creative industries around movie production (Aksoy and Robins 1992, Blair et al 2001, Bassett et al 2002, Scott 2002, Vang and Chaminade 2007) and music production (Rutten 1991, Negus 1992, Hesmondhalgh 1996, Barbosa 2003, Martin 2006, Watson et al 2009). In contrast, there is little work done on recent developments in the core arts such as the contemporary visual arts. The visual arts have similarly undergone transformations like the movie industry with influence factors such as globalisation and new technologies like the World Wide Web. However, only few geographers focused on the geography of the visual arts (e.g. While 2003, DaCosta Kaufmann 2004). The practices of creative individuals who serve an international market for unique goods like visual artists have hardly been researched beside few exceptions like Markusen and Schrock (2004). More specifically, visual artists tend to cluster in distinct urban neighbourhoods (Lloyd 2004) and establish networks on an international scale (Halbert et al 2008). Hence, this thesis addresses these gaps by focusing on geographies of the visual arts and practices of visual artists. By using economic cluster approaches (Porter 1998, Maillat 1998), it will show that these approaches are partly adaptable to explain geographic clustering of visual artists. It adds another dimension to the clustering debate by illustrating one example of the core arts. This work also ties in with research on urban geographic clusters (Ley 2003, Lloyd 2004) and working conditions of creative workers (Grabher 2001, Menger 2001, Neff et al 2005). The perspective of visual artists as
members of the wider visual art economy follows an occupational approach to get an insight into practices and geographies.

The research questions hence focus on different aspects of spatiality and social networks in relation to distinct milieus, and more specific on the geographies of visual artists in Paris and their practices. First, following the commonly recognised cluster approaches often used to explain creative industries (Bassett et al. 2002, Fingleton et al. 2003, Mommaas 2004, Cook and Pandit 2004, Bathelt et al. 2004, O'Connor 2004), artists in Paris should spatially cluster in distinct neighbourhoods. But is that also the case in Paris, home of a large number of visual artists? Secondly, how do those artistic clusters in Paris 'help' visual artists professionally? By outlining practices of visual artists, this research will show how visual artist make use of the city, the neighbourhood and their proximity to other members of the contemporary arts. It hence, focuses on individual creative workers in the cultural field by looking at their network skills and knowledge transfers between visual artists. These questions add value to debates around proximity, collaboration and individual creativity within the field of cultural industries in the urban space.

The aim of this thesis is to consider how places are important in the work of contemporary visual artists and the geographies of the socio-spatial practices of creative production so as to both develop and reconfigure the way geographers approach and understand the geographies of cultural production.

The objectives of the thesis are as follows:

1) To consider why distinct places in cities are important to visual artists' production. Based on a critical reading of existing literature, to uncover and explain the role of neighbourhoods for creative production in the fine arts created in Paris and deepen our understanding of the way distinct neighbourhoods allow the successful delivery of creative production. In doing this extant literature analysing the nature and role of creative production, it should be employed and explored through the empirical example of visual artists so as to highlight the individual and heterogeneous nature of place-related impact on creativity and
complicate existing understanding in geographies of cultural economies.

ii) Through engagement with a range of theoretical perspectives, to evaluate the socio-spatial practices of creative production and the factors influencing the success in the cultural economies. In particular, the important practices of cultural production in the visual art world should be identified and a way of theorising their role in cultural production developed. This should be based on the development and application of extant theoretical models of cultural production in a way that allows the factors affecting the ability of individuals to be creative producing to be examined and also the influences upon the success of it to be identified.

iii) To identify and analyse network structures of contemporary visual artists located in Paris and theorise their social relationships amongst members of the contemporary visual art sector with regard to geographical scales.

iv) To develop an understanding of the geographies of social-spatial practices of cultural production in the contemporary visual arts and re-configure approaches to the analysis of the geographies of cultural economies. The disabling dichotomy within geography of cultural economies between neighbourhood-based production and global market structures should, where appropriate, be challenged and reconsidered through an epistemology that does not simplify geographical scale but instead diversify the network-based structures of individuals in distinct places. The research should also deepen our knowledge of the importance of economic and cultural globalisation due to new technologies for the production of individual contemporary art works.
In order to complete such research the thesis draws upon secondary data sources and existing literature (from both academic and wider media sources) as well as primary data in the form of mapping, ethnographic observation, a web-based survey and semi-structured interviews. In doing this, existing theonsations and analyses of the nature of cultural production and its geographies (both in relation to visual artists and more widely) are unpacked and developed as well as work on the cultural consumerism and industries. Mapping of visual artists' studios in Paris provides a first idea of locational pattern. This allows a first theonsisation of spatial pattern of creative individuals. A web-based survey amongst professional visual artists in Paris gives more evidence of locational choices, network structures and other factors that impact cultural production. Hence, interviews with a number of visual artists based in Paris provide deeper insight into the importance of place, their socio-spatial practices of cultural production and individual creativity. By approaching this analysis from a perspective that seeks to prioritise the social-practices of cultural production, it is possible to trace the networks of cultural production that exists within the visual arts sector and re-conceptualise the geographies of cultural economies. It is suggested that the geographies are best understood through a combination of relational and scalar approaches and that cultural production has multilayered geographies on different scales. This allows both engagement with but also reconfiguration and development of debates on cultural economies, the importance of creative labour in this sector, and the geographies of cultural production. Built on this, it is also suggested that it then becomes possible to critically evaluate the epistemology of research of geographies of cultural production in order to avoid a generalised sectoral thinking and a priori association of cultural production with exclusively creative industries.

The research is structured into five sections. Chapter two elaborates literature related to cultural consumption and production. It focuses on occupational and sector concepts in the cultural economy and spatial approaches towards economic clustering. Chapter three introduces the methodology used in this research. It displays a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to explore geographies of artists. Chapter four identifies Paris as a global art centre by
outlining its trajectory of visual art history and contemporary spaces of cultural production. Chapter five explores the location and practices of visual artists in Paris. It locates artist studios in Paris, and scrutinises research, network and collaboration practices of visual artists. Chapter six puts the finding of this research into context with current debates.
CHAPTER 2: CONSUMPTION, CULTURAL ECONOMIES AND THEIR GEOGRAPHIES – A LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis locates the study of art production within the context of ongoing debates concerning the spaces of creativity, world cities and the post-industrial global economy. In this chapter, I will hence review literature relevant to these debates, focusing on ongoing work by geographers in particular. The cultural economies have been studied and investigated widely in the last decades with regard to defining the sector (Pratt 1997, Throsby 1999, 2008), its workers (Florida 2002b, Negus 2002), their structural organisation (Christopherson and Storper 1989, Grabher 2002), and its related spatiality (Scott 1999, Landry 2000, Maskell and Lorenzen 2004). This chapter will proceed in five parts, beginning with the exploration of culture and consumerism in order to understand the wider context of creative industries.

The second part focuses on the key concepts that relate to cultural economies. Various attempts have been made to characterise, and criticise cultural production throughout the last century, scrutinising the creative labour force and their work conditions.

Hence it continues by looking into art theories that elaborate on the production process of art, and on the ways in which the visual art sector is organised. The art theorists considered here have explored the visual arts as a network-based world of institutional, corporate and individual actors (e.g. Danto 1964, Wollheim 1980, Becker 1982, Dickie 1997). This section will hence show that the process of cultural production is a collaborative action. Following this discussion of collective art creation, various ways of adding value to art works are presented. The different actors in the field of visual arts, such as art dealers, so-called ‘super-collectors’ or public art institutions influence the careers of artists in a distinct manner (Plattner 1996, Velthuis 2003, Morris 2005). The cycle of
negotiating and adding value to the art works through these various players will help to better understand the sector of visual arts.

Fourthly, the creative labour force is scrutinised within the context their work conditions.

Finally, attention will be devoted to current debates around the geographies of creative industries with particular attention to theories of spatial clustering.
2.1 The culture century – the aestheticism of the 20th century society

It has been a long tradition that societies consume and produce culture. This has always been the case and applies to all kinds of societies in the world. However, it seems that it was only in the 20th century that the consumption on a truly mass scale has begun to appear as a foundational, rather merely epiphenomenal, characteristic of society (Corrigan 1997:1). This is partly the legacy of the industrialisation of the 19th century. Due to the possibilities of mass production and mediation, cultural products have become more accessible for people (Bocock 1992). New spaces were created to display all those new goods. Arcades and boulevards arose all over Europe’s modernising cities. The boulevards were not just a place to shop, but soon they became the stage for flaneurs, window-shoppers and part of cultural life (Benjamin 1977, Vincent 2007). Shopping had become not just a task to get utilitarian goods but a leisure activity. Simmel (1903) hence argued that leisure time became solely devoted to consumption. The choice of products bought or consumed, in turn, lead to a classification of individuals, with certain products or brands connected to a certain class or expressing a distinct lifestyle (Veblen 1899, Bourdieu 1993).

However, before the industrial era, consumption in Europe was driven by small producers who served market cities. During the period of the eighteenth century, the development of canals and roads helped to open up the consumption map with goods such as pottery, clothing, and jewellery. Here, free markets allowed a system of production “which employed a legally free wage-labour force and pursued the peaceful, systematic, rational generation of profits through the sale of commodities” (Bocock 1993:13).

Furthermore, Bocock (1993) argues that, at this time, a ‘consumer revolution’ took place in the sense of an increased number of people became aware of an increasing variety of goods for households and body decoration. Hence, the pluralisation of commodities for decorative or aesthetic purposes shows first signs for developments of non-utilitarian goods.
Walter Benjamin predicted the rise of hyperrealism by elaborating Parisian Arcades in the 19th century (Benjamin 1977). He discussed the function of commodities as a sign. In 'Passagenwerk', Benjamin outlined the distinct role of built environment in terms of roofed arcades that allows the 'flaneurs' to add cultural value to the function of buying goods (Benjamin 1999). Benjamin's dialectics of seeing demonstrate how to read these consumer dream houses and so many other material objects of the time - from air balloons to women's fashions, from Baudelaire's poetry to Grandville's cartoons - as anticipations of social utopia and, simultaneously, as clues for a radical political critique (Vincent 2007).

With the rise of industrialisation, all kinds of products became widely accessible. Purchases were driven by the desire not their utility anymore. In Dream Worlds Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth Century France, Williams (1982) has shown the changing role of consumption in the social life of France from the court of Louis XIV to the Department Store in 19th century Paris. During the period of the 19th century, buying the good became an experience rather than a necessity. Thorstein Veblen (1899) developed a theory explicating the new leisure class in the United States of America. The objects of his studies were the nouveau riche - that emerged in the 19th century capitalist society and aped the life-styles of Europe's upper class. Access to this new leisure class was restricted by conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure. This today-common concept describes the 'waste' of resources and time by people giving themselves a higher status and/or display thereof. Veblen noted, for example, to be a "gentleman", a man must study such things as philosophy and the fine arts, which have no economic value in themselves. Veblen recast individuals as irrational people who chase after social status regardless of their own pleasure. This stands in contrast to classical economic theories that describe the Homo economicus as a rational and self-interested actor (Pareto 1971 [1906]).

Similar to Veblen's observations criticised Karl Marx (1867) this commodity fetishism. He argues that social relationships are being transformed into objective relationships between commodities. Consumerism is largely associated with cities. Georg Simmel (1903) observed individuals in the 'early modern metropolis'
to grasp the nature of ‘fragmented modernity’. In these modern metropolitan cities, an ‘objective culture’ arises which is the birth of Epicureanism and entertainment of modern individuals in their disquietingly search for new form of amusement. Simmel’s work on modernity and urban culture was marked by an ambivalent view between cities as the place for ‘freedom’ and individuals. However, he stresses also the predominance of cultural products on people. Furthermore, this cultural critique outlines a new subjectivism as a tendency of modern societies whereby the individual act out ‘experiences’ rather than using historic objective knowledge (Frisby 1992). The individual, for Simmel, is not subject of recognition anymore but of experiencing. Hence, Simmel always connects leisure time with consumption. The consumer thus becomes more passive, or what he calls ‘atrophic’, in their activities because of ‘hypertrophy of objective culture’ (Simmel 1971:338). Consumption at this time was marked by commodities such as clothes, personal adornments and expensive pleasurable pursuits. This equalisation of culture and leisure has unavoidably led to the rise of an economic sector that produces cultural goods.

Changes in consumption in the last century have contributed tremendously to the transformation that turned western societies from once relatively traditional, slow changing, status-bound, sacred into the relatively innovative, quick paced, contract-bound, profane entities (McCracken 1987:140). Cultural products have become a necessity for contemporary individuals which gives rise to increased amounts of cultural production. Culture is, hence, considered as a characteristic of the political economic systems with their dynamics of capitalism (Thrift 1999). In the course of a critical assessment of postmodernity, Harvey (1989) argues that cultural life is more and more connected to the ‘cash nexus’ and the logic of capital circulation, which is considered to be crucial in shaping postmodern cultural forms (Harvey 1989). This means that capitalism, which is driven by

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5 This is not the place for a full discussion of the ideas attached to postmodernism (but see Harvey 1989) except to note a few salient points. Postmodernism is largely a reaction to the assumed certainty of scientific, or objective, efforts to explain reality. In essence, it stems from a recognition that reality is not simply mirrored in human understanding of it, but rather, is constructed as the mind tries to understand its own particular and personal reality.
profit, instrumentality and control, has colonised the culture of contemporary societies (Crang 1997)

For many researchers, from all kinds of disciplines, such as sociology, economics and geography (Friedman 1994, O’Connor and Wynne 1996, Storey 1999, Katz-Gerro 2004, Kirchberg 2007) have argued that the characteristic of postmodern societies is a consumerism which elucidates the effects of equating personal happiness with purchasing material possessions and consumption (Veblen 1899)

The following part of this chapter outlines the works from early thinkers to more recent contributions. Both, Simmel (1903) and Veblen (1899) explicated the emergence of modern consumer culture in the beginning of the 20th century and interpreted trends as – forms of social equalisation and discrimination

The growing importance of cultural industries provoked the Frankfurt scholars Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer to a harsh critique by arguing that due to mass consumption of cultural products a common taste would be produced and therefore a unity of culture reinforces dominant power relations (Adorno 1977, Adorno and Horkheimer 1977, Adorno and Horkheimer 1979) What they call a ‘consumption dictatorship’ leads to a loss of meaning in contemporary societies

Consumption is researched in the field of ethnology and anthropology, with later additions from cultural studies in light of their communicative functions. Wide reception of ethnographic studies and structural analysis since the 1960s with contributions of Mauss or Levi-Strauss and the growing impact of reflections on western commodities by French intellectuals such as Baudrillard (1970, 1972) or Barthes (1977, 1985), have contributed to a broader definition of the term ‘culture’ and a more semiotic approach to the understanding of culture.

Early structuralism attempted to study a number of cultural phenomena according to the principles that were developed within the field of linguistics, and thus paralleled consumption and language. Barthes’ writings on the fashion system closely followed this structural approach (Barthes 1985) Using his own concept of semiology, he examined many different objects of western mass consumption
and their meanings, thereby disclosing that the strictly instrumental function of products is a myth. Instead commodity systems are using structures of mythological thinking.

This leads to the thoughts of Baudrillard, who argues that individuals necessarily place themselves within a system of signs by purchasing and consuming goods. Objects therefore always make a statement about their owners through chains of signification which link cultural artefacts to one another. Material culture finally and exclusively consists of signs that are generated by advisement and discourse. Thus, Baudrillard developed a theory of society governed by a system of sumptuous, sacrificial consumption, in which commodities become 'ideologically generated' (Baudrillard 1981, 63). He argues that consumer societies consume not the product itself, but its sign value. For Baudrillard, consumption is not the destruction of products but the destruction of utility (Baudrillard 1981, 134).

Consumption becomes a function of production and can therefore be defined as a form of social labour (Baudrillard 1972). Baudrillard became, in his later years, a proponent of the concept of hyperreality that is described as a symptom of a postmodern culture. Here, the idea is that consciousness interacts with 'the real world.' Specifically, when a consciousness loses its ability to distinguish reality from fantasy, and begins to engage with the latter without understanding what it is doing, it has shifted into the world of the hyperreal (Baudrillard 1981). Due to its exclusive definition through signs, meaning can be added to commodities in any way so that a vast system of hyperreality evolves. Here signs 'float' because they are no longer necessarily anchored to an external frame of reference.

During the period of 1980s and under the influence of postmodernism, theories of consumption shifted their emphasis from consumption seen as a corollary of production to consumption as a form of cultural reproduction. Commodities are conceptualised as indicators of lifestyle and identity where individual consumption patterns and personal identity are the main focus (Featherstone 1987, Friedman 1994, Zukin 1998). Different lifestyles have been described in
relation to consumption for work environments (Du Gay 1996) or gay communities (Haslop et al 1998). The work published by Adorno and Horkheimer inspired Bourdieu, to later note a shift towards a society that uses consumption to identify individuals (Bourdieu 1983). This has lead to a pluralisation of lifestyles in postmodern societies there is a seemingly endless array of positional goods which can be used to mark us out as autonomous consumers, albeit the illusion of choice is often in play. One of Bourdieu’s research focused on the way socio-economic classes used various consumer goods to mark themselves off from others. He outlines how status and class groups demarcate their distinct way of living to distinguish one group from another, rendering high fashion as distinct from clothes, literature from books, art from pictures or art cinema from film. Furthermore, Bourdieu felt that taste determines the consumption of products and symbols of distinction. Hence, distinction is a complex social process, especially for groups with access to different types of capital namely economic, social, cultural and symbolic (Bourdieu 1983). Firstly, the economic capital is related to business, commercial and financial groups that Veblen calls the ‘nouveaux riche’. This group uses money and business success to distinguish themselves. Secondly, Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1983 249) defines cultural capital as

\[\text{The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.}\]

These resources are based on the group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support. Finally, Bourdieu’s major contribution is related to cultural capital that is any form of knowledge, talent and education. Bourdieu defines three forms of cultural capital that give a person a higher status in society as

the embodied state, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realisation
of theories or critiques of these theories, and the institutionalised state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu 1983).

In his later works, Bourdieu adds symbolic capital as a fourth form that considers honour and prestige possessed by individuals. Hence, these forms of capitals launch different types of consumer behaviour and lead to a social distinction. According to Bourdieu, Consumption can be seen as a set of social and cultural practices which serve as a way of establishing differences between social groups, not merely as a way of expressing differences which are already in place as a result of an autonomous set of economic factors (Bocock 1992 64)

Today, consumption of cultural goods has increased dramatically with the consumption of culture no longer a privilege reserved for the upper class anymore. So, commercialised cultural offerings became available throughout the society and the 'charismatic aura of cultural elites has been demystified' (Bourdieu 1981). One effect of this consumption is the pluralisation of lifestyles of individuals due to expressive behavioural pattern and private decision for investment and consumption. Douglas & Isherwood (1996 [1979] 44) suggest that

[ ] the individual uses consumption to say something about himself, his family, his locality, whether in town or country, on vacation or at home. The kind of statement he makes is about the kind of universe he is in [ ]

However, these developments have also led academics to think about new relationships between culture and economy. Lash and Urry (1994 64) developed a culturalisation thesis where they showed a de-differentiation of economy and culture where economic and symbolic processes are more than ever interlaced and inter-articulated. Symbolic processes, including an important aesthetic component, have permeated consumption as well as production. They support their argumentation with
a) the importance of knowledge and information in form of experts in contemporary economies and that allied increasingly discursive and reflexive nature of the production process,

b) the significance of information-processing capacities and symbol-processing activities (like design, or sounds)⁶,

c) increasing reflexivity of production and consumption leading to a plurality of lifestyles to identify individuals⁷,

d) increasing importance of non-material products-services, communications and information

Hence, signs are increasingly produced rather than material objects and goods and services are becoming increasingly “aestheticised” with their symbolic attributes forming greater proportion of value-added Scott (2000), likewise, argues that artefacts imbued with imaginative aesthetic and semiotic content produced by sectors in modern capitalism that cater to consumer demands for amusement, ornamentation, self-affirmation, social display and so on. Such outputs have high symbolic value relative to utilitarian purposes. As a result, some go as far as Simonsen (2001 41) who argues that

the economy has been 'culturalised', increasingly involving the production, circulation and consumption of items that are cultural in character

The concept of a cultural economy is part of a wider debate scrutinising the relationship of culture and economy in academia in the 1990s and onwards. The so-called ‘cultural turn’ is a term that is much used in the social sciences to indicate an increased academic awareness of the importance of culture in contemporary society. Following the cultural turn, however, academics in geography and other disciplines have problematised the relationship between economy and culture in different ways. The economisation of culture and the culturalisation of economy are two ways of looking at the issue

⁶ See Thrift (1999) on capitalism
⁷ See here also the works of Zukin (1999) on lifestyle consumption
The 'cultural turn' is seen as an important new contribution to understanding contemporary society. For Storper (2001) the contribution lies in ways that culture orients our behaviour and shapes what we are able to know about the world.

The 'turn' arose simultaneously in a lot of academic disciplines. There is one striking issues of the cultural turn – its interdisciplinarity. That means that working on the relation of 'culture' and 'economy' appeared parallel in cultural studies, literary theory, 'postmodern' anthropology and philosophy, sociology, economic geography and economics (Barnes 2001, Barnett 1998, Mitchell 1995, Storper 2001). Drawing on Yeung (2002), there are many contemporary debates about the 'cultural turn' in geography, an 'institutional turn' in the regional development literature and the 'geographical turn' in economies (Martin and Sunley 2001). The reason for this affecting all parts of academia is, that the term 'culture' has widen interpretation possibilities. According to manifestations of the cultural turn suggested by Barnett (1998) the key contributions of the debates evolve around the adaption of approaches and terminologies of other disciplines. Ray and Sayer (1999) propose multiple reasons for the 'cultural turn' by pointing out developments in political life and in academia itself. They argue that the decline of socialism overshadowed research on the domination of capital and class. Moreover, the rise of neo-liberalism and individualism has transformed the concerns of equality into other fields, like gender or race. This brings us to the growth of feminism, research on ethnicity, and the movement of social science towards an aestheticisation of everyday life and the shift from material to symbolic consumption (Ray and Sayer 1999 3).

The discovery of geographical scale in economics has similarly transformed that discipline. Research by 'geographical' economists includes work on spatial agglomeration, localisation economies, regional path-dependencies, regional specialisation, convergence and divergence, industrial districts and clusters (Porter 1998, Maillat 1998, Krugman 1998). New ideas in economic geography have changed the discipline in terms of theory, methodology, epistemology and
so forth (Martin 1999). Others identify this phase as a turning point in the history of economic geography (Amin and Thrift 2000). The ‘cultural turn’ emphasises the shift towards the acceptance of culture in economy.
2.2 Cultural Economy: From Creative Industries to Contemporary Visual Arts

The term ‘cultural economy’ can be understood in various ways. In this context, (Gibson and Kong 2005 541) argue that ‘economy is polyvalent, and the cultural economy is part of a wider set of complex relationships which is the economy’ Gibson and Kong are referring to the cultural turns that were broadly debated within economic geography (see chapter 2.1). In general, the debates differed around three concepts (Crang 1997),

- the economic is embedded in the cultural,
- the economic is represented through cultural media of symbols, signs and discourse,
- the cultural is seen as materialised in the economic

Before concentrating on the geography of cultural products though, it seems to be necessary to develop the forthcoming terms. Crucially authors often start with different definitions of ‘culture’ (Hall 2000, Lavanga 2003, Scott 1999, Zukin 1995). Lavanga (2003) offers 3 definitions

- particular way of life typical of a group,
- system of symbols, meanings and codes for communication,
- products of adaptation to sort of given environment conditions

Nevertheless these issues are linked with each other. One of the earlier explanations is given by Taylor (1871) in Primitive Cultures which describes culture in its wide ethnographic sense as a the complex of knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. A century later, in a short definition given by Scott (1999), culture can only be considered in the wider system of human relationship as an immanent construct.
As discussed earlier, cultural consumption relies on the production of symbolic products. The so-called creative industries have been identified as the supplier of the cultural products. The creative industries sector has been widely researched in the past decades. Various concepts emerged to define the sector in terms of its product (Crane 1992), sub-sectors (Throsby 1999, 2008), and location (Scott and Lerche 2004).

More general though, some academics tried to capture the essence of creative production (Zukin 1995, Lash and Urry 1994, Garnham 2005). They have stressed that the symbolic value of products has become at least as important as their practical uses (Lash and Urry, 1994, see also chapter 2.1). Garnham (1983) takes this into account when using a more economic approach towards defining cultural production. He stresses the production of symbols, as he puts it as

Cultural Industries are those institutions in our society which employ the characteristic modes of production and organisation of industrial corporations to produce and disseminate symbols in the form of cultural goods and services, generally, though not exclusively, as commodities (Garnham 1983 589)

The creative industries produce goods and services whose primary values have been derived from their aesthetic attributes (Banks et al. 2000). Products have to mirror current trends in society and match increasingly individualistic lifestyles. Scott (1999) defines cultural industries more widely in this context, as he includes.

All those sectors in modern capitalism that cater to consumer demands for amusement, ornamentation, self-affirmation, social display and so on

Hence, this development contributes to a rapid growth of economic sectors that specialise in creating this symbolic value, e.g. designers, architects, artists, printed and digital media (more on those workers will be explored in Section 2.2.2)

Another perspective to identify cultural economies is introduced by Throsby (1999, 2008) who offers a more operational definition of the cultural economy by
the use of a model of concentric circles that is based on origin and diffusion of creative ideas in sound, text and image from core creative arts (see Figure 2.1). Four layers of product types are labelled. The core form the core creative arts including literature, music, performing arts, and visual arts. Then other core cultural industries follow such as film, museums, galleries, libraries, and photography. The third ring describes wider cultural industries, namely, heritage services, publishing and print media, television and radio, sound recording, video and computer games. Finally, related industries such as advertising, architecture, design and fashion are included within cultural economies.

Figure 2.1 Cultural economies

Source: Throsby, 2008

These cultural industries have intense links with each other, as well as with creative departments of various production activities. The wide array of creative activities developed around the cultural industries is often called 'creative industries'. In recent years there has been a shift towards preferring the term creative industries rather than cultural industries (Cunningham, 2002; Garnham,
2005) A precise definition of cultural economy and creative industries however seems a difficult task (Musterd et al. 2007)

Pratt (1997) suggests that the cultural industry production system consists of performance, fine art and literature, their reproduction books, journal magazines, newspapers, film, radio, television, recordings on disc and tape, and activities that link together these art forms, such as advertising. Also considered are the production, distribution and display processes of painting and broadcasting, as well as museum, libraries, theatres, nightclubs, and galleries.

Scott and Lenche (2004) distinguish between mobile and immobile cultural goods. Mobile goods were distributed all over the world and deliver the demanders on their place, like the Hollywood motion picture industry. Immobile products have to be consumed on the place, where they were produced. The place where the goods are produced plays an important role because people have to travel there. Consequently this affects the tourism as well as conference centres and festivals.

Crane (1992) offers another perspective on cultural economy via a spatial classification of cultural organisations. According to Crane, firstly, the national type of cultural organisations includes the media such as, television, film and major newspapers. Secondly, there is a 'peripheral' type which combines books, magazines, other newspapers, radio and music recording. To complete his typology, the urban types are concerts, exhibitions, fairs, parades, performances, theatres, and museums.

Since the 1990s, many governments and organisations have attempted to design their own approaches toward a cultural and/or creative sector. The following part in this chapter will outline various approaches proposed by national governments and international organisations by pointing out their differences. According to the UK government, the creative industries based on individual creativity, skill and talent and have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (DCMS 1998 10)
During the period of late 1990s, the Blair administration set up the Creative Industries Task force to strengthen the upcoming importance of creative industries as economic drivers. The exclusive use of creative rather than cultural industries is explained by O'Connon (2000) by pointing out the term 'creative' has a higher popularity in Great Britain than the term 'cultural'. As he puts it as;

Nobody has been able to provide an official definition of the distinction between 'cultural' and 'creative' industries - least of all the Creative Industry Unit at the DCMS - but it seems to revert back to the GLC [Greater London Council] distinction of cultural industries as 'artist centred' and the 'creative industries' as based on technological reproduction and aimed at a mass market' (O'Connor 2000)

The definition of the creative industry focuses strongly on the potential employment source. In this sense, compared to other approaches, the DCMS definition is regarded as one of the broadest as it includes sectors such as sports, leisure software, advertising or architecture that one would not necessarily think of by reading academic definitions e.g. such as that proposed by Granham (2005)

All these definitions of the cultural sector allow this sector to be statistically measurable. Scott and Lenche (2004) summarised the findings of researchers in terms of the portion of the cultural economy on the GDP of countries.

| Table 2.1 Cultural Industrnes in USA, UK, Sweden (Portion of GDP) |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Country** | **Portion of cultural industries on the national GDP (%)** | **Researcher** |
| USA | 5 % | Heilbrun & Gray, 1993 |
| UK | 45 % | Pratt, 1997 |
| Sweden | 9 % | Power, 2002 |

Source Scott and Lenche, 2004

Henriques and Thiel (2000) stress in their case study on the audiovisual sector that the manipulation and reproduction of sounds and images are the most powerful legacy of the 20th century. The combination of technological innovation and artistic expression leads to a huge industry of cultural production.
As mentioned earlier, the visual arts have been considered to be the core creative industries. However, few authors have focussed on the fine art sector within the past two decades. Scott's argues that among the cultural industries, the contemporary art sector delivers social status in the attention seeking society (Scott 1997). In addition to that, one can use Becker's definition on art worlds (1982: 34) where he is mainly referring to the fine arts but taking Scott's approach into account. In this sense, art worlds are equivalent to the cultural economy and that consist of all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic works which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art. Members of the art world coordinate the activities by which work is produced referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artefacts.

The contemporary visual arts is often researched in terms of its economics (Giuffre 1999, Frey 2003), institutions (Johnson and Thomas 1998, Woodhead and Stansfield 1989) and the approaches of individual artists (Finkelstein 1989). Within the context of creative industries, the visual arts has hardly been touched with some exceptions such as While (2003) or Lazzaretti (2003).

The art sector itself covers every institution or person that is involved in creating, promoting, displaying and selling thereof. There are also the auction houses, gallery owners, artists, museums, collectors so forth. Becker (1982: 13) outlines that relations between actors and their functions in the visual art world:

Painters depend on manufacturers for canvas, stretchers, paint and brushes, on dealers, collectors, and museum curators for exhibition space and financial support, on critics and aestheticians for the rationale for what they do, on the state for the patronage or even the advantageous tax laws which persuade collectors to buy works and donate them to the public, on members of the public to respond to the work emotionally, and on the tradition which makes the backdrop against which their work makes sense.

There exists a wider set of empirical research related to these individual actors. The geographies of galleries in cities like New York or Seoul (Kim 2007) show
distinct spatial clustering that supports their practices in displaying and negotiating art (Peterson 1997, Cameron 2007) Similarly, museums have distinct spatial pattern, often located in the city centres and sometimes in museum distincts (Mommaas, 2004, Lavanga, 2003) Recent research on visual artists has been done within the context of their working lives (Shaw 2004), their influence in marketing (Daragh 2005), and the production of the artist as a brand (Schroeder 2009). All these actors contribute to the cultural production of the visual arts (Crane 1992, Throsby 1994, Klamer 1996, Matarasso 1997, Kester 2004)

2.3 The Rules of the Contemporary Visual Arts

This section gives an overview of the contemporary visual arts sector, including a discussion of definitions of contemporary visual arts, approaches in art theory and the concept of the value-added cycle for art works and artists The section also explains the dynamics of the visual arts sector and the settings within The beginning part of this section deals with the social practice of producing art with reference to the theory of institutional art and its further development Here, I focus especially on those art theorists who have been considered to explain the social practice and collective effort of art production such as Dickie (1998) or Becker (1982)

The next section in this chapter focuses on transformations in the art world during the last decades. Cultural economies and consequently also the visual arts have experienced an increase of attention from corporate businesses, policy makers and academia in the last thirty years This increase in interest relates to an often described shift in western countries towards knowledge-based, businesses and leisure/ entertainment oriented societies (Castells and Hall 1992, Castells 2000, 2001, Friedman 1994, Bell 1999, Gershuny 2000) As consequence of these shifts
and emerging interests, cultural economies gained an economic boost that changed traditional forms of producing cultural products. Explanations for this transformation in societies centre on questions relating to globalisation, new ways of organisational structures and new technologies. Globalisation in cultural economies is often described as creating a global-local nexus where local production is distributed globally like in the film industry in Hollywood (Christopherson and Storper 1989, Aksoy and Robbins 1992, Scott 2002, 2004). Location-based concepts explore processes within a complex network of individual freelancers, medium-sized companies and global market leaders in a local geographical cluster (Porter 2000, Storper and Venables 2004, Bathelt et al. 2004). New forms of relationships within and between businesses have hence been produced (Seltzer 1999, Lampel et al. 2000, Grabher 2001, 2002, Batt et al. 2001, Blair et al. 2001, Florida 2002b). What enabled these new ways of doing business were mainly technology jumps in the late 1980s. The rise of personal computers and the development of the worldwide web added another meaning to ‘place’. The visual arts have also been influenced by these developments in the past decades. Diversifications of professions within the globalised art market and new ways of artistic expression via new media provide some good examples of these transformations in the visual arts in recent years.

As such, this section discusses definitions of contemporary visual arts, approaches in art theory and the value added cycle for art works and artists. It also explains the dynamics within the visual arts sector.

Art theorists as well as members of the wider public have been dealing with the question of “What is art?” for many years. It is increasingly difficult, to universally define art due to its complex nature and what it involves. It has been described as something of a beauty, or a skill which produces an aesthetic result out of creativity (Dickie 1974). Art is ‘making something special’ by exploring, playing, shaping, and embellishing, formalising and making order as congruent to what people in consider western art (Dissanayake 1988).
The production of art has evolved over time and thus diversified into various forms of artistic expressions ranging from performing arts to visual arts. The visual arts are a form of art that focuses on creative works visual in nature. Historically, the visual arts included all forms of 'fine arts' such as drawing, painting, print making and sculpture (Allen 1995). In addition to these traditional practices, artists have experimented with new media and new forms of artistic expressions such as assemblage, collage, conceptual, installation and performance art, and also including visual media such as photography, video art and animation, or any combinations thereof. Additionally, others forms of visual art include Face Painting and Body Painting, which, however, can be derived from the decorative or performance arts.

Contemporary visual art can be defined in three different, widely accepted, ways. Firstly, it includes all art works that have been produced after 1945. This is the definition adhered to by most museums when defining their collections of contemporary artworks (Johnson 2003). Secondly, contemporary art can be defined as art produced in our era or lifetime. This way of defining contemporary art agrees with the definition of the phrase "contemporary" as used by most modern historians (Stokstad 2005). This definition is also used in this research because it examines location and practices of contemporary visual artists and consequently using art that is produced in current times allows this deep elaborations due to the possibility to observe and interview contemporary visual artists. Thirdly, contemporary art can be defined as art works produced since the 1960s. Art historians, critics and auction houses have widely accepted this form of defining contemporary art, however, disagreement persists as to the exact cut-off date (Irvine 2004). Sotheby's coined a new category called 'contemporary now' summarising art works produced within the past five-year period (Moulin 1992).

A brief overview of the developments in the visual arts since medieval times helps to understand the current status of contemporary art. The Italian Renaissance (1300-1600) marked the transition from medieval times to early
modern Europe and arguably started what is known today as western art (Burke 1999) Renaissance rules and ideas were considered as ‘modern’ and therefore disseminated across Europe through various Academies of Fine Arts, such as the Academy of Florence, the Academy of Rome, the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and the Royal Academy in London. These academies taught art according to certain rules, which artists had to follow in order to make a living. This principle largely continued during the Baroque and Classicists periods despite changing artistic ideals and ways of expression but was considerably altered in the course of the 19th century. In 1860, the French Impressionists started the era of Modern Art with their revolutionary subjective style (Rewald 1946) This period witnessed a succession of schools, styles and movements — including Expressionism, Cubism, Surrealism, and Abstract Expressionism, to name but a few. Nearly all of these styles reflected the political and social trends of the period, such as World War I, the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s, World War II, and its post-colonial aftermath (Watson 1992). During the 1960s, the optimism among artists to influence politics began to fade, and it is this loss of optimism which marks the beginning of Postmodernism and the emergence of Contemporary Art (Guilbaut 1985)

Postmodernists reject the idea that art can provide meaning. This new Postmodernist philosophy thus triggered a whole new set of priorities, which were greatly facilitated by the coincident arrival of new technologies such as televisions, videos, and computers. The contemporary art movements have focused on "how" art is created and disseminated, rather than "what" is produced. They emphasise ideas and concepts rather than precious objects and the skills needed to make them. In their attempt to popularise and broaden access to visual art, they introduced (or refined) a series of new art forms, such as Conceptualism, Performance, Happenings, Installation, Earthworks, and in the process took full advantage of new media such as video, computers and digital technology.
Table 2.2 shows a selection of art movements from the 1960s onwards. It illustrates the variety of art forms that have been explored in the second half of the 20th century.

Table 2.2 Art movements from 1960 to 2000 (selection)

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<td>- Color field</td>
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<td>- Graffiti Art</td>
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<td>- Computer art</td>
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<td>- Bad Painting</td>
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<td>- Photorealism</td>
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Art historians and sociologists of art have developed numerous theories to understand the production of contemporary art and explain its meanings within the context of contemporary society (Adorno 1977, Danto 2000). These theories provide basic understandings of art on which the analysis of visual artists in Paris can draw. The sociology of art is a discipline within sociology that explores the relationship between societies and art (Duvignard 1972, Zolberg 1990, Alexander 2003). From Durkheim via Adorno to Bourdieu, sociologists have contributed in their ways to the sociology of arts (Durkheim 1893 (1997), Adorno 1972,
Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1992) One particular approach is the interpretive sociology which is according to Paul (2005) primarily concerned with two points of investigation (1) the various interactive networks between individuals and groups that structure social systems, i.e., families, communities and societies, and (2) the meanings created and actions derived from those interactions. According to art sociologists, the sociology of arts is an important contributing factor to explain the effect of presence of social logic on the way art works have been developed. The sociology of arts also explains the relationships between the artists (as individuals) and their social structures. These two disciplines, art theory and sociology of art are being combined here to outline the collaborative practice of art production.

The institutional theory of art, developed from art historians such as Danto and Wollheim (Danto 1964, Wollheim 1980), suggests a network-based approach for defining contemporary art. The institutional theory of art suggests that the specific processes (or activities) such as presenting, interpretation (adding meaning) or valuation are at the core of the art world. In contrast to the other art theories, the institutional theory of art provides the notion of common practice in the definition of art. It offers accounts about the nature of art by considering how objects become or acquire the status of works of art (McFee 1985). This includes people with a certain kind of knowledge who 'confer' status on objects (Wollheim 1980).

Danto (1964) argues that art has been transformed into a normative concept via understandings of what is good and a bad art. He argues that everything could be a work of art by transfiguring it into proper circumstances which means it becomes part of the 'discourse of reason' that makes up art. Danto's Theory of Transfiguration describes art by a sample of characteristics. One crucial point is the existence of 'rhetorical ellipsis' that engages audience's participation in filling - in what is missing. In other words, every work of art demands interpretation (Danto 1997). The important fact here is the notion of communicational practice of what he calls the 'audience.' This rhetorical ellipsis of interpretation implies negotiating each art work by participating members of the art world.
George Dickie (1974, 1997, 1998, 2001) tries to give a definition of art using the properties that are not included in the perceptual features of art works. He provides an institutional definition of ‘work of art’ that includes flexibility or creativity, and the specification of conventions governing the creation, presentation, and appreciation of the aesthetic features of art objects. The ‘institutional’ is an established, continuing and traditional set of practice. This leads then to art world systems that comprise e.g., persons with learned roles and patterns of behaviour. According to George Dickie (1997), the ‘art world’ is culturally constructed in collective practice defined in a set of concepts:

1. An artist is a person who participates in the making of a work of art.
2. A work of art is an artefact created to be presented to an art world public.
3. The art world public is a set of persons the members of which are prepared in some degree to understand an object which is presented to them.
4. The art world is the totality of all art world publics.
5. An art world system is a framework for the presentation of works of art by an artist to an art world public.

This framework of art circles structures the social context that is requisite for creating art and is about the relationships between artists and their publics (Chou 2003).

Becker (1982) follows the concept of Dickie’s systems and presents a model of social organisation in the arts, elaborating the processes through which collective artistic activity is transacted and resources are distributed. He underlines a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artefacts. This becomes visible in the knowledge of various group and subgroups that share conventions.

Those who share such knowledge can, when the occasion demands or permits, act together in ways that are part of the cooperative web of activity making that [art] world possible and characterising its existence (Becker 1982: 67).
Becker deduces the exchange of conventions and cooperative activity as specific processes. These shared conventions establish a common ground for art debates.

Danto's notion of rhetorical ellipsis, Dickie's concept of the art world system and Becker's model of social organisation in the arts are closely linked to Foucault's theoretical concept of 'discourse', especially disciplinary discourse, which constitutes objects of knowledge (or aesthetics) produced via a complex group of relations between institutions as well as economic and social processes (Foucault 1969). Consequently, the negotiations of art and also non-art represent an exclusive discourse between the political actors of the arts (Danto 1997). Santagata (2002 15) describes this process more general for the creative sector, as he states:

Creative communities translate creativity into culture, and culture into valuable economic goods and services.

The approaches taken to explain relations between art, institutions and the market have contributed to a demystification of the artist's romantic image as this creates obstacles for the understanding of the work and situation of contemporary artists. Today, the careers of artists are a symbol for these various forms of negotiations theorised by Dickie and Becker. Artistic careers are in particular marked by the circle of value adding that is characterised at each step by the inclusion of other discourse participants and consequently other processes of value adding. Irvine's (2004) explanation of art value chains is very useful for identifying institutions and their characteristic processes in the art world. It allows understanding discourse and relationships between players in the visual arts.

Artists are partly-produced in art schools and gain first attention due to graduation shows. These shows see first screening and valuation processes performed mainly by art galleries. Gallery owners know what to do with certain styles of artists and with this knowledge they can introduce the artist to the art world at the right time and place to the right people. Gallery owners can thus be regarded as gatekeepers for artists (Crane 1992), who support artists and
recommend them to collectors and critics. One example for the remarkable influence of a gallery owner on artists' careers is Gerd Harry Lybke, the owner of the Gallery Eigen+Art in Berlin who promoted artists such as Neo Rauch, Christoph Ruckhaberle, and Johannes Teipelmann. All three artists became known as the Young German Painting movement or *Neue Leipziger Schule* (see Mesch 2007, Kraeussl 2007, Modes 2008).

Art marketing helps to establish an artist for an art world public. Media attention creates a buzz with reviews, photos and so forth. This cycle adds a value to the artists' work and career through circulation and objectification in discourse, particularly when the work is constructed as desirable and scarce (Frey and Pommerehne 1989).

*Table 2.3 Art prizes for young artists (selection)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prize</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Winners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Source: collected from various online sources
Grants and awards add values to artists' work and bring wider validation and recognition. There are numerous awards given by foundations, museums and government arts bodies for outstanding works in contemporary art, in a wide variety of categories (Frey 1998). Table 2.3 shows four different types of prizes given out in recognition of artists' contributions.

Art Curators play a very important role as well as they are the responsible individuals in museums, galleries and other institutions who select the works of art to be included in collections and exhibitions. They help actual and virtual visitors to arrange the available artworks into meaningful sequences and act almost as art critics (de Vries 1996).

Auction houses validate ultimate cash value in getting the 'highest possible price' for an art work when it enters the private marketplace. There is a trend that auction houses put up newly-produced art works for auction (Thon and Drewes 2006). This boosts the prices for art works dramatically. It is part of a 'flipping policy', a term that is used in the art world explaining the quick buying and selling of art works to increase its profit margins. However, the 'flipping policy' is usually not in favour of the artists as it can ruin their own pricing and thus the profit margins (Frey 2003).

In addition to art curators and auction houses, private collectors, i.e. corporate and institutional collectors, validate the artists' work via their high-visibility purchases at art fairs, galleries or auctions (Gisler 2004). Arguably, the most famous example where the private collector influenced the artists' work is advertising mogul Charles Saatchi who has significantly contributed to the success of the Young British Artists Movement including artists like Damien Hurst or Tracey Emin in London in the late 1990s (see Jardine 1997, Cook 2000, Hatton and Walker 2000, While 2003, Galenson 2005). The Saatchi-Effect, which was named after Charles Saatchi, describes the role of super collectors who blur the distinction between patron, collector, dealer and speculator. Drawing on

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Saatchi's example, Hatton and Walker (2000) define the role of super collectors as follows.

Their wealth derives from multi-million dollar family businesses that are also international; they buy art where it is cheap and sell where it is expensive—usually the US, they buy in bulk and work hard at their hobby, they use dealers as scouts but generally make their own selection, they establish art collections and hire curators to run them, they exert a significant influence on the art market.

Super collectors’ combined position as economic and cultural gatekeepers give them the chance to intervene in all dimensions that concern the value of artists and their works, even ahead of museum directors (While 2003, Smiers 2003). In 2009, around fifteen super collectors have been identified by the magazine Forbes according to the most valuable collections, each one worth at least $700 million. Ten of the top collectors are American, but the two most valuable billionaire collections belong to Europeans, namely Philip Niarchos (art collection worth $2 Billion), and Francois Pinault (art collection worth $1.4 Billion) (Blankfeld et al. 2009).

Apart from this concentration of highly valuable art collections, the total number of individuals entering the art market is increasing as suggested by the rise of new art magazines, and the public media attention. Professionals like trade floor brokers, IT-managers, or international accountants are drawn towards art works as they see it as an investment that also adds value to their city apartments. The rich elites from Eastern Europe, Russia, and Asia are considered to be relatively newer super collectors in the art world. Contemporary art has become a ‘must have’ status symbol next to expensive cars and houses in the glamour and finance world (Thon and Drewes 2006). These individuals buy a lifestyle boosting the art market and transforming art works in a kind of shares that are traded within the logic of the stock exchange. Hence, investment in art offers them higher margins of profit.

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*See articles in Business Magazines like Business Week, and Wall street journal e.g. OLECK, J & DUNKIN, A. 1999. The art of collecting art. Business Week*
The second most influential buyers are businesses which collect contemporary art or support cultural production, or education, also as investments and status symbols. It is estimated that over 60 percent of all Fortune 500 corporations collect and trade art works (Smiers 2003). In order to do so, businesses such as Nestle create foundations to support artists and invest in art works in a collection. The motives behind this corporate engagement in contemporary arts are to maximise profit as it increases sales, to attract employees, to enhance relations with employees, clients and partners, to broaden public awareness of business, and to increase property values. With 50,000 works, the German Bank Deutsche Bank owns the largest corporate collection from classical modernism to current positions of contemporary art. Their collection is on display in bank buildings throughout the world since the end of 1979 under the motto "art in the workspace". This practice is not only regarded as a pioneering concept but also as an alternative currency in the bank.10

Institutions such as museums form the third group of influential buyers in the contemporary art market. The museum context is treated as highest validation for artists, as it can take art works out of circulation and makes it 'priceless'. Over the last few decades, a big 'boom' of museums took place all over the world. The prime objective of museums is to maintain artistic production and to educate the public in terms of art. However, museums have undergone a transition towards a more commercialised approach. Zukin (1995) identified the results of the market pressure faced by American museums since the 1980s. She argues that reduced governmental funding and cutbacks in corporate support have made museums more dependent than ever on attracting visiting payers. The museums rely on their gift shops to contribute to a larger share of their operating expenses. Hence, they try out new display techniques and seek crowd-pleasing exhibit ideas. The financial pressures have lead museums to capitalise on their visual holdings. By their marketing of cultural consumption, great art has become a public treasure, a tourist attraction, and a representation of public culture, divorced from the social context in which the art was produced. Museum functions have also changed to a more active approach in the arts. Museums engage in the production of art and

10 For more details see Deutsche Bank Art online http://www.db.com/csr/en/content/Fostening_Creativity.htm (17 August 2009)
serve at the junction in extended networks for future art productions (de Vries 1996) The decline in the production sector and its related market has boosted the museum culture in the western world. The increasing tertiary sector has intensified a competition between cities in terms of firms, capital and iconic art buildings. Human capital became the ruling power in business where the embodied knowledge means cash flux. Highly skilled employees seek cultural inspiration and quality of life is becoming a more and more important competition advantage (Florida 2005). The cultural environment with museums, festivals and performing arts are a major pull-factor for international corporations (Florida 2002b).

The different groups of buyers can be found on several submarkets (Gisler 2004) The primary market is characterised by unorganised artists that exhibit in small local galleries and local art markets. Consequently, these artists deal with small traders and private buyers that invest in the art for aesthetic reasons and thus buy a small numbers of art works. The secondary market trades objects of more established artists (dead or alive) in the major art centres such as Paris, Munich and London. Their professional traders such as agents or galleries deal with public and private buyers, i.e. institutions and businesses. Finally, the tertiary market deals with objects of (very) well-known artists. The trading is taking place predominately in famous auction houses. Depending on the market, access is very restricted and needs at least money or knowledge of art or taste to get on that stage. Plattner offers a good summary of the whole value adding cycle.

The more shows and prizes won and the loftier their level of prestige, the higher the elite status and number of galleries handling the work, the higher the connoisseurship of other collectors owning the work, and the more articles, monographs, and other media attention, the higher the price (Plattner 1998 488).

Every step towards success in the art world has barriers and just a few artists are able to reach the pinnacle of the art world, however, these artists rule the art market. The monopolistic structure of the visual art market is dominated by the mechanisms of international artistic life and economic globalisation, creating a market dominated by a few star artists (Smiers 2003). The phenomenon of
"superstars" was first described in economic terms by Sherwin Rosen (1981) who assumed that the talented individuals produce higher quality products. The superstar effect implies that the highest quality producers earn a disproportionately large share of market earnings. In the high arts sphere, reputation is a factor of exceptional longevity, from a twofold point of view. The sense of achievement is enhanced, well beyond the average working-life term, and the reputation as capital may be converted into an artistic and economic rent, since the famous artist faces a rather inelastic demand for his praised work (Moulin 1987). Accordingly, Haak (2005) shows that these effects can be related to artists' earnings.

The visual arts have undergone many transformations over the last three decades. An economic boost in the visual arts, the diversification of professions, a shift in functions of art institutions, and new media are among the most influential processes (Irvine 2004). This section discusses these developments and the ways in which the visual art sector has transformed in the last decades.

Innovative technologies, the process of globalisation and new forms of organisations have contributed to transforming the contemporary art sector since the 1980s (Castells and Hall 1992). These trends also affected the visual arts sectors as it gained enormous boost since the late 1980s (Zetterman 2006, Quemin 2006a).

The cultural sectors in general and the visual arts in particular, have seen an increased interest in the past decades. The contemporary visual arts market in particular has been flooded with finances. In the first section of this chapter, the main buyer groups of contemporary art such as individuals, (super-) collectors, public institutions and private companies were discussed. Due to their increased activities in the arts market, prices for contemporary art works have gone up dramatically (Frey 2003). As of 2009, measured by auction sales prices, the world's most valuable contemporary work of art is *Triptych* (1976), painted by Francis Bacon, which sold in 2008 for $86.3 million at Sotheby's New York. In second place is *Green Car Crash* (1963) painted by Andy Warhol which was sold for $71.7 million at Christie's, New York, in 2007. A high-priced piece of...
contemporary "sculpture" is *For the Love of God*, by Damien Hirst. A human skull recreated in platinum and studded with 8,061 diamonds, it sold for £50,000,000 to a consortium which included the artist and The White Cube Gallery. According to auction results (July 2007-June 2008), the five top-selling contemporary painters and sculptors are Damien Hirst, Jeff Koons, Jean-Michel Basquiat, Richard Prince, and Zhang Xiaogang.

The Artprice Global Index (see Figure 2.2), the Dow Jones of the art world, shows currently one of the highest positions since the late 1990s. The price level provides an estimate of the average unit price of an artist's work and allows observing changes in this value over time.

*Figure 2.2 Artprice Global Index (1998-2009)*

In recent years, the economic boost in the visual arts has significantly influenced the contemporary art sector. The labour in visual arts has become more

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11 Art Price revises monthly a ranking of the bestselling artists, highest prices at auctions and so forth. See www.artprice.com
professional and occupations have become more diverse in their nature (Irvine 2004) Categorically, new professionals (i.e. agents), appear detached from galleries which represent artists, and further to that, the traditional institutionalised curators have, increasingly, found themselves stepping out of the museums and start working as freelancers Since an increasing number of individuals make their living administrating the visual arts sector, their focus has been highly oriented towards the art market In order to sell much valued art works of contemporary artists, these so-called 'cultural engineers' add meaning to the works of artists and relate them to others having less art knowledge The developments towards an economic logic in the art sector offer vast opportunities and also bear significant risks for visual artists The relentless efforts of these professionals (i.e. agents) of finding and screening the artists effectively make it easier for artists to become a part of the art circle Hence, the market knowledge of these freelancing agents can introduce an artists' work to the right buyer group and get the highest price of the much valued art works (Frey 2003)

However, economic interests can potentially overwhelm the artistic freedom of expression and creating art (see observations on collaborations with galleries in chapter 5.2). The fluctuating market demands can compel artists to produce their art works to meet peak specific needs and trends at the time Furthermore, the economic interests have evidently increased the frequency of the various art events In 2004, around one hundred international art fairs attracted collectors from all over the world (Thon and Drewes 2006)

These events such as art fairs were introduced to generate interest from potential new buyers Some of these eminent art fairs are listed in Table 2.4. A newly established fair is the Art Basel Miami Beach art fair It is organised by the managers of one of the biggest contemporary art fairs, the Art Basel The fair lasts for a week, and distinctively includes about 200 chosen galleries, but also performance art on the beach, champagne receptions in museums, cinema previews, gala concerts and VIP guides through the private collections. The event appeals to many new age group buyers, as it is believed that the

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12 Relevant literature on 'cultural intermediaries' is described in Chapter 2 (see also Bourdieu 1993, Negus 2002, Wright 2005)
contemporary art is sold to young professionals who collect art works of their own generation. The brand Art Basel, traditionally one of the most influential contemporary art fairs, seems to be so distinct that the responsible managers decided to have the name also in the newly created fair in Miami, the Art Basel Miami Beach. The indication of location, here the city Basel in Switzerland, loses its initial meaning and becomes a synonym for reliability and trust.

Table 2.4 The most important contemporary art fairs in the World

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Month in annual calendar</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARCO</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>Important fair for Spanish and Latin American Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armory Show</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Most important fair in the US, shows only contemporary artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow World Fine Art Fair</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>New fair for the Nouveau Riches of Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Basel</td>
<td>Basel</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>Most influential art fair with high price art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Forum Berlin</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>Focus on young artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frieze Art Fair</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Fair for the emerging contemporary UK arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIAC</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Lost its former world class reputation and trades mainly French artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Cologne</td>
<td>Cologne</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>One of the most visited art fairs with 72,000 visitors (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Basel Miami Beach</td>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>New fair for young US American buyer market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own design

Recently, Biennales appear to have gained a significant position in the art world. In the past decade, the Biennale of Taipei has gained a reputation of be a
starting point for international careers of mainly young artists. Historically, exhibition halls have been favourable locations for displaying the art works, however, places such as industrial sites in Berlin, London Zoo, etc have attracted the event organisers. Art fairs have become more and more art events where the international jet-set is meeting to stroll around art works with champagne in their hands (Thon and Drewes 2006). In order to promote these art events (i.e. art fairs) and give them a new dimension of media attention, the organisers also invite celebrities from other cultural sectors, and as a result, there emerge artistic Wunderkinder that circulate in all important art galleries and art fairs all over the globe. These as genius considered artists maintain a superstar status which is comparable to some of the most famous musicians. However, their popularity varies depending on local and national presence. Typically, the bonafide celebrity is only a local superstar outside the artistic world. An opening of the celebrated British artist Tracey Emin in London ‘is like a rock concert with some 7,000 attendees’ as Emin acknowledged herself in an interview in the New York Times (Crisell 2005) Yet she states, "In London the artists rule, but in New York the galleries do"

The discussed processes that are transforming the art world are part of contemporary globalisation with similar effects in other realms of the world economy (Dicken, 2007). This includes new technologies such as the internet and computer graphics that also have an important impact on the visual arts through new forms of artistic expression such as multimedia art and digital photography techniques. A part of the increasing global outlook of the art sector, there is also a trend of art galleries creating branches in other art cities to operate on a multi-national scale. Leading galleries are thus able to build up an important network of galleries, each operating within its own local and international markets (Smiers 2003).

In conclusion, this section has shown that the production of art is a collaborative process. Art theorists and art sociologists highly contributed to a concept of 'art worlds' where the collective efforts of artists, galleries, collectors and museums whose actions valorise certain forms of art and work by particular artists. The impact of each actor on an artists’ work life, from art school to superstar collector,
outlines the interconnecting spaces of art production, the social networks required to become successful in the western contemporary art market. Although it has to be critically reflected that the concept of the value adding cycle clearly represents an idealistic view of artistic careers as these are much more complex and characterised by ups and downs rather than linear progress, this notion reveals the main processes that occur in the art sector, namely screening, interpretation, validation, recognition, and recommendation. The cultural production in the visual arts can be seen as a collaborative process between a range of actors. Within the past decades, the visual arts have undergone several transformations that also influenced the art production cycle. The promotion of nationally-based artists' groups, mega art events like the Art Basel Miami Beach and an increased commercialisation and public interest in the visual arts are only some phenomena that emerged in recent decades. As a result of these trends, global art cities have strengthened their importance for the contemporary visual arts. The recent developments in the visual arts sector have also contributed to an understanding of this type of cultural production. Therefore, it will provide an important framework for the empirical analysis in chapter 5.
2.4 The Creative Worker

This section of the literature chapter outlines the concepts of creative labour and respectively their working conditions in the field of cultural production. It elaborates several concepts that describe creative professionals, such as being part of the creative class (Florida 2002b, 2005) and neo-bohemians (Ley 2003, Lloyd 2004, 2006).

Some authors argue that there exists a new class – the creative class, that rule together with advanced producer services in current economies (Florida 2002b, Florida 2005). Analysing the role of creativity in economic development and urban and regional success Florida came to the conclusion that Talent, Technology and Tolerance (3Ts) are important conditions. In his 3T model he argued that growth is powered by creative people (Talent), who prefer places that are culturally diverse and open to new ideas (Tolerant), and the concentration of 'cultural capital' wedded to new products (Technology). The concept of the 'rise of the creative class' is developed by Richard Florida that pleads for a new class debate by introducing a new one based on individuals that are creative and talented. Accordingly, the class consists of two groups namely creative professionals what he calls 'knowledge workers' being persons occupied with management, business and finance legal issues, health care and high-end sales which includes also consultants or engineers, and the super-creative core being persons occupied with computers, mathematics, architecture, arts, science and education (Florida 2002b 328) This class of creative individuals share a common creative ethos that emphasises individuality, creativity, difference and merit. Those who are employed in these sectors are often engaged in complex problem solving that involves a great deal of independent judgement and creativity and requires high levels of education or human capital.

Florida's studies suggest that highly educated labour ('talent') clusters geographically on specific places and those areas obtain a boost for their local economy. Their contributions of the creative labour force have resulted in creating new ideas, high-technology and regional growth. Florida was not the first
to come with these ideas. Scott (2006), for example, refers to Gouldner (1979) who wrote about ‘the rise of the new class’ almost thirty years ago. He referred to the upper employment strata as the combination of highly educated and technology-driven ‘class’.

Florida suggests a restructuring of economies towards more complex economic hierarchies based on this new class of knowledge workers and Neo-bohemians. This is due to an increasing recognition of creativity as a competitive advantage. The economic use of individual creativity is considered by companies as a driving force for innovation and profit margins. As a result, both employees and employers are satisfied. This stresses the main difference between the Creative Class and other classes, namely the kind of work they perform. Members of the Working and Service Classes are paid mainly to execute according to plan, while those in the Creative Class are paid mainly to create the plan and subsequently have considerably more autonomy and flexibility than the other two classes. Around 30% of the workforce in America identifies themselves as part of the creative class and this number has increased by more than 10% in the past twenty years (Florida 2002b). Or to put it in other words, this class is now a new segment of social groups in postmodern societies.

Furthermore, Florida argues that the factors such as the importance of social capital, labour markets characterised by high demand for qualified personnel, cultural diversity and tolerance, low entry barriers and high levels of urban service, largely determine the economic geography of talent and of creativity, both of which display concentration in large cities.

However, this concept is very controversially debated in literature, not just because of the fuzziness of the concept but also of Florida’s methodological approach (Sawicky 2003, Hall 2004, Peck 2005, Montgomery 2005, Markusen 2006, Pratt 2008). Markusen (2006 1922) criticises the methodology and argues by using census definitions based on training-related criteria, Florida conflates creativity with high levels of education.

The major counter-argument here is that various occupations that fall under the census definition of creative jobs are not creative in Florida’s sense like
pharmacy technicians or purchasing agents. Yet while the concept of the creative class is highly controversial because it generalises the work force and is based mainly on US-American cities and lacks in deep explanations it provides a way of thinking through rather than on sectoral studies to explore current urban landscapes.

Later in the 1990s the concept of bohemians re-emerged in form of neo-bohemianism discussing places of artistic production (Lloyd 2004), new creative professionals (Florida 2002a), or the Bobo class combining behaviour of the bourgeoisie and the bohemians (Brooks 2001). The original bohemians included the individuals who lacked any visible means of support, and mixed in social circles where hedonism, art and life were prioritised over economic success. Whether dabbling in art, literature, poetry or music, the bohemian was often a celebrated figure, sought out by the bourgeoisie who enjoyed the proximity of such creative (if unpredictable characters)

Lloyd (2004) examines the role of bohemianism in his book the Neo-Bohemian class on the basis of research in Chicago's Wicker Park. Lloyd explicates the New Bohemians in terms of lifestyle or political orientation. The bohemians today include artists of all media (i.e. authors, designers, musicians and composers, actors and directors, dancers, crafts-artists, painters, sculptors, and artist printmakers, photographers), political radicals, grassroots activists, students with leftist leanings and other lifestyle eccentrics (Lloyd 2004, Florida 2002a, Solnit 2000). However, these creative professionals are not bohemians in the sense of Henri Murger's La Vie de Bohème (1851) but, as Lloyd (2002, 236) argues

they are not 'organised men' (or woman) either, and in this period of neoliberal capitalism, it may be the bohemian ethic [ ] that is best adapted to new realities

Menger (2001) describes this change of professional priorities for bohemians with the example of artists. He suggests that the artists have designed not only stylistic innovations but also new organisational ways of working and distributing

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15 In the 1990s, the writer Brooks observed bohemian characteristics in the culture of upper-class Americans that he named them Bobos, a portmanteau of the words bourgeoisie and bohemian. This group claims to be highly tolerant, and buys lots of expensive and exotic items (Brooks 2001)
their work – similarities to entrepreneurial careers. That means artists do not only need to be creative and talented but also able to 'perform managerial and entrepreneurial functions' (Menger 2001)

Florida (2002a) introduces a third category by revaluing the Bohemian class. He explores "the geographies of bohemia and its relationship to other regional characteristics and outcomes". Florida uses an occupational approach to describe this group. Lloyd (2006) implies that Florida's approach stresses its hedonistic dimension of bohemia. The idea of Murger's starving artist in Paris seems to be out of date, while contemporary artists have the opportunity to earn large fortunes in both the mass media and the fine arts (Lloyd 2006 158).

Another approach describing workers in the creative field is offered by Cunningham (2006) and Higgs et al. (2008). They describe a two-by-two classification (creative/non-creative industries by creative/non-creative workers) as a "creative trident", comprising three actors in the creative sector:

- specialist workers: those employed in core creative occupations within creative industries (e.g. artists, professionals or creative individuals),
- support workers: those employed in other occupations within the creative industries providing management, secretarial, administrative or accountancy backup and
- embedded workers: those employed in core creative occupations within other industries, not defined as creative.

The model of a 'Creative Trident' brings together those working in the creative industries and those working in specialist creative jobs in other firms and organisations (Musterd et al. 2007). The support workers are more widely referred to as cultural intermediaries and often have been studied within the context of the dichotomy between culture and economy (Bourdieu 1996, Negus 2002, Nixon and Gay 2002, Wright 2005). As Negus explains:

Their central work is the symbolic production in using and exchanging values with the aim to link a product to a potential consumer. This
accounting knowledge is based on 'soft' explanations (human foibles, intuitive hunches and belief in an artist) (Negus 2002:504)

These intermediaries are often seen as the gatekeepers for creative individuals (Negus 2002). In the visual arts for example, the art dealer or gallery owner could be the gatekeeper for artists (DiMaggio 1987), as they have the knowledge how to promote art and he has networks to establish an artist (Smiers 2003).

The concepts suggested by Florida and Lloyd are useful to provide an overview of the types of creative professionals, their locational choices and regional impact. They hardly provide, however, an insight into the working conditions for this, the concepts that explain the functioning of the knowledge economies help to explore creative working life. These concepts can be transferred to the creative industries as they show similar characteristics, e.g. labour force, and spatiality. Knowledge economies are carried by highly skilled labour that embody knowledge (Jeffcutt 2004). The organisation of this talented labour economy is re-defined by authors in form of knowledge or cultural production chains (Leslie and Reimer, 1999, Gereffi, 1999, Pratt 2003), network structures (Storper and Christopherson, 1987, Taylor et al., 2002), and project-based collaborations (Blair et al., 2001, Batt et al., 2001, Grabher, 2002).

Creative industries are often organised in networks. The reasons lie in the different skills required for different stages in production (Pratt 2004) and the need for innovation. Networks have been advocated as providing an effective organisational form for knowledge development for innovation (Quinn 1992). Networks are suited to unique, customised projects. Industries where networks are a common way of organising include financial services, architectural services, commercial real estate, advertising and management consulting (Nohria and Eccles 1992, Grabher 2001, 2002). In the creative industries, networks have also been proven to be the best form of organisation, also because of the nature of the creative product. The social production of the arts, for example, has been described in this context as
a collective practice that depends on complex interactions between artists and a range of 'art world' actors – or art makers – such as patrons, dealers, critics, owners, and collectors (While 2003).

All these creative products such as movies, art works, and music albums are short to middle term projects involving contributions from a wide range of creative, managerial, technical, and administrative professions (Christopherson 2002). Projects are frequently built on combinations of freelance personnel who have a 'nomadic' attitude to work teams, coming and going as their idiosyncratic careers unfold (Frank 2008). How these more individualised career journeys impact on knowledge development for innovation within networks is a key issue (Caves 2000).

Along with the network structure there is a high amount of flexibility in the sector. Labour in the field of cultural production and especially the creative workforce are highly flexible in terms of contracts, working place, etc. One of the most cited works in terms of flexibility in the cultural field is Christopherson's and Storper's (1989) study of employment relations in the film industry. They outline the highly skilled labour in cultural economies face an economic business that demands high flexibility. One example of the high amount of flexibility relates to visual artists when working at the exhibition site, not in their studio. International successful artists have exhibitions around the globe and instead of transporting their objects or installations their produce them 'in situ'. The visual artist embodies individual creativity and the skill to express their own artistic view of specific themes. As a consequence, they stay for the short or middle term in these cities to work on a piece of art. Such working conditions also possibly apply in the field of business consultancies, where the consultant embodies the provided knowledge and works in the companies that demand external advice.

This flexibility, however, bears a high risk and responsibility. Employment structures are generally quite loose in creative industries with short-term or freelance contracts. This allows room for innovation, but also implies uncertainty and a risk for the individuals. Neff et al. (2005) describe the shift of workers to entrepreneurial labour that is risk-taking and accepts more flexibility in both jobs.
and career in the case of media workers and fashion models. They outline the dichotomy between flexibility and risk.

workers are drawn to the autonomy, creativity and excitement that jobs in these media industries can provide, they have also come to accept as normal the high risk associated with this work (Neff et al. 2005 307)

This, hence, can lead to times of employment and unemployment Menger (2001) explains the risks for the visual arts as follows

Freelancing which is the prevailing work arrangement in the arts bring discontinuity, repeated alternation between work, compensated unemployment, non compensated unemployment, searching and networking activities, cycling between multiple jobs inside the arts sphere or across several sectors related or unrelated to the arts (Menger 2001 242)

That shows, despite the fact that this labour is highly-skilled, high wages and status are not assured (Neff et al. 2005) Writers, artists and musicians are often underemployed or work on a free-lance basis Zukin (1995) explores creative in New York, and states that in the 1980s the annual income of artists' artwork was $3000 and in total, with all resources only $10,000 or less Consequently, to survive, the artists are forced to work in a "day job" to earn money They work as waiters, do temporary office work in corporate firms and help in art galleries (Zukin 1995).

In 2002, Eurostat described the structure of employment of cultural occupations in the whole economy and all employment in cultural economic activities, where 18% of cultural workers had temporary jobs compared to 12% for the total labour force in Europe, 25% of cultural workers had a part time job, against 17% of the EU work force, and 9% of cultural workers had more than one job, three times more than for total employment (Bautier 2004) Furthermore, the statistics reveal that in all member states there was a higher proportion of university graduates in cultural employment than in total On average 40% of cultural workers have a university degree in Europe
Another aspect is that these workers are responsible for their own work conditions such as insurance, work space, etc. (Neff et al. 2005) This is particularly important for creative work with large scale objects such as the visual arts. Creative media workers in turn are also affected as they need to invest in technical equipment.

This shows there is a high amount of self-investment from cultural workers. High costs for education, financial capital for self-promotional materials to name only two financial burdens of creatives (Zukin 2005). In this context, Zukin (2005) identifies websites or business cards for new economy labour, set cards of fashion models.

In summary, creative workers have been described as a distinct group of labour that can be characterised by its flexibility, and risk-taking. They are organised in networks for the project-based work.
2.5 Geographies of cultural economies

The earlier sections exploring working conditions for creative labour suggest a distinct way of structural organisation of the creative industries. The high amount of flexibility, and risk have lead to local clusters, where networks based on trust, reputation and local-embedded knowledge collaborate in the field of cultural production. The local clusters are one scale of production while the global context offers another.

The concept of clusters has been widely-explored and offers a basis for exploring local creative clusters. Agglomeration benefits such as locally-embedded knowledge and a large labour pool increase the productivity of the creative sector which has been shown in numerous studies around the globe. In this context, the relationship between innovation and spatial proximity offers new insights in creative processes and collaborative actions.

Finally, cultural production has been strongly connected to urbanity. Cities have been identified as the location for creative clusters with creative neighbourhoods in the urban environment have a distinct character in terms of architecture, population and location.

2.5.1 Cultural production in local creative milieus

Cultural production has been identified as a collective and social process involving various actors and institutions (Bourdieu 1993, Negus and Pickering 2000). Spatial proximity increases this process (Scott, 2000). Economic clusters have been widely-researched and help to understand agglomeration benefits and localised processes (Marshall, 1920, Maillat, 1991, Porter, 1998, Bathelt et al., 2005).
These cluster concepts have been adapted to the creative industries (Bassett et al. 2002, Cook and Pandit 2004). Parallel to this ‘new regionalism’, others have researched the organisational structure of the creative industries with its main focus on film production (Storper and Christopherson 1987, 1989, Aksoy and Robins 1992, Scott 2002, Blair et al. 2001). The network-based structure in the field of creative production also provokes spatial clustering that has been illustrated for example for the fashion industry in Paris (Scott 2000) or movie production in Hollywood, California (Christopherson and Storper 1986). Often drawing from these industrial cluster theories (Bramanti and Maggiono 1997, Porter 1998) and Storpers’ and Scotts evaluation of the film industry in Hollywood (Storper and Christopherson 1987, Scott 2002), various paths of research investigate agglomeration benefits in the creative sectors (Bassett et al. 2002, Barbosa 2003, Cook and Pandit 2004, Aage and Belussi 2008) or for creative labour (Lloyd 2004, Markusen et al. 2004, Neff et al. 2005, Kloosterman 2006). Those advantages are, amongst others, thick labour pools, shared facilities, and inspires innovation and creativity (Marshall 1920, Drake 2003, Schoales 2007). These clustering approaches are also strongly linked to concepts of embeddedness (Polanyi 1967, Granovetter 1983, Wenger 1998, Lambooy 1998) and path-dependency (Mahoney 2000).

The first contributions to spatial clustering originated in research on industrial sectors in the early 20th century undertaken from Marshall (1920). He outlined the phenomenon of processes such as firm linkages or spillover effects due to a ‘special air’ in geographical proximity. Since this time, however, changes occurred in agglomeration factors which have been illustrated by Phelps and Ozawa (2003) from the industrial to post-industrial era. The shifts related to:

- geographic scale from town with suburbs to global city-regions,
- sectoral occupation from agriculture and manufacturing to services,
- mode of production and the division of labour from division of labour to capital intensification and transformation of services,
- intra-regional structure from hierarchically organised monocentric structures to polycentric structures that have a more complementary organisation (Musterd et al. 2007).
These shifts are strongly connected to new conditions for businesses like new information technology, the process of globalisation and new forms of organisation (Castells and Hall 1992). This gave rise to re-think the geography of businesses. Especially in economic geography, authors re-defined the role of 'locally embedded socio-institutional contexts of economic agglomeration' which has lead to a renaissance of locational theories in the tradition of von Thunen or Christaller\textsuperscript{14} (Martin 1999 388).

Contemporary approaches in cluster theory have an interdisciplinary character (Capello 1999, Gordon and McCann 2000, Lavanga 2003, Cook and Pandit 2004). Cordon and McCann (2000) show that cluster theories draw on a wide spectrum of sources for ideas. Moreover, they underline that disciplines like regional economics, business/management and sociology/geography have created their own theories about clusters. They also named those clusters differently so that there exists a wide range of terminology around clusters such as

- industrial districts, new industrial spaces, territorial production complex,
- neo-Marshallian nodes, regional innovation milieus, network regions,
- learning regions (Sunley and Martin, 2003 9)

In economics and economic geography there have been several research directions that nonetheless centre on ideas that there exist agglomeration benefits due to spatial closeness and cultural contexts such as shares rules, conventions and place-based knowledge. These 'cluster approaches' describe the spatial and socio-economic behaviour of businesses in specific sectors that are settled in a distinct region or neighbourhood because of various factors to increase productivity, innovation and entry effects. There were developed models that base upon different sectoral assumptions and examples like international competitiveness in manufacturing (Porter), post-fordist organisational structures in cultural and manufacturing industries in California (Californian school), sets of indicators that lead to innovative milieus of knowledge economies in distinct regions (Gremi Group). These theorists have contributed major works to

\textsuperscript{14} For example CHRISTALLER, W 1933 Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland Eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmaßigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischer Funktion, Jena.
understand locational benefits as well as economic and cultural processes due to spatial clustering of businesses.

One of the major contributions stem from Porter that elaborates agglomeration benefits of industries that form a 'industrial cluster' (Porter 1998, 2000). According to Porter (2000), contemporary economy faces the challenges of economic globalisation that enlarges competition towards an international scale. Hence, the competitive advantage of co-location lies:

outside companies and even outside their industries, residing instead in the locations in which their business units are based (Porter 2000, 16)

Consequently, economic success lies in clusters, defined by Porter as

geographically proximate group of inter-connected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalities and complementarities (Porter 2000:254)

This neo-marshallian concept is based on a comparative study on international competitiveness (Martin and Sunley 2003). There Porter (1998) states that the success of international trading firms is based on their competitiveness with other firms in their branch. This set of firms is linked together in various forms of connectivity. Furthermore, Porter underlines the importance of geographical proximity. The local environment encourages appropriate forms of investment and sustained upgrading. These arguments result in the idea of the 'competitive diamond' that are the interactions of a set of four factors (Porter 2000). First, the vertical dimension includes the presence of capable locally-based suppliers and competitive related industries. The competition among rivals in the cluster describes the second, horizontal dimension. The third factors make the input conditions, which include local labour, capital and natural resources, as well as physical, administrative, information and technological infrastructures. Finally, the local demand offers another factor that influences a local economic cluster. By focusing on export-based businesses he argues that geographical clustering provides competitive advantage for non-clustered businesses due to these linkages and the local environment.
One of the critiques offered by Sunley and Martin (2003) on Porter's theory is its fuzziness and superficiality. It also lacks a useful definition of cluster, because Porter does not give any hint to what is meant by 'geographical proximity'.

Another critique argues that Porter's clusters must have an export-based economy for being successful and therefore he stresses the importance of 'competitiveness' (Krugman 1998).

In addition to that, there is no real explanation about the density and nature relationships of the participants in the cluster. Bathelt (2005) argues there is no explanation of the internal mechanisms which are responsible for the spatial relations and boundaries of clusters. He argues that the existence of economies of scale and other kinds of traded interdependencies is simply not enough to understand the process behind spatial clustering.

This local environment of clustered businesses is more specific researched by the French research group Groupe de Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs (GREMI group) that argues that proximity of a sector can create an 'innovative milieu' that leads to new innovations due to knowledge transfers and collective learning processes in these clusters (Bramanti and Maggiono 1997).

The GREMI group describes clusters not as group or businesses, but a 'complex' including intertwined territorial production systems, technical cultures and protagonist, which is capable of initiating a synergetic process (Maillat 1991). The approach focuses on small and medium sized enterprises and develops the concept of innovate milieu. It is based on a set of relationships which centre around trust, reputation and a common culture that develops spontaneously within a given geographical area and generates a localized dynamic process of learning.

Labour in clusters share the same work ethic and a common will to cooperate (Maillat 1998 119).

This social connotation allows them to exchange knowledge and information, intentionally or unintentionally, within an open environment with reduces risk factors. Such an environment is important for uncodified or tacit knowledge that must be exchanged between individuals, not business entities (Bergman and
The concept of tacit knowledge refers to a knowledge which is not codified and hard to share with someone else, which is the opposite from the concept of explicit knowledge (Polanyi 1967). Tacit knowledge consists often of beliefs, opinions, sensibilities, styles of doing things, and lore that are often expressed in stories and anecdotes (Preece 2003). This social process where participants that possess codified or tacit knowledge and competencies accumulate knowledge to coordinate their actions in search for problem solutions can be understood as knowledge creation or collective learning (Bathelt et al 2004, Capello 1999). This collective learning has different aims dependent by sectors. Industrial production is more interested in technological solutions, business management in organisational improvements and creative industries in new cultural forms, tastes or lifestyles. But, whatever their aims are, these learning processes result in a socialised growth of knowledge.

The Californian School of economic geography focuses more on the relationship between technical innovation and location in 'new industrial spaces' (Saxenian 1981, Christopherson and Storper 1986, Storper and Christopherson 1987, Storper and Scott 1988, Storper 1993, Molotch 1996, Storper and Venables 2004). They argue that within cities, groups of professions and sectors seek geographical proximity. Scott and Stroper (1988) suggest the example of the movie production in Los Angeles provides clear evidence of spatial concentration in the cultural field. They argue that cluster benefits occur due to the organisational structure of the sector. Furthermore, Scott (2004) outlined that cultural economies in urban agglomerations are similar to new economies as it is composed of swarms of small producers complemented by many fewer numbers of large establishments (Scott 2004 466).

Referring to the Hollywood movie production he outlines the importance of individuals and small businesses with their specialised skills and creativity. Complementary companies are embedded in a 'netting' that forms a 'contractual and transactional model of production' (Scott 2004). This refers to the works of Christopherson and Storper (1989) in the late 1980s, which described the

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15 For detailed definitions see DAMPNEY, C., BUSCH, P. & RICHARDS, D. 2002 The Meaning of Tacit Knowledge. AJJS
transformation of the motion picture studio system of Hollywood into a vertically-disintegrated production complex. By outsourcing production elements from major studio houses, competitiveness, uncertainty and instability arose. Hence, geographical closeness provides a dense labour pool, possibility for face-to-face meetings, and sharing of facilities. These clusters form a complex network of workers within firms, which are linked together. Scott (1999) states that the presence of skilled labour and institutional infrastructure forms a special 'milieu' in a specific place. The creative economy is marked by its dense inter-firm transactions. Consequently, Scott (1999) provides a detailed description of the milieu of cultural economy in cities by showcasing movie production in Los Angeles and fashion in Paris. These creative clusters emerge in many cities with different horizontal and vertical forms of production. The structure of this sector shows small producers embedded in global distribution networks which tend to be dominated by a handful of large cultural and media conglomerates (Bassett et al 2002). Scott (1997) suggests there are five main technological-organisational production elements for creative industries:

1. Skilled labour and advanced, flexible computer technologies
2. Network of small and medium sized firms
3. Multifaceted industrial complexes
4. External economies
5. Institutional infrastructure

This results in creative clusters which emerge in many cities with different horizontal and vertical ranges of production. The structure of this sector shows small producers embedded in global distribution networks which tend to be dominated by a handful of large cultural and media conglomerates (Bassett et al 2002).

Moreover, Storper and Venables (2004) offer an deep insight in the importance of face-to-face contacts. They are not working specifically on clusters but their approach of identifying the main keys for coordination of the economy help to understand what makes a cluster work. In that context, three main issues influence localisation of businesses. First, backward and forward linkages to firms...
are highly localised and dependent on face-to-face contacts to make deals or adjust relationships. Second, a localised, flexible labour market serves the increasing demand of specialised workers. Third, localised interactions promote technological innovation. Proximity without face-to-face contacts does not allow this to happen. Consequently, they connect face-to-face contacts with geographical proximity and explain the stimulation of a ‘local buzz’. Local buzz is the term for the combined effects of:

- a highly efficient technology of communication;
- a means of overcoming coordination and incentive problems in uncertain environments;
- a key element of the socialisation that in turn allows people to be candidates for memberships of ‘in-groups’ and to stay in such groups;
- and a direct source of psychological motivation (Storper and Venables 2004: 365).

Co-location increases these effects. Buzz cities are being identified as they provide cross-fertilisation between sectoral networks. The advantage of co-location lies in the low costs and more effective way for new ideas and talent to make their way into existing activities.

In addition, Bathelt et al. (2004) developed a knowledge and learning centred model of clustering. They used the local buzz concept and combine it with global ‘pipelines’ to create a model of cluster competitiveness. The process of institution building is shaped and stimulated by existing communication practices, the quality of local buzz and the formation of communities (Bathelt 2005). This redresses omissions in Porter’s theories by explaining the advantages for the firms. Moreover, their aim is to explain why firms can gain competitive advantages by being co-located in a cluster with many other firms and organisations which are involved in similar and related types of economic activity. They stress the importance of distinguishing between the horizontal and vertical dimensions of cluster. The horizontal dimension is connected to Porters rivalry thesis and the advantages of proximity arise from continuous monitoring and comparing (Bathelt, 2005). The vertical view alludes to related and supporting services that provide the specialised needs for firms in these clusters. Such suppliers can gain economics of scale and distribute large parts of their
production at low costs, in locating close to these markets. Therefore, the model makes four main statements (Bathelt et al. 2004).

1. Local buzz consists of multilayered information and communication (information flows, gossip and news). This communication influences the vitality of a cluster because it develops common values and practice.

2. 'Pipelines' between members of other clusters stimulate the local buzz. They benefit from knowledge-enhancing relations. There appear new clusters with new approaches and innovation and in terms of competitiveness it is useful to bound to them. This in turn will spill over to other locally-based firms. The model provides the hypothesis that the more developed the pipelines are, the higher the quality of local business benefiting all firms in the cluster.

3. The intrinsic trade-off between a too much inward-looking knowledge and a too much outward-looking organizational structure constrains their competitiveness.

4. Consequently, there are limits to the number of pipelines that an individual firm can manage simultaneously.

The model of Bathelt et al. is designed for industrial agglomerations. Next to these main contributors exists a vast literature on specific characteristics of these clusters in the context of creativity (Drake 2003), tacit knowledge (O'Connor 2004), and social capital (Staber 2007). Following these approaches, many empirical studies emerged to showcase the cluster phenomena in creative and service industries such as advertising (Grabher, 2001), film production in Bristol (Bassett et al. 2002), computing services in the UK (Fingleton et al. 2003), financial services in London (Taylor et al. 2003), film post-production in London (Cook and Pandit 2004), music production (Negus, 1992, Hesmondhalgh, 1996, Martin, 2006), and visual arts sector (Mommaas, 2004, Kim, 2007).

As noted earlier, creative industries have a certain way of organizing themselves. There are sophisticated skills required by a set of various different professionals. This has been widely examined for the case of the film industry (Storper and

One conflicting argument here is given by Markusen who argues that cluster benefits are overrated and at an intraregional scale, especially cultural businesses and institutions such as in the field of performing or visual arts can be found at a dispersal pattern. Furthermore, she argues that due to neighbourhood activities, cultural hotspots emerge all over a region with her example of Minnesota (US). There might occur some small clustering tendencies but there remains a non-clustered pattern in urban agglomerations. The differences in these arguments lie in the structure of sectors. While businesses such as industrial manufacturing or movie production are strongly driven by private companies, the urban cultural sectors such as performing arts is marked by public institutions, private initiatives or small private businesses. In other words, in cultural field here needs to be divided into the core cultural production and cultural industries.

Another counter-argument deals with linkages between businesses due to proximity. Kloosterman (2006) outlines in his study on architectural practices the lack of inter-firm collaborations although geographical closeness. Kloosterman relates this to the ‘autarchic and soloists’ approach of the professional architect. The creative product of a design is marked by the creativity by one architectural practice and therefore needs to be individual, authentic and recognisable. Sharing information or techniques might lead to blurred concepts which cannot be related to one distinct architect or firm, although Kloosterman found ‘bridges’ to institutions and labour pools. These bridges are relationships between architects and colleagues that are generally loose in character.
This leads to a shift in recent years from sectoral studies (Porter, 1999, Scott 2000) to an occupational approach (Neff et al 2005, Markusen 2006, Kloosterman 2006) focused on creative industries (Markusen et al 2008).

This new regionalism described earlier outlines notions of local milieu, embeddedness and networks by stressing local interdependencies. This includes tacit knowledge based on face to face exchange, embedded routines, habits and norms, local conventions of communication and interaction, reciprocity and trust based. As a result of “doing business” in postmodern structures economies seek geographical proximity due to cluster advantages such as dense labour pool, institutional thickness, and collective learning processes (Marshall, 1920, Maillat, 1991, Storper, 1993, Porter, 1998, Wenger, 1998, Capello, 1999, Boschma and Kloosterman, 2005). This geographical clustering of businesses provides cluster benefits such as shared labour and facilities, linkages and knowledge transfer that leads to competition advantages and new innovation.

Cultural embeddedness means different aspects within an economic environment which are driven by norms and behaviour of society or different groups. One example for culture in economies is the way how creative industries organise their work of form of a network structure. The second form of economic-culture relationship is that economic activities are contextualised and culturally embedded. In other words, this means “situating the economy in a cultural context, in a placed culture” (Crang 1997). This can be seen as a development of trust and networking, educated workforce, manager style, small income differences, social inclusion, local knowledge and more (Sayer 2001, Simonsen 2001). Zukin and DiMaggio (1994) suggest economic behaviour is ‘culturally’ embedded when (1) the economic strategies and goals are shaped by a shared collective understanding, (2) Structural embeddedness is the contextualization of economic exchange in ongoing patterns of interpersonal relations; (3) political embeddedness means the struggle for power (of economic actors and nonmarket institutions like state and social classes) in economic institutions and decisions.

The earlier described cluster concepts provide explanations for processes that occur between businesses that are located in the same area. In summary, the
following economic factors provoke clustering. First, businesses of the same field are often linked together. Industrial firms in spatial clusters are interlinked through a network of suppliers, service and customer relations (Porter 1998). Next to these economic exist non-economic linkages which centre around trust, reputation and a common or shared culture (Callegati and Grandi 2004) Social networks provide a system of trust and reputation that rules activities in economies such as deal making (Granovetter 1983) These linkages are best performed by face-to-face contacts to ensure trust, screening and socialising as well as motivation (Storper and Venables 2004). Third, within clusters there exists a thick market for specialised labour. These are characterised by high mobility and the ability to attract labour from outside the cluster. Local labour built up their competencies in clusters and accordingly possess the specialised knowledge that is need for companies (Scott 1997). This constant exchange of labour creates a dynamic efficiency that also attracts labour from outside (Marshall 1920) In many academic works, culture has been studied within the context of the skills and attitudes of place- and/or region-specific pools of labour and with entrepreneurial inclination of receptiveness to new ideas, this influencing the success or failure or regions in (inter)national competition (Simmons 2001:44)

Another concept is ‘communities of practice’ that describes the situated learning processes. A community of practice is a group of people who come together to learn from each other by sharing knowledge and experiences about the activities in which they are engaged (Wenger 1998).

Social networks are described by Granovetter as ‘densely-knit clumps’ which include connections of an individual to close friends (strong ties) and acquaintances (weak ties) (Granovetter 1983:202) The argument here is that weak ties are more important to the development of individual and society than strong ties. The communicational approach in sociological theory shows that social systems lacking in weak ties will be fragmented and incoherent so that new ideas spread slowly, scientific endeavours will be handicapped and subgroups separated. Economy today is more and more driven by these kind of weak ties. The culturalisation of economic practice, which means the impact
of language, values and customs on economic decisions, gives evidence of the importance of personal networks and communication (Crang 1997)

In addition to these concepts emerged also a debate around hard and soft location factors for economic activity (Musterd et al. 2007). Companies and investors used to rely strongly on hard factors which include labour force, rent levels, accessibility and transport hubs, local and national tax regimes and other regulatory rules (Sassen 2001, Musterd et al. 2007). Also, it is important for the corporate environment to be present in large cities that play a role in the international city network (Beaverstock et al. 1999). Next to these 'hard' location factors, soft factors have gained importance in recent decades in terms of 'urban atmospheres' or 'social climates'. This is due to the fact the hard factors alone often do not succeed to explain locational decisions. Musterd et al. (2007:30) summarise those soft location factors as

An attractive residential environment, tolerance of alternative lifestyles and/or ethnic diversity, a lively (sub) cultural scene, the 'look and feel' and the creation of (preferably public) meeting places for business and leisure purposes.

The institutional and economic setting as well as the built environment are the framework for a cultural milieu that becomes visible in public spaces (Landry 2000, Florida 2002b). It seems that especially in the creative industries with its high demand of creative labour soft location factors become more important over the last decades. These soft factors of a region attract talented workers and become therefore important for locational decision in creative and knowledge industries (Florida 2005).
2.5.2 Cities and their neighbourhoods as foci for cultural production and consumption

Nations and cities have passed at extraordinary speed from manufacturing economy to an information economy, and from a an information economy to a cultural economy (Hall 2000 640)

Cities play a crucial role for creative industries. The creative industries can often be found highly clustered in a few selected urban regions and within it in specific urban neighbourhoods (Musterd et al 2007). The analysis of the relationship between culture and city life has a long tradition with authors like Marx (1959), Simmel (1903), Weber (1966) and Wirth (1938). They explored urbanity and its social and economic effects. In the past decades, researching the city regained a boost within the context of global city concepts (Friedman 1986, Sassen 1994) and related world city hierarchies (Knox and Taylor 1995, Beaverstock et al 1999), creativity and innovation (Hall 2000, Landry 2000), network societies (Castells 1989), and cultural changes (Zukin 1995, Florida 2002b). Many works can be related to current phenomena such as economic and cultural globalisation (Featherstone 1993, Dicken 1998), technology developments such as the internet (Castells 2001) and sociological shifts in society towards individualisation and pluralisation of lifestyles (Shields 1992, Zukin 1998, Kraetke 2001). As outlined earlier, the creative industries can be found within the urban environment. The reasons for this concentration go back to the cluster approaches outlined earlier (see section 2.3.1). This means there exists a high density of cultural institutions and creative labour that mingles to produce and consume culture that can be in form of lifestyles, or artistic expressions. Distinct areas within the city serve as creative source pool for the creative neo-bohemians (Lloyd 2004) or concentration of cultural institutions (Santagata 2002). All this means, that cities play a crucial role for creative industries.

Peter Hall (1998) explores concepts of cultural and artistic creativity in his seminal book 'Cities in Civilization' and traces the historical trajectories of several
cities which have, at particular moments of their evolution, been centres of artistic creation and vibrancy (Athens, Paris, Vienna, London etc) Hall concludes that.

No one kind of city, nor any one size of city, has a monopoly over creativity or the good life, but [. . ] the biggest and most cosmopolitan cities, for all their evident disadvantages and obvious problems, have throughout history been places that ignited the sacred flame of human intelligence and human imagination" (Hall 1998 8).

According to Hall creativity is in fact inextricably linked to specific urban milieux, yet this connection goes beyond the merely spatial, economic or cultural predispositions he retains the idea of a 'moral temperature' which allows some talent to flourish, while some other is suppressed. Hall also recognises the role of the metropolis in bringing about a certain serendipity which cannot be pinned down in a systematic way. As he puts it

people meet, people talk, people listen to each other's music and each other's words, dance each other's dances, take in each other's thoughts (Hall 1998 21)

Cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but as landscapes of consumption (Jackson and Thrift 1995, Zukin 1998, Storey 1999). While most urban consumption still involves the satisfaction of everyday needs, many new consumption spaces relate to new patterns of leisure, travel and culture, with the purchase of positional goods and services a key means by which modern urban consumers seek to manufacture 'identity' (see also section 2.1)

At the top of urban cultural hierarchy - New York, London and Paris (Sassen 2001, Scott 2000) - urban consumption intensifies competition for tourist dollars, high-price boutiques and firms, individuals and media events that have an effect on cultural innovation (Zukin 1998) Big cities serve as central hubs for the global cultural economy (Scott 2000) These key cities represent a symbiosis of place, culture and economy, thereby functioning as the bulwarks of a new cultural economy of capitalism (Henniques and Thiel 2000) The explanation for cultural concentration in urban areas lies in the variety of specialised social functions that substantially stimulate cultural experimentation and renewal Santagata (2002)
suggests that creative communities translate creativity into culture, and culture into valuable economic goods and services. These creative communities however can be split into different types and correlated with distinct locations. Mustard et al. (2007) argue that cultural creatives (such as artists, media and entertainment workers, and designers) tend to be located within the city while professional creatives (such as managers in commercial, financial and juridical services) are spread across the city and region.

Creative industries can be found in distinct neighbourhoods in the city. There can be identified different types of cultural centres, the naturally-grown artistic neighbourhoods or building (Lloyd 2004), and policy-fostered cultural districts (Santagata 2002). The reasons for settling in distinctive cities are diverse to the reasons for working in a specific neighbourhood in this city. Descriptions of artistic neighbourhoods started with the bohemian phenomena in the 19th century Paris (Hewitt 1993). The role of Montmartre that offered distinctive conditions for visual artists and writers is researched by many authors (Brown 1985, Franck and Liebow 2003). In recent years there has been a re-emergence of the debate around place and artistic production, amongst others because of the growing number of artistic neighbourhoods in cities and the higher public attention on cultural products (Zukin 1995, 1998). Economic considerations for artists to move into a distinct urban area are depended on their income. As Zukin (1995 146) states:

Writers, artists and musicians are often underemployed or work on a freelance basis.

There, she is referring to most of the artists, i.e. none celebrity artists. These mainly young artists need cheap rents for working space and an affordable quality of life (Markusen and King 2003). Lloyd's work (2004) on neo-bohemians suggests that urban neighbourhoods are becoming spaces of post-industrial production. Hence, neo-bohemian neighbourhoods make help this possible by clustering employment opportunities in areas with entertainment provision that help aspiring artists to subsidise their creative pursuits. The local ecology of neo-bohemia combines these opportunities with appropriate residential, work and display spaces, creating a platform for artistic efforts (Lloyd 2006 157).
It is argued that the social formation of urban areas influences the locational decisions of creative labour. Distinct urban quarters offer freedom to these creative communities that provide the stimulation, diversity and a richness of experiences that are the well spring of creativity (Florida 2002a, 2002b) They are marked by their richness of culture due to a mix of immigrants and highly educated citizens so that it creates a certain kind of authenticity that supports the presence of vibrant artistic networks (Ley 2003). In this context, Zukin (1998) describes urban transformation developments in the New York Soho area. Deindustrialisation released warehouses and open spaces that fit for the artistic need such as high ceilings. These rusty traces of industrial production generate an intimate environment. In addition, cafés in these areas provide the opportunity to develop ‘emotional support networks’ as well as offer ‘collaborative benefits’ (Lloyd 2004) Once, those natural grown ‘villages’ are established in cities, they undergo that transformation cycle called ‘gentrification’ (Smith 1996, Smith 2002). In the city itself, many artists are said to seek a ‘libertine lifestyle outside the capitalistic life’ (Florida 2002a: 57)

Artists, writers, political radicals and pursuers of alternative lifestyles hence tend to locate in a purposive clustering in distinct urban districts (Florida 2002a, Zukin 1995, Lloyd 2004, Solnit 2000). These areas in the global art centres are well known like the Greenwich Village in New York or the Montmartre in Paris. These communities provide the stimulation, diversity and a richness of experiences that are the well spring of creativity (Florida 2002b: 15). People from the same class with the same ideas are searching for each other. Bohemians need communication to generate new ideas. Markusen and King (2003) identified in their study three local qualities for a community to attract artists’ presence of vibrant artistic networks, climate of strong support of the arts and a good and affordable quality of life. In addition, Ley’s (2003) case study of Canadian artists offers some reasons for the choice of a specific quarter in a city cheap, intimate environment, richness of culture, highly educated citizens and authenticity. Other authors stress that the production of art needs diverse actors - the artist as well as the dealer, art magazine publishers, gallery owner, and so on (While 2003, Bourdieu 1993, Solnit 2000, Lazzeretti 2003, Plattner 1998)
CHAPTER 3 : METHODOLOGY

The thesis objectives are outlined in chapter one along with an overview of the methodology used to empirically investigate the proposal. This chapter provides further details of the methodology and fieldwork undertaken to collect data and analyses the research questions. Furthermore, this chapter will examine the approach used in this study to illuminate its central questions about the geographies of visual artists in Paris. This approach enabled exploration of cultural production in the field of visual arts within the urban environment.

One of the research impediments was to investigate how the work of visual artists is affected by their urban environment and how practices in the visual arts in Paris are provoked by spatial proximity. The primary data collection served three functions. Firstly, the collection of addresses of artist studios and their map-matching served to gain an overview of the spatiality of artists in Paris. Secondly, an online-questionnaire allowed seeing trends for locational choices, neighbourhood characteristics and art practices. Thirdly, the in-depth interviews with visual artists were undertaken to complement and personalise the data collected in the survey.

This chapter provides a detailed account of the specific research methods employed, sampling procedures, questionnaire and interview content, and data analysis techniques.
3.1 Towards a methodology to understand the geographies of visual artists

The aim of this research is to explain geographies of visual artists in Paris and focus on locational influences and network structures.

Firstly, the clustering concepts suggest that their processes can be applied to art clusters. Those processes are linkages between members of the art world, shared facilities such as ateliers, exhibition space, thick markets of specialised labour, and knowledge transfers and spillover effects. This can be connected to factors that evoke spatial clustering of the sector. The contemporary art market is driven by few international acting galleries which support few artist superstars. However, on the other side, there are many ‘locally based’ artists serving the local market. By connecting the processes and the sectoral characteristics of the arts, the research also tries to shed light into the spatial relationships of regional and international acting members of the art world that work in the same city and even in the same neighbourhood. Secondly, the art factors that evoke clustering are hypothetical. The locally-embedded art knowledge seems to be the key here. The face-to-art as well as face-to-face contacts enhances the discourse in the art. Thirdly, the urban/sociological factors such as intimate environments and social relationships help to describe the phenomena that art clusters occur mainly in very distinct neighbourhoods in world cities. Issues like gentrification, intimate environment and authenticity play an important role here.

In recent studies, these issues have been addressed in various ways (see literature included in the chapter 2). The quantitative approach uses national statistics as a secondary source, while descriptive surveys with large sample sizes are used as a primary source to locate clusters (see Porter 2000, Florida 2002b, Camors and Soulard 2005). Qualitative approaches use analytical surveys to assess explanations and processes of clusters (see Camagni and Salone 1993). The rationale of this research is based on
illustrating art clusters and their proximity related processes. Utilising both, qualitative and quantitative methods as well as data made it possible to examine in a more complementary fashion the many different facets of this complex topic (Philip 1998) The use of both types of methods offer a wider range of source data (Brewer and Hunter 1989) For this study, qualitative and quantitative approaches have been chosen to analyse the Parisian contemporary art scene In a first quantitative approach, the addresses of artists and other members of the art world have been collected. This gives evidence of geographical concentrations of art world members in the city of Paris Secondly, ethnographic observations help to get a deeper insight into practices of artists in Paris. The third stage comprises a web-based questionnaire with open and closed question among visual artists addressing locational decisions, neighbourhood characteristics, network pattern and other art related practices Figure 3.1 illustrates the methods of this approach and how they interlink.
Figure 3.1 Research methods

**INPUT**
- Addresses of studios, art galleries, auction houses, production sites
- Information gathered during stay in Paris in Newspapers, Art magazines, Flyers and at art events

**METHOD**
- Various Maps using ArcView
- Ethnography
  - Field diary, Flyers, Pictures
- Online Survey
  - Analytical survey with 40 open and closed questions
- Interviews
  - Semi-structured questionnaire

**OUTPUT**
- Observations on
  - Practices in the visual arts
  - Impression of neighbourhoods and production sites
- Qualitative and quantitative information about
  - Paris as cultural hub
  - Creative neighbourhoods
  - Production sites and processes
  - Professional Networks
- Further qualitative Information about
  - Paris as cultural hub
  - 'Artistic' neighbourhoods
  - Production sites and processes
  - Professional Networks

Source: own design
The choice of the research group is often marked by restrictions and limitations, especially when researching certain class behaviour or powerful decision-making groups (Evans 1988, Beaverstock 2003). Consequently, the decisions of gallery owners to exhibit an artist's or the way an art critic writes or talks about a piece of art are highly powerful. Hence, it is essential to determine the own position to ensure facilitation of the study and acceptance by the participants in the research. Consequently, one has to bear that in mind to interpret and analyse the artists' behaviours and statements. The research of artists in Paris has some issues to consider. Most of the cultural workers and also artists are higher educated in average than the average labour force in Europe (Bautier 2004). The educational barrier seems to be banned in general. The understanding for the research and willingness to cooperate lies in the nature of artists and their openness for new ideas, approaches and inputs. These had been experienced within the first steps of getting in touch with artists in Paris.

The access of a researcher to his group starts with the researcher itself. In order to engage with his community, the researcher needs to deal with forthrightness, reflexivity and modesty (Herbert 2000). Indeed, the existences of these characteristics of researchers that do participant observation seem to be way to success. However, there are controversies in terms of interpretation. Herbert (2000) pleads for honesty with the group to achieve trust and a higher integration. In contrast, Evans (1988) argues that sometimes 'you need to be dishonest to get honest data.' Experiences have shown that people change their behaviour due to the presence of a researcher or answer the way they think the researcher might want them to do (Miller and Glassner 2005).

These arguments deal with the researcher's decision of doing covert or overt research. The overt approach means that the community is fully aware of the researchers' focus and objectives. In contrast, the covert research integrates the researcher as a member of the group that he/she studies without their knowing that they are being observed. This way of accessing groups needs a 'cover story' that allows the researcher to engage incognito.
In my research, I have chosen to follow an overt approach as it turned out that there are not a lot of prejudices. In addition, I could not observe different behaviour due to my presence which I assume relates to my more observer position.

This relates to the field relationship in general that deals with the question of what kind of participation or observer position the researcher inhabits. The range lies between full integration into the group with acquired manners to the observer role with some inevitably interaction due to close and continual association (Herbert 2000). However, most of the studies reveal a balance of these two extremes. As mentioned before, my participation in the art world is limited as I do not work in a gallery or live in an artist house. However, I am meeting people regularly of events, discussions about art, receive invitations for private evenings or openings which allows me to attain the knowledge of people and places. I would see myself as a participating observer in contrast to observer or participant.

The question of anonymity has been tackled in this research by not publishing names of interviewees. Anonymity is the process of not disclosing the identity of a research participant, or the author of a particular view or opinion (Clark 2006 2). The anonymisation took place due to ethical reasons to protect the interviewees and the survey participants. Therefore the names of the interviewees have been replaced with abbreviations, e.g. AT1, or AD2. The brief background information about the artists however is required to understand some of their statements. The artists shown in the picture in chapter 5 have been pixelated to ensure their anonymity. Places clearly have not been made anonymous due to the research interest.

To do research in a non-Anglophone country means inevitably knowing or learning the language. There is little literature around this issue, more recently there is the work of Watson (2004) and her overview of language in geographical fieldwork. She argues, that the aim of knowing a language does not mean that you are being part of the community, but it is a step of shifting the balance of power between the researched and the researcher. Research
in Paris is inevitably connected to the French language. French has different kinds of notions in its language. The semiotic and symbolism differ sometimes from the English or German and lead then to misunderstanding. The survey was designed in French and the qualitative interviews took place in French, English or German. The translations work is done all the way in the end of the analysis and only for those sections that appear in the written document in this research. The analysis of the documents, survey and interviews has been done in their original language to avoid the loss of cultural meaning. This refers to what Heidegger describes as language is a ‘house of being’ and translation converts ideas and concepts of one house into another which can be dangerous in nature (in Watson 2004: 61).

3.2 Sampling and mapping the visual arts sector in Paris

The participants of this research have been identified via various steps. A database consisting of a large number of sources captures as many artists living in Paris as possible. The artists with email addresses were invited to take part in the online questionnaire. Out of the participating artists, seventeen were chosen for in-depth interviews.

There are aims in collecting data about the art sector in Paris. The database offers the chance to create a map and helps for a better understanding of the spatial dispersion. It forms a base for further analysis like a questionnaire-based survey. The development of the database with details on members of the contemporary visual art scene in Paris includes several steps and paths. First, I used the yellow pages to find the visual artists and art galleries. The difficulties with the yellow pages are obviously the verification of the information. Some of the data is old, not actual anymore. To avoid a non-real perspective, the research focused in a second step on specific artists’ directories. It is assumed that these are more recent because it lies in the
interests of the artists to be accessible. There exist many general artist platforms in the internet that can be filtered by city. Table 3.1 summarises these internet sources. Third, Parisian artists that are located in the same area such as Belleville, Montmartre, Anvers/Abbesses appear with common websites or associations to promote themselves. To reach a high standard of representativeness, all existing associations of artists in arrondissements and neighbourhoods of Paris were being researched (see also chapter 5.2.5.1 on artist associations). Fourth, the catalogues of art fairs namely ‘FIAC’ 2005 and ‘Art Paris’ 2005/06, and the venues of vernissages of contemporary artists helped to identify these galleries that deal with contemporary arts in Paris. Fifth, art journalists could be found from art magazines namely Connoisseurs des Arts, Beaux Arts Magazine, and L’Oeil. Last, art professors were identified due to the lists of the Parisian art schools and universities.

Table 3.1 Internet sources of the Parisian art sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Webpage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.pagesjaunes.fr">www.pagesjaunes.fr</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.paris-art.com">www.paris-art.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.cnap.fr">www.cnap.fr</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.artparis.fr">www.artparis.fr</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.artcite.com/ile_de_france/artistes/pans.htm">www.artcite.com/ile_de_france/artistes/pans.htm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.annuwebart.com">www.annuwebart.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.absoluearts.com">www.absoluearts.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.franceantiq.fr">www.franceantiq.fr</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.pagesblanches.fr">www.pagesblanches.fr</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some actors of the contemporary art world missing such as collectors and curators. Firstly, it seems to be very difficult to locate or even to identify contemporary art collectors. There are no lists and many collectors do not want to appear in public. There are some ways like going through auction selling list or being introduced by gallery owners or artists. However, this seems to be very difficult. Secondly, there are only a few museums curators in the sample.

The selection process for the interviews took place on the basis of definitions for visual artists. Frey and Pommerehne (1989) offer eight criteria to define...
artists, although there are three that are used more than others: the amount on time spent on artistic work, the amount of income derived from that work, and membership of a professional artists’ group. Shaw (2004) argues that the other five criteria, such as recognition and quality of work are more subjective and much harder to apply. Although the criteria are not undisputed, the first three will be the primary criteria for the selection of the interview partners.

Figure 3.2 Database of the art sector in Paris

Source: own design
3.3 Ethnography in the art world of Paris

Ethnography explores the everyday lives of communities, their habits and related places. It offers an inside view into common practices through (participant) observation. There exist various interpretations of ethnographic intention such as internalisation of beliefs, fears of hopes (Fettersman 1998), to unearth meaning structures of daily life (Herbert 2000) or to reconstruct empathic knowledge of social phenomena (Evans 1988). They all have in common the attempt of the researcher to achieve knowledge of the lived relation of people and place.

Behaviour is researched in its natural settings which allows the researcher to ascribe meaning to situations and events (McNeill 1990). Participant observation is a method to get the same perspective as the researched group is experiencing it. Especially for geographers, ethnography is a way of looking at how people use place, how they engage with it and how distinct places shape behavioural forms. This research method suggests a high importance of the researcher self. It is not a figure or statistic that provides knowledge about social actions but the researcher that acts as a tool. One main critique on ethnography is that this method is too subjective and laborious (Evans 1988). It depends on the researcher’s background, their cognitive ability to perceive spaces and its way of getting the ‘data’ down to paper. But this is also the strength of that method as its open and experimental form enables new forms of looking at spaces. Another perceived disadvantage of ethnography is its unreliability and the difficulty to generalise results (McNeill 1990, Herbert 2000). Herbert suggests four ways to avoid this critique choosing a site that can stand for other cases, comparative analysis, combining qualitative and quantitative methods, using ethnography to improve upon existing theory (2000 558). Last, a more practical disadvantage is that ethnography is time-consuming and expensive (McNeill 1990). The researcher has to move to the field for a long-term period and most of the time he/she orientates the private social life to the research.
This methodological approach stands not alone in this research project. It is part of a mixed method comprising qualitative interviews and a survey. Here, ethnography provides qualitative information on meaning structures of behaviour of members of the art world and the environment of locally based art processes.

The manner of how ethnography is conducted varies with each researcher and group. However, some general issues influence each research namely choice of research group, access, field relationships, and recording data.

There exists different ways of entering a group: formal (lessons, workshops) and informal (tips, jokes, brief chats) (Laurier 2003). These aspects seem important for researchers that are not involved in the group or community before. Consequently, there was no need to enter the group or get to know gatekeepers. In my case, I was always interested in art especially in Paris and I have visited exhibitions before I started this research project. However, I was not 'in the loop' of the Parisian visual art scene. So I had to find ways to access this art scene. There are debates, art fairs, or openings but in the end the researcher has to carry out brief chats to gain attention from members of the visual art scene. The following part assesses positive and negative experiences of accessing the Parisian art scenes.

In my experience, first informal chats with some teasing information about my research gained attention. The gallery owners at the FIAC art fair were quite interested when they heard about my research on the spatiality of the art sector. It turned out, that there are some PhD students in the art world, but most of them are art historians. Potential respondents regarded my research 'refreshing' as my questions are not the issues that they are normally dealing with or sometimes they have not even thought about. There, I am referring to questions around their networks or the explanations for their locational choice in Paris.

Another aspect that eased access to members of the visual art world is the fact that most of them have a broad understanding of academic research. First, many artists consider themselves as researchers and besides the
autodidacts many graduated at art schools. Second, the political members of
the art world are highly educated. In France, 51% of cultural workers hold a
university degree and this shows the general trend of higher skilled
employees in the cultural sector compared to a nation's total (Bautier 2004).
This same level of intellectual formation of both researcher and member of
the art world enables a common ground.

Another means of entering a community is the use of gatekeepers. I started
a kind of friendship with an artist. This helped me to get to know other artists.
In addition, after an email contact with the Centre Pompidou, the employee
with British nationality invited me to join him to the openings in the Marais.
I guess his friendliness comes from the fact that I am a researcher at a
British University.

As mentioned earlier, some groups are not easy to access, e.g., they make
powerful decisions. They hesitate to be researched because they do not
want to have recorded their decision processes. In the arts, the decisions are
highly sensitive mostly because the processes and transactions are marked
by trust and risk and involve huge amount of money. However, in order to
access this group, the researcher has to build trust. In my research this had
been achieved by convincing knowledge about the main issues of art
conversations, the continuous appearance on art events and the
recommendation by other members of the group.

In the Arts, the main issues of conversations revolve around actual events,
exhibitions or artists and in relation to other artists, and so forth. To obtain a
certain level of art knowledge, I followed two paths. Firstly, I started to
observe French and Parisian newspapers, art magazines as well as specific
art news websites in terms of events, openings, reviews on artists, and so
forth.16 Due to this continuous pursuit between September 2005 and June
2006, I was able to identify key galleries (see Map 1) and artists, actual
debates, and events. In the Parisian visual art scene, some key debates
seemed to emerge in Winter 2005/6.

16 Particularly useful were articles in the Beaux Arts magazine, Le Monde and the website Pans-Art (www.pans-art.com)
- The new generation of young gallery owners in Paris associated with the art fair FIAC (Foire International d’Art Contemporain);
- The hyperbole around the Miami Basel Art Fair in December 2005,
- The change of the art directors in the Palais du Tokyo accompanied by the huge exhibition ‘Notre Histoire’ with art works of young contemporary French artist.

Next to these major topics, it was useful not just to know about actual exhibitions but also visiting them (Fondation Cartier, Ron Mueck, Grand Palais, Klimt, ‘Melancholie’, etc.).

Secondly, I had to learn art history focussing on the 20th century in order to judge these debates and to ooze a deeper knowledge in conversations with members of the arts. I started to read on art movements and art theories, visited the permanent exhibition of the Centre Pompidou and attended a lecture in ‘modern and contemporary art history’ at the national art school (Ecole des Beaux Arts, ENSBA) In addition, I attended

- artist meetings such as Antoni Muntadas (18 11 2005, ENSBA),
- debates such as ‘Marche de l’art’ (06 01 2006, ENSBA) and ‘La grande mutation des musées en Europe’ (17 01 2006/21 02 2006, Cité Universitaire)

The knowledge acquired through these meetings allowed me to set current pieces of art or exhibitions into historic art context as it turned out that interviewees asked my opinion and wanted to check my art knowledge I had the feeling, the more I convinced about my knowledge in art, the more they trusted me However, I needed to be very diplomatic in my judgement as they themselves have very strong opinions and my aims were not to argue with them about art/criticism

In order to be more accepted, I also started to dress ‘typical arty’ with mainly black clothes with some coloured highlights This kind of dress code helps me to assimilate physically to the community
The data in this research project were collected in field notes, photographs, video tapes, maps and event documents. The field notes were mainly written in the evenings with field observations, attempts to make sense of these and feelings in relations to fieldwork. Figure 3.3 shows a sample of field diary notes taken after the visit at the art fair FIAC.

Figure 3.3 Field diary notes from visit at Art Fair FIAC

Due to the fact that I am German, doing ethnography in France and writing my thesis for a British university, language became sometimes a challenge. For example, the field notes are written in a mix of three languages depending on the people I interviewed, or talked to. Figure 3.3 is written in German, however, in the end, I need to translate all important issues into English. Additionally, it proved to be very useful to discuss my observation with native French to be able to differentiate behaviour that is ‘French’ in nature or art sector specific, although I have good knowledge on French culture.
3.4 Web-based survey among visual artists

After mapping the artists and ethnographically observing the contemporary art sector in Paris, the next phase of the research focused on collecting data with an web-based survey. The fact that there are so many artists in Paris offers the possibility to run a survey. The aim is to get a broad overview of their networks and to identify possible test persons for the qualitative interviews.

Analytical surveys provide information on explanations and causality and therefore more frequently adopted by academic researchers (Parfitt 2005: 80) The analytical questionnaire was designed with 46 closed questions substantiated with a number of semi-closed and open questions. The data primarily considers classification and behaviour, but the attitudes and beliefs of contemporary visual art members, their networks, and their Parisian environment are also explored. The initial questions asked for information on profession, employment status/income source, and age, while the second section contained questions concerning the economic, artistic and urban characteristics of their work and/or living space (see Box 3.1 and Appendix 1).

The use of a survey as a method to research geographies of visual artists has strengths and weaknesses. This research comprises more than thousand potential respondents. In order to cope with such a large population, a web-based survey is relatively inexpensive and manageable. In addition, the standardised questions make measurement more precise by enforcing uniform definitions upon the participants. However, the methodology needs to develop questions general enough to be minimally appropriate for all respondents, possibly missing what is most appropriate to many respondents. Here, the online questionnaire may help, because of the possibility to skip questions, etc.
Box 3.1 Data of survey

**Topics of the Questionnaire**

- Professional details of respondent: profession, employment, success, international/regional reputation
- Locational choice
  - Reason for moving to Paris? Reason for staying in Paris?
  - Advantages and disadvantages of Paris/neighbourhood for job?
- Urban body of neighbourhood,
  - How does the neighbourhood influence the choice of location?
  - Why in this distinct area? Art area – why?
- Economic processes in art cluster
  - Contacts/ Where do they meet? What kind of communication?
  - Importance of F2F contacts
  - Importance of Vernissages

Source: own design

The sample selection is described in section 3.2. More detailed, the main focus lies on individuals namely artists. There are several characteristics of the chosen population. First, all individuals are located within the boundaries of the city of Paris. Second, Table 3.2 illustrates considerations of temporal boundaries of the survey that are related to the fieldwork period. It shows advantages and disadvantages of conducting times (mid or end of stay in Paris).

Table 3.2 Temporal boundaries of the survey on visual art actors in Paris

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>March 2006 (mid of field work)</th>
<th>June 2006 (end of field work)</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire is finished, do not think, that they change much,</td>
<td>‘Paris Art’ art fair is taken place on 16th-20th March, respondents too busy,</td>
<td>Higher response rate because of trust (more people know me),</td>
<td>Have to review results in Lboro, cannot ask unclear questions in Paris,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation for the researcher for further work,</td>
<td>Could probably find more potential respondents,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results are new input for qualitative questions,</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own design

85
The survey was conducted with a web-based questionnaire that was administered at the internet platform 2ask.net\(^\text{17}\). The website offers a web-based tool to design online-questionnaires, an automatic generated email dispatch, conducting online questionnaires and getting the results automatically coded in computer readable format. The strengths of this medium are cost-savings, faster transmission time, easy use of pre-letters, higher response rate, more candid responses. However, Barnbeau et al. (2005) raised also some basic ethical issues for email surveys. First, the samples are limited to respondents with access to internet. The research could face problems in term of a representative sample. I argue that the art world is highly virtual connected and most of the members of the art world use the internet professionally. Because of the international art market exist strong ties between art city clusters to communicate and sell art. First, artists use internet platforms as a channel for distribution, some experiment with digital art and most communicate via email or blogs\(^\text{18}\). Second, gallery owners are also very present in the internet. Nearly every Parisian contemporary art gallery has its own website. By virtue of that, I assume that the art scene is very well represented in the internet and furthermore an email survey could be seen as representative. Second critique is the challenge of external validity of the study because of the uncertainty of the respondent’s identity. There could be the case that the email account is commonly used. Third, it is difficult to guarantee anonymity which subsequently lowers the level of confidentiality. An electronic email includes always the respondents’ email address and there the researcher has to assure the confidentiality. In addition, Parfitt (2005 101) warns against reduced response rates due to ‘the enormous growth of unwanted junk e-mail (spam) and justifiable suspicion of viruses in unsolicited e-mails’.

Figure 3 4 shows the stages of the web-based survey. The Pre-test included twenty participating artists to evaluate the design of the questionnaire. For the online-survey, 1133 artists were invited via email to take part at the

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17 See www.2ask.net
survey and between 24th April and 12th July 2006, approximately 500 visited the survey webpage and 225 artists completed the questionnaire. That is a good response rate of 20%. The data has been analysed statistically, and qualitatively. Due to the length of the questionnaire, some artists have not answered all questions. This explains why in the analysis in chapter 5 the sample size varies.

*Figure 3 4 Steps for the web-based survey*
3.5 Semi-structured interviews with visual artists

Interviews have proven to be a valuable research method for geographers. They allow questions to be asked about factors affecting economic or social processes and the experiences of interviewees to be expressed and included in subsequent analysis. It is a valuable research method for exploring data on understandings, attitudes, what people remember doing, opinions, and feelings (Asksey and Knight 1999). The interview can explore diverse qualities and meanings of the respondent's experience (Gubrium and Holstein 2001). Some interviews aim to gather descriptive data, more typical with many structured or semi-structured interviews, whereas other interviews seek to generate data which probe deeper into the lives of the interviewees. It is usually possible to identify an interview's form as structured, semi-structured or open-ended. In this study, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with visual artists and art dealers. Semi-structured interviewing is more flexible than standardised methods. Although there have been some established general topics for investigation, this method allows for the exploration of emergent themes and ideas rather than relying only on concepts and questions defined in advance of the interview. There was a standardised interview schedule with set questions which were asked of all respondents from each category, artist or art dealer (see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3). The questions were mainly asked in a similar order and format to make a form of comparison between answers possible. However, there was also scope for pursuing and probing for novel, relevant information, through additional questions. There have been impromptu questions in order to follow up leads that emerge during the interview. Usually the interviewer's role is engaged and encouraging but not personally involved. These boundaries were blurring however and sometimes reciprocal engagement or disclosure from the interviewer took place in order to encourage the interviewee further.
The interviews took place most of the times in the studio of the artist, sometimes in Parisian cafés close to their studio. There occurred some challenges within the interviews. Some sensitive moments arose within the interviews because of the nature of some questions. The more established artists did not want to talk about their networks. The names of collectors were always kept secretly and just a few revealed their representing gallery. However, this is quite interesting because many of these artists appear in the internet with gallery details and so forth. Another problematic issue is the comments on geographical scales. It has proven to be extremely difficult to judge about what scale the interviewee was talking. For example, the definition of neighbourhood was often not clear and I had to re-check with the interviewees their understanding of neighbourhood.

Additionally, at the interviews there emerged three types of ‘technical’ problems. First, two interviewees did not allow me to record the meeting. Then, I tried to write notes, but I realised that it is really difficult because of the time-consuming writing procedure. Second, it was nearly impossible to transcribe some of the interviews that took place in cafés due to the loud background noise. Third, the interviews took place in three languages namely French, English or German. However, very often the interview was conducted in a language mix because of notions of words in different languages or understanding problems.

The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. The text interviews were then coded (see Figure 3.5) and used in the triangulation process. The coding followed different steps. In a first coding, general topics per interviewee have been labelled. Throughout the process of this open coding, more and more codes occurred. In a second step, I categorised the codes in codes and related sub-codes and went again though the transcripts to have all interviewees coded with all available codes. This re-reading of data makes also a first selection of the data which involved the interpretation of the data. In a next step, the coded segments have been systematically explored to generate meaning. Sometimes categories could be built, for example, the answers to the reasons why artists are in their neighbourhood.
These then would be compared to the answers in the questionnaire to verify its results. Other codes have been used to add a qualitative value to some questions of the online survey questionnaire. Finally, the codes were cross-referenced (see chapter 5) to identify correlations between codes and their frequency. This was possible because interview transcripts were sometimes coded multiple times. Finally, the selection of interview quotes took place in different ways depending on the context. Some quotes are used to give a deeper insight into one of the online survey’s questions, other display questions of the online survey questionnaire. Finally, the codes were cross-deeper insight into one of the online survey’s questions, other display questions of the online survey questionnaire. Finally, the codes have been used to add a qualitative value to some

Figure 3.5 Interview Analysis with Qualitative Data Program

Source: own design visualised with Max.QDA2
In summary, the methodology of this research is a complex set of tools to elaborate the geographies of visual artists in Paris. The address database allows an accurate mapping of artists and the visual art sector in Paris. Additionally, the online-survey with 225 participating artists show trends about their profession, locational choices and network structures. Next to these quantitative approaches, ethnographic observation and in-depth interviews with artists and art dealers have been undertaken to obtain knowledge about processes in the arts and their meaning.
CHAPTER 4: PARIS AS A CENTRE FOR VISUAL ARTS

First half of this chapter introduces the visual arts and its relationship with Paris. Within the last three decades, the visual arts have undergone some major transformation, such as the diversification of professions in the art market, the emergence of new technologies, a boost in money, and a shift of functions of art institutions (Smiers 2003). These recent developments in the contemporary visual arts are discussed in the context of globalisation processes that have influenced the sector considerably. As one result, the art market has become more globalised, and this in turn has increased the importance of global art cities (While 2003). Hence, chapter 4.1 closes with an exploration of the global geographies of the visual arts market that will be linked to approaches in global cities research (Beaverstock et al. 1999, Sassen 2001).

This Chapter characterises Paris as a global player in the visual arts. Famously called 'the Capital of the 19th century' by Walter Benjamin, Paris was the place to be for bohemians, including poets, sculptors, musicians, and visual artists since the second half of the 18th century. Therefore, an analysis of the historical developments as well as the locations of the bohemian lifestyle, from studio to dancing bar, will set the ground for understanding the geography of the visual arts in Paris today. In 2009, the contemporary visual arts comprises an impressive range of actors at various locations in Paris. An overview of these actors in the Parisian contemporary visual arts will show the richness and diversity of the sector and pave the way for the empirical analysis in chapter 5.
4.1 Global contemporary art cities

This section elaborates on the global dimension of the art sector by identifying art cities in relation to world cities and outlining their characteristics. The social practices of art and recent developments of the art sector provoke a distinct geography of contemporary visual arts. This part of this chapter deals, exclusively, with the approach of mapping art cities on a global scale, showing evidence for the effects of the social art practice and recent developments within the art sector on the geography of artistic activities. The analysis will identify the major art cities on a global scale and offer an overview of art sector's institutional structure.

Manuel Castells states that these times are marked by new information technology, the process of globalisation and new forms of organisation (Castells and Hall 1992). This leads the world into a network society in an informational age. The contemporary art world is part of that informational system that affected global economy and culture. The role of contemporary art in society today is next to the status more and more a financial investment. However, due to mass culture, the fine arts compete with emerging other cultural products and art experts counteracts with new forms of events. Consequently, the way contemporary arts are produced, traded and sold has changed into a common process between actors in the art world that requires dense networks. These networks form global netting with nodes in specific art cities. Paris is one of these art cities with a high concentration of contemporary art galleries, artists and owns with the Centre Pompidou one of the most important art museums in the world. However, the Parisian art scene is in crises. The biggest French contemporary art fair FIAC (Fore International d'Art Contemporain) is overshadowed by the London Frieze, the French art patron Francois Pinault gives a home to his mega collection outside France in Venice and young French artists appear in large numbers in the New York art scene.

The innovation or better creativity process is about expressing values and symbols. So one can argue that a piece of art is always a way of solving the
problem of displaying new ideas. The motivation for this ideas stem from interaction and exchange with actors that offer new sources of knowledge (Bathelt et al. 2004). Likewise, Bathelt et al. describe the knowledge creation in and across firms and with such growth of knowledge, new economic activities become possible. The art world has a long tradition I argue that the art market in its pure aim has not changed over years. General condition may have changed, but there is still the chain of creation, displaying, selling, revaluing, value adding, etc. like centuries ago. The production of knowledge does not add any new activity to it. However, it cannot be denied that the art market is a growing economic sector. Consequently, there must be a production of knowledge in the general condition around art that generates that growth. This new knowledge could be expressed for example through new art movement, museum styles or selling markets. The general conditions are reflected in the changed businesses, itself a reflection of economic globalisation.

The international art market is concentrated in the major western countries. In 1998, 99% of international trade in visual arts goods was between twenty-eight countries and 90% of the exports in this exchange was from just six countries, namely the US, the UK, Switzerland, Germany, France and Canada (Ramsdale 2000). Alain Quemin (Lefort, 2001) argues that

In art as in many other fields, there is obviously a gulf between a 'centre' made up of only a few countries that are themselves ranked in a very rigid hierarchy, and a huge 'periphery'.

The production and consumption of visual arts tends to concentrate in just a few cities within these countries. While (2003) claims that the appearance of art has been explicit in a handful of world art centres such as, New York, Paris and London, followed by second order nodes such as Los Angeles, Tokyo, Zurich, Milan and Dusseldorf. It seems as if the contemporary international art market is a purely north-western world market. There are local art scenes e.g. in Bombay but it seems that they play globally not the important role. Only few artists from these developing countries are being exhibited in the western galleries in New
York, London or Paris. This seems to be biased by what counts as popular art and by lacking visibility of African, Asian and South American contemporary artists. The geographically biased promotion of contemporary art produce in Europe and USA becomes most apparent here.

Figure 4.1 displays cities in Europe and Northern America that hosted most of the major contemporary visual art exhibitions between 2002 and 2004. It identifies the major centres for contemporary art as led by New York, followed by Berlin, London, Munich and Paris.

Figure 4.1 Cities with the most exhibitions of contemporary art in Europe and North America (2002-2004)

The concentration of art in cities can be explained in three different ways, namely economic, historic and sociological reasons. The economic importance of the art sector is increasing, with art investment funds now widespread. Art is more and more recognised as a financial investment (Klammer 1996). That explains the increasing prices for art in auctions. Money is invested globally and consequently investments in art are global. Companies that are located in world cities make these global investments. In turn, art investments are also made in world cities.
Schulze (1999 120) argues in his study of international trade of art that art has two features that influence the pattern of trade. First, art is culture specific and second, its consumption produces strong hysteretic effects. Furthermore he states, the closer cultures are, the smaller the difference in the relevant consumption capital and, thus, the larger the trade in art. This cultural proximity may be a function of geographical distance, a common language, and of the past exchange of art, among other things (Schulze, 1999 210).

Schulze’s gravity model for trade in arts provides evidence that with increasing distance the trade reduces significantly. This might reflect higher transportation costs, but more likely the geographical distance mainly reflects cultural proximity. In addition, the cultural proximity is higher if the countries share a common language. These results could be an explanation for an enormous rise of monetary valuation of art in the western world. Due to globalisation, with its effects on travelling and communication technology, the cultural proximity of the USA and Europe increased (Cowen 2002, Appadurai 2002).

Another explanation follows the strength of agglomeration benefits in cultural economies. Art worlds consist of various actors and they meet in specific places (see section 2.3). They all have their common but also divergent interests so that communication often requires face-to-face contacts. Collectors, museums, galleries, art magazines and artists meet to generate and valuate art in exhibitions, auctions or articles (Becker 1982).

World cities offer a high connectivity to each other (Beaverstock et al. 1999, Taylor et al. 2002). By using their infrastructures, global transfers of money, people and consequently pieces of art are made easier. Researchers in the 1990s started to characterise cities in relation to their role for the corporate business world. The concept of global cities emerged that identified a few cities in the world that became global hubs for advanced producer services and highly skilled professional (Friedman 1986, Sassen 1994, 2001, Knox and Taylor 1995). A methodology to rank cities globally based on their importance for a certain economic sector was developed in the late 1990s by the Globalisation and World.
Cities Research Network (GaWC) at Loughborough University (Beaverstock et al 1999, Taylor et al 2002, Beaverstock et al 2000b) This world city research revealed global connectivity between cities in terms of economy action between them (Beaverstock et al 2000a) Furthermore, this research identifies different levels of connectivity as linkages between different types of offices in major cities Consequently, the ranking of cities in terms of their participation in the global economy was developed New York, London and Tokyo were the leading business centres on a global scale in 2000 (Beaverstock et al 2000a) This however, displays again a spatial concentration of western contemporary art to the Northern Hemisphere

Due to the high internationality of the art market and its concentration in global art cities, the visual art sector can also be regarded as a major one factor creating city connectivity A city participates in the art world by accommodating a significant number of actors, practices and events These actors, practices and events comprise of internationally important gallery owners, museum curators and private collectors as well as solo and group exhibitions In the context of this research, this threefold typology was used in order to measure the ‘importance’ of a city in the global art world The data on artists' connections with types of actors, practices and events was taken from a list of the ‘100 most important contemporary artists’ presented by artefact com (accessed March 2005) Based on this information, the connections of the top 30 artists were analysed Figure 4.2 displays the resulting ranking of global art cities based on the representations of the top 30 artists in 542 institutions across 159 cities

There are cities with a higher rate of exhibitions, others with an extremely high rate of local collections and other cities with a high rate of trading and representing galleries (see Table 4 1) The dominant role of the meta global art centres New York, Munich, London, Berlin, Paris and Basel becomes very clear with twice as many points in the category exhibitions than the other art centres.
Figure 4.2 Top 20 Global art cities and their connectivity to the top 30 ranked artists

Table 4.1 Classification of Global Art Cities by function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Average points per city</th>
<th>Representing galleries (%)</th>
<th>Collection (%)</th>
<th>Exhibitions (%)</th>
<th>Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Art Exhibition Cities</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
<td>Munich, Basel, Berlin, Los Angeles, Vienna, Graz, Minneapolis, Athens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Gallery Cities</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dusseldorf, Cologne, Milan, Geneva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Art Collection Cities</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Washington, Hannover, Cambridge (US), Vancouver, Frankfurt, Gent, Houston, Ottawa, Milwaukee, Toronto, Teheran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own design
The applied methodology allows for the development of a typology of global art cities that reveals a certain segmentation of the global art market. New York is the biggest market for contemporary auction in the world with a turnover of $1,322 million for some 30,000 art works in 2004 (Artprice.com Artprice 2005). As far as the fine art auctions go, London holds the top position within Europe with a market share of 26.9%, which is the second rank worldwide. Paris has also been identified as a major hub for contemporary visual art. Compared to other global art cities, Paris is ranked second in contemporary art collections; ranked third of contemporary art exhibitions and ranked seventh in galleries representing Top 30 contemporary visual artists (see Figure 4.2 based on artfact.com March 2005).

This shows the high value of collections and exhibitions for Paris. Culture in Paris is seen as a national affair where the Ministry of Culture and Communication has a large influence with its policy and large sums of public spending in the field (Dubois 1999). Due to this, the visual arts are highly funded and therefore very visible. This attracts both inhabitants and a large amount of tourists, expecting to see ‘high culture’ in Paris (Pearce 1998). That makes Paris a hub for cultural production and consumption.

It is remarkable to see the high concentration of global art markets in a few global art cities. A few art galleries have grown to reach out into the international art markets, turning into commercial firms with franchises in New York, London, Paris and Berlin— one of the most famous example being the Gagosian Gallery. Owned by art dealer Larry Gagosian, the company has three galleries in New York, two in London, and one in Beverly Hills, Rome, Athens and Hongkong19. The gallery also collaborates with galleries in other cities. An example is given by the 2009 exhibition of the artist Richard Prince, represented by Gagosian Gallery and exhibited in the Gallery Patrick Seguin in Paris.

Sites of cultural production are typically clustered in world cities and national dominant cultural nodes such as Paris, where the distinct characteristics of place are symbiotically entwined with the images of locally produced, cultural products (Bassett et al. 2002). While (2003) compares characteristics of world cities with international art centres and finds many similarities (see Table 4.2) Parallels

19 For information about the Gallery see http://www.gagosian.com/
between world city and art centre attributes are evident. The presences of the sectors most influential actors plays an important factor as well as think tank, and research centres, educational institutions and a distinct set of built environment The identified Meta global art centres have all those characteristics in common which will be outlines for the example of Paris later in this chapter.

*Table 4.2 Characteristics of world cities and international art centres*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected ‘world city’ characteristics</th>
<th>International art centre characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disproportionate number of headquarters function of world’s largest 500 TNCs</td>
<td>Home of a large number of the major transnational dealer-galleries, auction houses, art critics, art journals and contemporary art galleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth of a high-paid international elite, including a producer service class engaged in the production and export of services from world cities</td>
<td>Concentration of an influential international art elite engaged in the display, marketing, sale of art and the creation of value for contemporary art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important ideological and control functions – centre for transport, communications, production and transmission of norms, information and culture</td>
<td>Centres for the making of artistic reputation in terms of art criticism and the transmission of norms and values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centres for international investment</td>
<td>Loci for the majority of international investment in old and contemporary art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and education centres for the financial services sector</td>
<td>Centres for artistic training, connections with other cultural industries offer potential for new visual techniques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the built environment – rising property values lead to a search for non-traditional office and residential spaces, loft-living, gentrification and the re-use of undervalued districts</td>
<td>Conversion of industrial areas into centres of artistic production and consumption, loft-living and gentrification of artist quarters, artists increasingly pushed out of traditional urban production spaces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source While (2003 254)

The praised internationality of the art market seems to be superficial though Collectors might buy art from artists with different origin, but when it comes down to public support, subsidies, and funds, these are usually granted to artists from
the supporter’s country nationality (see for example Selwood 2001 on the British Cultural Sector) Art museums also show the tendency to favour local artists. One successful example for this national support for artists is the development of the Young British Artists (YBA) movement around Damien Hurst and Tracey Emin in London in the 1990s. A group of sixteen young art scholars, some not even graduated from the famous Goldsmith College, started to exhibit their art in London’s docklands (Cook 2001). London’s art galleries did not show much interest in these efforts but one man did. London’s advertising magnate and art collector Charles Saatchi started not only collecting the works but also promoted these artists that he labelled ‘Young British Artists’ (Jardine 1997, Hatton and Walker 2000). Public awareness was raised through media coverage. Today, Damien Hurst is one of the most expensive artists in the contemporary art market. This shows clearly a correlation between localised support and global success (Grenfell and Hardy 2003).

This focus on national identities of artists also partly explains the recent boost in Russian and Chinese artists. The rise of Russian and Chinese economies in past decades stimulated the interest of local businessmen in art. Being associated with art brands businesses as sophisticated and culturally interested contemporaries, thus raising their social statuses within the global business elite. The political and economic collapse of the Eastern bloc states in the late 1980s reopened this market towards the west and post socialist artists emerged in the art scene. This development explains also the re-emergence of Berlin on the art map. It is a hub for eastern art and a new exciting place for the western art nomads. Berlin is considered as the place to be for contemporary artists in the early 21st century (Cramerotti 2006). Its edgy neighbourhoods, cheap rents and cultural offering in the city provide stimulus for artists from all over the world (Grésillon 2004).

Global art cities are hubs for artistic production and consumption. They form local art clusters that are connected to the internationalisation of the art sector and the communication-based art production. First, the internationalisation of the art world is provoking spatial clustering. Artists, but also gallery owners, face a global competition with other artworks and cultural products. Accordingly, one
effect is the branding of a regional distinctiveness and its related art scene National identity or being a member of a distinct art scene can be seen as a competitive advantage. This spatial identity branding plays an important role in the art market and can be seen as ‘marketing tool’ which is meant to convince customers that a group of artists share a common style (Benhamou-Huet 2005). For example, the ‘Britishness’ of the Young British Artists Movement which emerged in the late 1980s, is also seen as a niche of market ploy designed to make a product appeal both, to a domestic public and to segment of the global market’ (While 2003 259). Locally-based knowledge agents such as internationally connected curators and gallery owners bring their supported artist to the market by stressing his or her regional identity. Almost every exhibition catalogue and description of an artist notes the place where the artist lives or works. Secondly, the contemporary visual art world tends towards a complex structure due to the discourse of art. In communication-based productions of art made by screening, interpretation, validation, recognition, and recommendation, two kinds of contacts are very important face-to-face and face-to-art contacts. The term ‘face-to-art’ contact is newly introduced here for this research which means the physical contemplation of a piece of art by an member of the art world. It is used in close relation to the concept of face-to-face contacts provided by Storper and Venables (2004). The role of face-to-face and face-to-art contacts for visual artists in Paris as one of the major global hubs of the art world will be examined in chapter 5.
4.2 Historic trajectory of Bohemians and Avant-garde in Paris

The visual arts represent one important sector in the complex landscape of Parisian creative industries. Creative industries are highly recognised by policy makers and economists as they are considered as a new source for employment and revenue (Scott 2000). Paris has been identified as one the major hubs for visual art in general, and the contemporary visual arts in particular (see Section 4.1). The relationship between Paris and the visual arts has a long tradition. Therefore, this section presents a chronological outline of the significant role of visual arts in Parisian history with focus on the period 1860 - 1990.

During the period between the 17th century and the early part of the 20th century, the structure of the Parisian art industry was hierarchical, much as the general society at the time. At its head stood three socially prestigious institutions, enjoying major political and economic support from the state. These were the Académie des Beaux-Arts, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the annual exhibition known as the 'Salon' (Blake and Frascina 1993).

In the Renaissance period, appeared in France ‘academies’, institutions and learned societies which monitor, foster, critique and protect French cultural productions. These academies were very institutional and focused their existence around criticism and analysis of art and cultural production in general. In the fifteenth century, these art institutes started to organise literary gatherings known as “Salons”, which were more focused on pleasurable discourse in society (Harrison and White 1993). The most prestigious Salon took place in Paris in the Salon carré of the Louvre under Louis VI. The “Académie de peinture et sculpture” organised Salons, where only Académie artists were exhibited.

After the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, great changes took place in the arts in France. The academic system continued to produce artists, but although the hierarchy of genres, comprising of painting landscape, portrait, and still life, continued to be respected officially (Clark 1999), some artists explored new and increasingly impressionist styles of painting with thick brushwork. The strict rules...
of the academies were being transformed through new forms of expression and art movement by the second half of the 19th century.

During the period from 1860 to 1925, Paris witnessed the development of eleven major art movements and artist groups (Table 4.3), producing the most significant arts in modern times. These movements reflected the economic, social and political changes that were happening in France in the late 19th century. Walter Benjamin called Paris "the capital of the 19th century" as a unique set of variables influenced Paris (Benjamin 1969). Paris became the capital of modernity with its radical urban restructuring and embodiment of a modern entertainment and consumer society (Harvey 2003). Baron Haussmann (1809-1891) contributed largely to this change by renovating the city at a large scale. The transformation of the city created broad boulevards and corresponding axes throughout the city by evicting poorer people and knocking down their neighbourhoods (Marchand 1993). Faster traffic, modern pavements and passages were all part of Haussmannisation aimed at creating a cleaner, modern living and working city in the late 19th century where the bourgeoisie could indulge in window shopping and variety shows. Haussmann's renovations and new rules for businesses had their limits at the boundaries of the city of Paris. The other side of Paris, known to be the more colourful side at this time, became visible in Montmartre, the suburb of Paris and around Montparnasse, where windmills, cabarets, and a café culture emerged (Harvey 2003).

Along with these urban and social transformations during the period between late 19th century and beginning 20th century came changes in the art world. In the 19th century, the Salon system frequently incited criticism from artists for the bland or academic quality of the artwork, while radical artists like Edouard Manet would not be received or would be greatly censured by the art critics at the time (Vincent 2007). The Salon system thus forced radical and modern artists to seek alternatives for exhibition sites until the Salon system had been totally overtaken by modern artists in 1884 (Rewald 1946).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Art movement</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Artists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impressionism</td>
<td>1860s-1890s</td>
<td>Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Alfred Sisley, Pierre-Auguste Renoir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incoherents</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Jules Levy, Émile Cohl, Édouard Manet, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Richard Wagner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Impressionism</td>
<td>1890s-1920s</td>
<td>Georges Seurat, Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Rousseau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Modernist Sculptors</td>
<td>1870-1890</td>
<td>Aristide Maillol, Auguste Rodin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauvism</td>
<td>1905-1908</td>
<td>Henri Matisse, Maurice de Vlaminck, André Derain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubism</td>
<td>1907-1914</td>
<td>Georges Braque, Pablo Picasso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphism</td>
<td>1912-1914</td>
<td>Robert Delaunay, Sonia Delaunay, Jacques Villon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dada</td>
<td>1921-1924</td>
<td>Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia, Jean (Hans) Arp,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrealism</td>
<td>1920s</td>
<td>André Breton, Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró, Marcel Duchamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole de Paris</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Constantin Brancusi, Raoul Dufy, Amedeo Modigliani, Marc Chagall, Chaim Soutine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tachisme</td>
<td>1940s-1950s</td>
<td>Jean Dubuffet, Pierre Soulages, Nicholas de Staël, Hans Hartung, Serge Poliakoff, Georges Mathieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situationists International</td>
<td>1957-1968</td>
<td>Guy Debord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluxus</td>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>Robert Filliou, Ben Vautier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouveau Realisme</td>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>Raymond Haïns, Arman, Yves Klein, Jean Tinguely, César, Niki de Saint Phalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figuration Libre</td>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>Rémi Blanchard, François Boisrond, Robert Combas, Hervé Di Rosa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source collected via various sources*
Cabarets, arcades, and private galleries emerged as alternative spaces for artistic recognition that opposed the academic Salon system. Supported by wider social trends towards anarchism and the mixing of classes, the radicalisation of art and artistic movements and a willingness to shock generated a particular vibrancy in Paris at the time (Seigel 1999) The new modernity unfolded in various avant-garde movements, starting with the works of the poet Baudelaire and finally reaching its climax in the Café Voltaire of the Dadaists and in surrealism (see Table 4.3) For Habermas

Aesthetic modernity is characterised by attitudes which find a common focus in a changed consciousness of time This time consciousness expresses itself through metaphors of the vanguard and the avant-garde (Habermas 1993:8)

The notion of avant-garde designates people and works that are experimental and innovative, particularly with respect to art, culture, and politics (Poggiolo 1962, Burger 1974) The term avant-garde implies a pushing of the boundaries of what is accepted as the norm or the status quo, primarily in the cultural realm The beginning of avant-gardeism can be seen in modern Paris (Ward 1996), however, it had its heights certainly after the 1920s, when the Frankfurt school and others conceptualised the role of avant-garde in relation to kitsch and mass culture (Greenberg 1939, Adorno and Horkheimer 1977) A considerable amount of research has been done on the various avant-garde art movements in France Blake and Frascina (1993) elucidate the art movements as practices of art in modernity, others scrutinise the art movement of Impressionism (Charney 1998, Geschiere and Rowlands 1996, Gluck 2000), or give an overview of the whole range of different movements (Hamilton 1981, Brettell 1999)

The aim of this section is to understand some characteristics of the artists living in modern Paris at the time as this period considerably shaped the city's reputation as an important centre of the arts This discussion will be based on the concept of Bohemians that capture the typical lifestyles of artists across the new art movements developing from the 1860s to the 1920s Bohemianism is explicated as the untraditional lifestyles of marginalised and impoverished artists, writers, musicians and actors in major European cities (Gluck 2000)
Bohemianism emerged in France in the 1800s when artists and creators began to concentrate in lower-rent, lower class neighbourhoods (Wilson 2002) The bohemians, or informal Bohos, live and act with no regard for conventional rules or behaviour. The definition of bohemians mostly refers to be the opposite of what is describes as the bourgeoisie. Wilson however states that the attempt to define bohemians is complex and frustrating. He suggests that Bohemia...is a way of life encompassing certain forms of behaviour and particular set of attitudes towards the practice of art (Wilson 2002 6) The complexity and attractiveness of the concept is reflected in a substantial amount of literature published on bohemianism (Murger 1851, Ransome 1907, Brown 1985, Hewitt 1993, Wilson 1998, Seigel 1999, Gluck 2000, Wilson 2002, Franck and Liebow 2003, Bradshaw and Holbrook 2007). Among the most compelling accounts are Seigel’s (1999) historical synthesis of nineteenth-century bohemianism and Brown’s (1985) more literary account on the popular roots of bohemianism. Brown describes Bohemianism as a product of bourgeois modernity opposing social order Murger’s Scènes de la vie de bohème represented a series of amusing vignettes about artistic life in the Latin Quarter in Paris that was published between 1845 and 1849 (Murger 1851) However, Murger also analyses the true bohemian as a successful professional and artistic entrepreneur who had learned to create publicity for his/her products and to negotiate the cultural marketplace for the own advantage. According to Murger, Bohemia is not a permanent way of life but rather it is a period of apprenticeship, a transitional phase in the young artist’s life that, like any business venture, could lead to financial success and social recognition but also to ruin and bankrupt Another witness of this time in Paris is Walter Benjamin who observed that the true significance of the bohemian lie within the tensions of capitalism, which radicalised the modern artist and transformed him into a cultural commodity bought and sold in the marketplace (Benjamin 1977) Wilson (1999 12) adds to this the paradox of creative freedom and market dictation of bohemian identity
The bohemian identity was forged from this perceived mismatch between creative ability and the market. The Romantic Movement elevated the Artist to the status of Genius who believed in the sacred nature of his calling, while society merely required him to produce saleable products. This contributed to the widening division between ‘High Art’ and ‘Mass Culture’, and the bohemian was in the front line of the culture wars between the philistines and the enlightened.

Pierre Bourdieu also stressed the role of the capitalist marketplace in the emergence of bohemia, however, he also argued that the bohemian found a modus vivendi with capitalism by creating an independent intellectual field and becoming a pioneer of aesthetic autonomy or l'art pour l'art in the modern world (Bourdieu 1996). Authors such as Wilson also focus on issues such as Bohemian Love, by arguing that the bohemian ideologies of love continue to influence us today. They even form a hidden undercurrent (Wilson 1998) based on the roots of Bohemian culture (Gluck 2000, Grana 1990). So, what kind of people are these bohemians? The bourgeois writer Balzac (Balzac 1897) has described bohemia as a ‘country of youth’, rather than a guilt of artistic professions.

All the most talented and promising young people lived in this era, those in their twenties who had not yet made their names but who were destined eventually to lead their nation as diplomats, writers, administrators, soldiers, journalists, artists. In fact all kind of ability, of talent are represented there. It is a microcosm.

Although they might have been geniuses and intellectuals, the designation ‘bohemains’ located them in a twilight zone between ingenuity and criminality (Seigel 1999). Bohemian places are associated with affordable housing and acceptance of unconventional behaviour. Several cities and neighbourhoods such as Montmartre or Montparnasse in Paris, Greenwich Village in New York, Soho in London have come to be associated with bohemians in the last two centuries. Bohemian culture was essentially urban with a celebrated café culture and popular performing arts (Gluck 2000).
During the late 19th to mid 20th century, France and more explicitly Paris has been fully recognised with its contribution to art history and its monopolistic position in the art world (Lefort 2001). Bohemians in Paris are strongly associated with the impressionists group. Artists such as Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Edgar Degas belonged to the impressionists group of artists. The Impressionist revolution took place in a Parisian art world where the institutional apparatus—the Academic system—was collapsing. In the context of a related struggle about acceptable art, the term ‘impressionists’ itself was first used by a critic as a derogatory remark about Monet’s painting ‘Impression soleil levant’ from 1873 and similar new works that heavily violated the rules set by the academies (Rewald 1946). A free market took over to launch innovative artists and movements, on a more flexible and also much riskier basis of open competition involving dealers, critics, painters, and buyers (Menger 2002). This was also the time when the consensus among advanced artists and critics was that the avant-garde work of art should radically challenge their faith in the very possibility of rational discourse. This argument is based on the assumption that the shared discursive systems (linguistic, visual, etc.) on which we rely for our knowledge of the world are dangerously abstract and violently objectifying (Kester 2004). This shows a shift in the discourse about what is valued in the arts (see also chapter 2.3 about the ones in art sociology).

Against this background, Wilson (2002) considers Paris as a ‘dream world’ for Bohemians. The city had been an epicentre for luxury trades and the arts since medieval times. In Paris, enactment of continual carnivals, concerts and dances boasted many more theatres in the region than in London but for a population half the size (Harvey 2003). However, this had also its dark side with crime and crooked neighbourhoods. Within special districts, the bohemians congregated in particular places such as bookshops, galleries, restaurants and private salons. The most common meeting place, however, has been the café or bar. The café has been the material location of bohemia. The Fleur de Pans is one of those cafés that was frequented often by all kinds of intellectuals in the 1880s (Rewald 1946). Another example is the ‘Zut’ in Montmartre, where Pablo Picasso and his
Spanish friends frequently hanged out between the period of 1902 and 1904. Franck and Liebow (2003: 32) described the Zut as,

Tavern on the rue Ravignn where all the anarchists of the Butte came to drink. It had three connecting rooms, each more sinister than the one before. ( . ) The bar was open to all the poor and rejected citizens of the city ( ) Outside, the streets was full of prostitutes, petty thieves, deserters, rival gangs with their knives out, looking for a fight, fraudsters, stamp forgers the usual flora and fauna of the neighbourhood.

In contrast to these neighbourhoods, gallery owners were situated in different quarters of Paris. In the early period of the 20th century, one of the famous gallery owners, Vollard, was successfully trading the Post-impressionists. The gallery of Vollard became one of the landmarks of the modern art world, which was located on the rue Laffitte, in the heart of the art dealers' neighbourhood in Paris. Artists such as Bernheim and Durand-Ruel were established at this gallery who traded before the impressionists. During this period, Matisse, Rouault, Picasso and many other young artists often spent their time in these spots, observing the works of their predecessors (Franck and Liebow 2003). In general, during this period of time the art world was being transformed. The traditional conditions of display, distribution, and interpretation challenged artists groups. These artist groups had to circulate their own work outside of the prevailing art system. Paintings, often anticipate and respond to their own conditions of display and use, and in the case of the neo-impressionists the artists' relations to market forces and exhibition spaces had a decisive impact on their art (Ward 1996).

Also, new freedoms for the press made artistic vanguardism possible while at the same time affecting the content of painting. Ward (1996) provides a nuanced account of the neo-impressionists' engagements with anarchism, and traces the gradual undermining of any strong correlation between artistic allegiance and political direction in the art world of the 1890s.

Additionally, Americans play an influential factor in the development of visual arts in Paris in the 1920s. During the period between 1921 and 1924, the number of Americans in Paris swelled from 6,000 to 30,000. While most of the artists in
Paris struggled to make their living, well-off American socialites such as Peggy Guggenheim from New York and Beatrice Wood from San Francisco were moving to Paris to indulge in creative arts (Hewitt 1993) A whole new area of magazines and journals started as a result

During the mid 19th century, the Bohemia was located in the Latin Quarter of Paris, i.e. on the Left Bank of the Seine River (Sutcliffe 1995) Subsequently, Montmartre and Montparnasse have emerged as the centres of bohemian lifestyle Since Haussmann re-structured brutally the face of urban Paris, its poorer citizens where marginalised to the edges of the city in villages such as Clichy or Montmartre (Marchand 1993) Franck and Liebow (2003·3) depict the importance of Montparnasse and Montmartre for modern art as follows

As the century began, Montmartre and Montparnasse faced each other from afar two hills which would be the birthplaces of the world's yesterday and today Two shores of Haussmann's river, by constructing his buildings and avenues for the solid bourgeois class, the illustrious city planner pushed the troublesome white proletarian population to the city's outskirts an old method for conserving the centre

On the right bank was the Bateau Levoir, on the left, the smoke-filled evenings of the Close des Lilas Between the two flowed the Seine, and the entire history of modern art

Montmartre was positioned outside the city limits in the 1880s Montmartre was free of high Parisian city taxes, and traditionally local nuns made inexpensive wine, so that the hill quickly became a popular socialising space (Weisberg 2001). During the end of the 19th century, Montmartre became the centre of entertainment with popular cabarets and performances of artists, and singers such as the the bar Chat Noir or the cabaret Moulin Rouge

The Montmartre avant-garde was comprised of painters, from impressionists to Cubists, iconoclastic movements from the Incohérents to Dada, musicians, such as Debussy and Satie, and writers, as diverse as Jarry and Apollinaire between 1880 and 1930 Meaning artists with all kinds of creative skills gathered here

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During the middle part of the 18th century, artists such as Johan Jongkind and Camille Pissarro came to inhabit in Montmartre. Places for entertainment were for example the bar at an old windmill *Moulin de la Galette*. The bar had a drinking and dancing room and became also a famous motive for local artists. Renoir painted a dance event in the picture ‘Bal au Moulin de la Galette’ (1976) just like Toulouse-Lautrec, Pablo Picasso, Van Gogh and Utrillo (1922) (see Figure 4.3).
Figure 4.3 Montmartre between 1860 and 1930 in paintings

- Le Moulin de la Galette, Van Gogh
- Bal ou Moulin de la Galette, Renoir (1886)
- Le Bateau Lavoir c. 1904
From 1881 to 1897, Le Chat Noir was a cabaret run by the artist Rodolphe Salis. It is described as an artist salon, where the owner most often played, with exaggerated and ironic politeness, the role of the conférencier (Donnay 1926). During this period, the cabaret also published its own journal Le Chat Noir. It was here that the Salon des Arts Incohérents started their quest to dispute about art and displayed deliberately irrational and iconoclastic works of art, such as the famous Mona Lisa with the smoking pipe by Sapeck (1883).

Pablo Picasso, Amedeo Modigliani, and other impoverished artists lived and worked in a commune, a building called Le Bateau-Lavoir during the years 1904–1909. Le Bateau-Lavoir was a dingy block of buildings situated at 13 Rue Ravignan.

Seigel (1999) writes about art and life of skilled artists in Montmartre, and illustrates that Bohemia was an object of both worry and fascination to workaday Parisians in the nineteenth century. Watson (1992 75) explicates the role of Montmartre in this era as a place
to which writers, actors, dancers, artists, dealers, collectors and intellectuals of all kinds flocked in this period transformed the city, both physically and socially, to become the first truly modern metropolis.

It was the 'place to be' for artists from all over the world with a built environment shaped by centuries (Hall 1998).

The second important artistic neighbourhood in the age of modernism was Montparnasse. While Montmartre started to attract tourists, Montparnasse was unknown and provided a unique combination of higher learning and night-life (Hall 1998). These two areas were well connected through the bohemians. Hall depicts bohemians of this time as a networked society:

Since the artists were concentrated geographically in Montmartre and Montparnasse, since they interchanged between these centres, since they spent so much time in the cafés and the cabarets, since they lived and worked together on the river, this was clearly a highly connected society (Hall 1998 234).
From 1910 to 1939, when World War II started, Paris' artistic circles migrated to Montparnasse, an alternative to the Montmartre district which had been the intellectual breeding ground for the previous generation of artists. Montparnasse was a community where creativity was embraced with all its varieties.

Artists like Soutine, and Modigliani, Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse migrated to Montparnasse. The cafés and bars of Montparnasse were a meeting place where creative debates and edgy performances were daily routine of the artists' life. The cafés at the centre of Montparnasse's night-life were in the Carrefour Vavin (later renamed to Place Pablo-Picasso).

In the decade 1910-1920, the cafés Le Dôme, La Closene des Lilas, and La Rotonde, were the places where starving artists could occupy a table all evening for little money. If they fell asleep, the waiters were instructed not to wake them (Wayne 2002). Arguments were common, some fuelled by intellect, others by alcohol, and if there were fights, and there often were, the police were never summoned. If you could not pay your bill, people such as La Rotonde's proprietor, Victor Libion, would often accept a drawing, holding it as ransom until the artist could pay (Wayne 2002).

Since that time, many of those once bohemian communities were transformed by gentrification processes through which commercialisation overtook the conventions of bohemianism (see chapter 5.2.1 on gentrification processes in Parisian neighbourhoods). The neighbourhoods have also been taken over by tourists who come along for bohemian atmosphere, which in turn drives away artistic regulars. Arthur Ransome (1907) observed this change of meaning already in the beginning of the twentieth century when he compared a more authentic London to a fashionable Paris:

> the latin quarter is so well advertised that men waiting about the principal streets, offering themselves as guides to bohemia

While the area attracted people who came to live and work in the creative, bohemian environment, it also became home for political exiles such as Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky.
However, World War II forced the dispersal of the artistic society, and after the war Montparnasse never regained its splendour. The post-war period is considered to be an 'American era' where most artists' movements such as Pop art started from the United States and more specifically in New York (Guilbaut 1985, Crane 1989, Wheeler 1991, Watson 1992). The leadership in artistic innovation had shifted towards the US, which was recognised even by Paris Critics, curators and art historians were following this trend and started to focus on New York as the new 'centre of modernism' (Stokstad 2005). Post-war artists in Paris also started to orient their focus on the trends coming from over the Atlantic Ocean, as the major market was clearly in the United States. This chapter has thus described the particularly vibrant era of modernism during which Paris was the global hub for new artistic movements. The analysis has shown that bohemian artists in Paris started a new way of dealing with art by changing accepted artistic styles, transforming the entire art system and shaping the reputation of Paris as an important centre of the arts. The geographical centres of Parisian Bohemianism in the late 19th and early 20th century were Montmartre and Montparnasse. Chapter 5 will examine to what extent these two Parisian neighbourhoods continue to play a significant role for visual artists up until today.
4.3 Spaces of cultural production in Paris

This final section of chapter 4 is devoted to exploring Paris' contemporary role as a global arts centre. It outlines the major spaces of cultural production in today's Paris.

Paris has been identified as a major hub for art in the world and consequently forms a lighthouse in French arts as well. Artistic activities show a very high level of spatial concentration in a few locations or even in one dominant city in each country. It is remarkable that even in the presence of the active decentralization of cultural public policy in France since the 1960s, the concentration of artists and art professionals does not decline. During the 1980s, the population of artists and professionals involved in cultural production expanded rather rapidly in France (+55% between 1982 and 1991), but the share of artists living and working in Paris and Ile-de-France also increased from 45.8% to 54.1% (Menger 1993). The Parisian art sector is highly concentrated within the traditional intra-mural area of Paris (i.e. within the contemporary peripherique motorway). Therefore, this will be the focus area of this section.

The exploration of the world of art in Paris will draw upon While's characteristics of global art cities (2003). While's identified a crucial set of players in the arts that have to be present in an art city (Table 4.4). The presences of the sectors most influential art dealers plays an important factor as well as art centres, art schools, and a distinct set of built environment. Hence, the following section introduces the contemporary art world of Paris.
### Characteristics of Global Art Cities

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<th>Characteristics of Global Art Cities</th>
<th>Visual arts in Paris</th>
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| Home of a large number of the major transnational dealer-galleries, auction houses, art critics, art journals and contemporary art galleries | - Large amount of Galleries, including transnational dealers (see Figure 4.4)  
- major auction houses like Sothebys and Christies in the 8th Arrondissement,  
- renowned art journals like Beaux-Arts Magazine, Major art sections in daily newspaper like ‘Le Monde’ |
| Concentration of an influential international art elite engaged in the display, marketing, sale of art and the creation of value for contemporary art | - Super art collector Francois Pinault (Collection worth $1.4 Billion)  
- High concentration of art experts and dealers mainly in 8th and 9th Arrondissement |
| Centres for the making of artistic reputation in terms of art criticism and the transmission of norms and values | - Contemporary art museums Palais Tokyo, Centre Pompidou, Palais Jeu de Pomme  
- Private Contemporary art foundations. e.g. Fondation Cartier, Maison Rouge  
- Art engagement of City of Paris |
| Loci for the majority of international investment in old and contemporary art | - Museums Louvre, Musee d’Orsay  
- Reknowned Auction houses  
- Art neighbourhood St Germain-de-Pres  
- International Art Fair FIAC, PARIS ART |
| Centres for artistic training, connections with other cultural industries offer potential for new visual techniques | - Ecole National Superieur des Beaux-Arts, Atelier de Sèvres, Ecole du Louvre, other art schools  
- CentQuatre, Palais Tokyo, Artist houses, Artist squats |
| Conversion of industrial areas into centres of artistic production and consumption, loft-living and gentrification of artist quarters, artists increasingly pushed out of traditional urban production spaces | - Neighbourhoods Belleville, Marais |

Source: adapted from While (2003)
These elements seem to be vital for the global art scene. As seen in the literature (Section 2.3) the production of art can be interpreted as a collective action between various players in the contemporary art world (Becker 1982, Dickie 1998). The contemporary visual art sector in Paris is highly diverse, and offers many possibilities for all sorts of art (Table 4.4). In Paris, there is a considerable number of galleries in a dense proximity to each other in some quarters. There are also various privately run exhibition spaces which are dedicated to the contemporary visual arts. Contemporary visual art museums are not only regarded as exhibition spaces but also as production spaces as they are working closely with all kinds of artists. The educational institutions form another part of the visual arts scene in Paris. Art schools allow students to access the art scene consisting of degree shows and other events. All these elements of the Parisian art scene have their function within the art world of Paris. This chapter introduces function and practices of these institutions in Paris in relation to their artists.
Visual arts in Paris

- Museum
- Art Consultant / Expert
- Gallery

Source: own design

Figure 4.4 Art Galleries, Museums and Art Experts in Paris
Art galleries are situated across Paris (Figure 4.4). However, contemporary art galleries are highly geographically concentrated in some Parisian neighbourhoods. Depending on their specialisation, galleries seek geographical proximity in order to offer collectors and art buyers the possibility to visit more exhibitions in one go.

The geographies of contemporary visual art galleries are marked by spatial clustering and locational moves. The contemporary art gallery scene seems to change its location in the rhythm of decades. In the 1990s, around fifteen of the major contemporary art galleries located in Rive Gauche moved outside the traditional art core of Paris into the post-industrialised and multicultural edges that are, however, still *intra-muros*. The *rue Louise Weiss* is one of the famous examples of a cluster of gallery spaces in an revitalised urban environment (Figure 4.5). The streets' modern buildings are shared by three contemporary art galleries and departments of the French Ministry of Economy, Finance and Industry. The *rue Louise Weiss* is close to the Quai de Bercy, one of the Parisian post-industrial spaces including the new national library. Financial incentives such as cheap rent and subsidies for neighbourhood rehabilitation are the main reasons for these moves into different neighbourhoods. Furthermore, Sausset and Leydier (2005) argue that outlying districts possess an aura appropriate for representing emerging artists. The quarter Tolbiac in the 13th arrondissement accommodates the artist’s house ‘Les Frigos’, a former plant for ice production that has been transformed into ateliers for artists on five floors in the early 1980s (see chapter 5.2.4). However, a lack of visitors and the expiration of subsidies for rents have lead to what Sausset and Leydier (2005) call the “post Louise Weiss generation” of galleries.
After the re-location of galleries outside core Paris, many of the art galleries moved back to a new spot in Marais which is roughly between Square du Temple and Metro station St. Sebastien Froissart. In 2004 (i.e. fifteen years later than the relocation period), more than eighty art galleries moved to the Marais where around forty five are specialised in contemporary visual art (Figure 4.6). International acting galleries, such as the Austrian galleries Thaddeus Ropac or Emmanuel Perrotin are close to local actors and create a new buzz of contemporary art in the core of Paris (Sausset and Leydier 2005).
Figure 4.6 Contemporary art galleries in the Marais in Paris

1. Galerie Daniel Templon
2. Galerie Zürcher
3. Galerie Éric Dupont
4. Galerie Chantal Crousel
5. Galerie Pierre Levy
6. Galerie Dominique Flait
7. Galerie Karsten Greve
8. Galerie Thaddaeus Ropac
9. Galerie Ghislaine Husseenot
10. Galerie Anne De Villepoix
11. Galerie Jean Brolly
12. Galerie Lahumiére
13. Galerie Alain Margaron
14. Galerie Pascal Gabert
15. Galerie Corinne Caminade
16. Galerie Samuel
17. Galerie Jacques Elbaz
18. Galerie Polaris
19. Galerie Eva Hober
20. Galerie Anne Barrault
21. Galerie Chez Valentin
22. Galerie Marian Goodman
23. Galerie Thessa Herold
24. Galerie Michel Rein
25. Galerie Maria Lund
26. Galerie Emmanuel Perrotin
27. Cent8
28. Galerie Meyer Le Bihan
29. Galerie Xippas
30. Galerie Yvon Lambert
31. Galerie Troisième Oeil
32. Galerie Carole Brimaud
33. Galerie Véronique Smaghe
34. Galerie Alain Biondel
35. Galerie Rachlin Lemarie Beaubourg
36. Galerie du Centre
37. Galerie Gana Beaubourg
38. Galerie Vieille du Temple
39. Galerie Baudoin Lebon (G.B.L.)
40. Galerie Patricia Dorfmann
41. Galerie Gabrielle Maubrie
42. Galerie Nathalie Obadia
43. Galerie de France

Source: own design
Also, Belleville has emerged as a new gallery space in the north-east of Paris with galleries like Gallery Jocelyn Wolff. Belleville is also famous for the innovative strategy of displaying art in public spaces such as in the case of the "Café aux lit". This venue combines the function of an art gallery with a bed and breakfast:

Contemporary art exhibition meets short-term accommodation at a new art venue in Paris. Café au lit is the name of a new concept which merges spaces for habitation and exhibition (cafeaulit.de, 20 June 2007).

This 'ap-ART-ment' (Lanyago 2006) is part of a broader network of contemporary art exhibitions sites within this neighbourhood which includes galleries, public funded sites such as "Le Plateau"20, and the exhibitions space "La vitrine" of the art college Paris-Cergy.

Although Belleville has emerged as new space for contemporary art galleries, St. Germain-de-Pres remains the traditional centre of art in Paris. Art galleries, antique shops, andarty individuals are clustering in the 6th arrondissement, branding this neighbourhood as ‘Carre Rive Gauche’. This cluster is close to museums such as the Louvre, the Musée d’Orsay and the National Art School (Ecole des Beaux Arts). These art museums in Paris are some of the most frequented in the world and are the major tourist attractions next to the Eiffel Tower. The Louvre, the Musee d’Orsay, Centre Pompidou and Palais Toykio had around 13 million visitor in 2002 (Delassus and Camors 2004). The permanent as well as temporary exhibitions of these museums attract local citizens and tourists. Palais Tokyo, Centre Pompidou and Fondation Cartier are the most well-known exhibition sites for contemporary visual arts in Paris. The Museum of Modern art and Jeu de Paume are also famous contemporary art museums in Paris. In this context is to mention the of the tourism industry in Paris. The Ile-de-France has more than 40 million tourists a year and it is the 8th place of the 10 most visited sites in the world. Within the city of Paris, the sites with more than one million annual visitors in the year 2002 are the Eiffel Tower (6.1 m), the Museum of

Centre Pompidou (6.1 m), the Louvre (5.1 m), la Villette (2.5 m), Musée d’Orsay (1.6 m), Invalides and Arc de Triomphe (both 1 m) (Delassus and Camors 2004:55).

Privately-run show rooms have also gained their reputation as spaces holding contemporary visual art exhibitions in Paris. Foundations, which are founded by companies such as the EDF and the jeweller and watch maker Cartier or private collectors like Antoine de Galbert, offer the framework for the support of contemporary visual artists. One of the major investors in contemporary visual arts, the Fondation Cartier, defines itself as a patron through its exhibitions, collections and its production of art works. The foundation, usually, has large showrooms for exhibitions of artists from all nationalities. In addition, they also organise lectures, events and publish books in relation to contemporary visual arts. Another venue to mention is the exhibition space Maison Rouge, run by Antoine de Galbert, a French art collector. Situated in the centre of Paris close to the Bastille, the Maison Rouge which opened its doors in 1992 is a venue for exhibitions and the creation of art.

The architecture of the Fondation Cartier buildings is the most distinct of all the foundations in Paris. Internationally-renowned architects such as Jean Nouvel designed the Fondation Cartier, the Museum of the Arabic World and the Museum Branly creating new contemporary spaces that became landmarks in the Parisian cityscape.

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21 The total entrances include the entrances of the museum, the exhibitions and the Public Information Library.
22 The company EDF (Electricité de France) founded the Foundation EDF to support culture in France. As part of this foundation exists the venue Espace EDF Electra since 1990, which is used for visual arts exhibitions. It is located in central Paris in the 7th Arrondissement.
Figure 4.7 Contemporary museum architecture in Paris

Musée Branly, 7th Arrondissement

Foundation Cartier, 14th Arrondissement

Artist Centre CentQuatre, 19th Arrondissement
Different actors benefit from the foundations for visual arts and culture in cities. These investments of companies increase their image by representing them as being philanthropic, generous and culturally interested. For the city, these venues increase the variety of cultural offerings and are therefore essential especially in a city like Paris whose image is mainly connected to culture and the arts.

In Paris not just galleries and museums provide a platform for displaying contemporary visual arts: the city itself becomes from time to time a show room, where public space is transformed into an exhibition. Besides permanent art works in public space, buildings and places, parks and pavements are being used to show the works of contemporary artists. One example for temporary exhibitions can be found at the fence along the Jardin du Luxembourg where large waterproof canvases are displaying mainly contemporary art photographs. Another example are projects such as 'ArcEnCielage' (literally translated: Rainbowing) initiated by the artist Sebastien Lecca as an art installation “that dresses urban trees in rainbow colours” and is displayed temporarily at the Place des Fetes, in front of the Centre Pompidou, Jardin du Luxembourg, Jardin du Tuileries just to name some \(^{23}\). The third example of public spaces that become a gallery is the place in front of the town hall of Paris as well as the building itself. It shows one example of the use of this space by one unnamed artist that displays large-sized installations (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8 Art in the Parisian public space

Art Installation "ArcEnCielage" by artist Sebastien Lecca in Jardin du Tuleries (2007)

Art installation in front of Town Hall of Paris (2006)

Source: own pictures
The use of the public places to exhibit contemporary visual art benefits all concerned parties. Local authorities support artists, and in addition, they increase the city's profile with regards to its culture and the arts. The high demanding citizens as well as the tourists enjoy the entertainment in public place through art and appreciate these exhibitions which are part of the high quality of life in Paris. Local artists benefit from the arty environment created by these public art appearances as this raises the awareness for art in the city and increases the number of potential buyers. Artists also get opportunities to see other people's works.

Art schools are facilities that allow artists to learn and master their profession. The Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts (ENSBA) is considered as the best national college for visual arts in France and located in the city centre of Paris. This school acts as an access point for young talented artists to the Parisian contemporary art scene.

In the outskirts of the city of Paris, there are only few contemporary art institutions. The MAC/VAL, located in Vitry-sur-Seine which is in the south of Paris, was the first contemporary art museum of the banlieue and it opened in 2005. Surrounded by enormous gardens, its white walls and apparently infinitely high ceilings introduce the latest emerging contemporary artists as well as presenting established names such as Gilles Barbier, Jesús Rafael Soto and Christian Boltanski.

In the northern suburbs of St Denis and Aubervilliers, there are also key art institutions. Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers is the large studio building Les Laboratoires that allows artists to play with various media including performance, visual arts, sound and video. In 2004, the works from Les Laboratoires were shown in one of central Paris's most prestigious venues for contemporary art, the Jeu de Paume.

Increasingly, these institutes that support emerging talents in the banlieues are seeing networking possibilities inside Paris, with heavyweight Palais de Tokyo being linked to all of the aforementioned groups, along with the canal-side Point Ephémère. All spaces are targets for young fine art graduates looking to share a
creative space within the city. The robust and open-armed national association Maison des Artistes provides artists with all types of benefits including subsidised studio space, tax breaks and free entry into many art institutions.

In 2008, the city of Paris opened the art centre CentQuatre in the 19th arrondissement, on the edge of the city (Figure 4 8). The CentQuatre rapidly became a bridge between the centre and the banlieues. A massive building complex that spans nearly 35,000 square metres was created with the goal of developing a dialogue between the art world and the public - to erase the division between the two - especially in the run-down area on the edge of town where it is located. The institution has launched a strong residency programme, promising a hearty stipend (€1,500 per month) to artists, who are encouraged to share their works-in-progress with the public (see paris fr).

In summary, Paris, with its strong artistic legacy that culminated in late 19th and early 20th century Bohemianism, has been identified as one of the major players in the visual arts today. Against this background, the next chapter will examine in detail the practices and spaces of visual artist in contemporary Paris.
CHAPTER 5: GEOGRAPHIES OF VISUAL ARTISTS IN PARIS

This chapter focuses on geographies of visual artists in Paris. It examines their locational choices and professional practices on the basis of a questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews. The first section introduces the artists’ major characteristics and the nature of their work, while the second part locates the artists within Paris, discusses the character of their neighbourhoods and locational choices. The third part then looks at practices of visual artists by focusing on how they occupy, reside in and use their environment. The first section of this latter part explores the crucial role of Paris’ museum-scape. The second section explains how squats and artist houses are organised and being used by professional visual artists. Artistic collaboration is being explored in the third section by outlining the various relationships with different members of the art world. The fourth section investigates networking activities of those artists. It looks specifically at the location of the professional contacts of the surveyed artists and explores one particular space of networking: the exhibition opening. The final section draws attention to geographies of Parisian artists that are outside the city. By looking at the use of the internet and artists’ travels abroad, this discussion will round up the complex geographies of visual artists in Paris.
5.1 Introducing visual artists in Paris

The profession of the artist is difficult to define and covers a broad spectrum of activities involving creating, practicing and/or demonstrating the arts. Art theorists suggest that contemporary visual art, has increasingly emphasised the artist over the work, insisting in effect that anything an artist does thereby becomes art (Becker 1982, Moulin 1986, Bourdieu 1996) UNESCO published in 1980 a definition about artists that describes the essence of this artistic profession as follows:

Artist is taken to mean any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or recreates works of art, who considers his artistic creation to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of art and culture and who is or asks to be recognised as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations of employment or association (UNESCO 1980 10).

Today, the profession of visual artist is highly diversified. Next to traditional occupations in the fine arts such as painter or sculpture, new ways of creating art have emerged. Artists experiment with new technologies, such as the Internet or video-imaging and therefore enrich the variety of cultural expression. Performance and installation artists became more popular and have been approved by the art world and the wider public. Smiers draws a very contemporary picture of visual artists by stating that:

He/She is a member of the research and development team of consumer culture, a leisure specialist, an aesthetic technician picturing and prodding the sensual expectations of would-be consumers (Smiers 2003 45).

In many senses, artistic activities escape from the classical division between time of work and time of leisure. They are lived as a totality where personal, professional and social identities cannot be distinguished. Artistic activities, like all activities where the intellectual and immaterial dimension is dominant, blur traditional classifications of space and time — to fix a place of work or a timetable.
is useless when performing a creative process. Inspiration and conception do not seem to adapt easily to a given space and timetable (Meusburger et al. 2009).

The organisational form for visual artists in the West is mainly freelance (Zukin 1995). Self-employment is today the most frequent work status in the arts. Proportions vary across national contexts and occupations, but trends show that self-employment increasingly acts as a driving force in the expansion of artistic labour markets. The careers of self-employed artists display most of the attributes of the entrepreneurial career form:

- the capacity to create valued output through the production of works for sale,
- the motivation for deep commitment and high productivity associated with occupational independence—control over one’s own work,
- a strong sense of personal achievement through the production of tangible outputs,
- the ability to set their own pace,
- a high degree of risk-taking; as shown by the highly skewed distribution, and
- high variability of earnings; as well as the low amount of time allocated on average to their primary creative activity (Menger 1999).

The steady increase in the number of artists across all art sectors from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s appears to be driven by the rapid increase of independent, self-managed work, with growing numbers of artists now to be found in the sectors where self-employed practitioners work, such as creative writing, visual arts, and the crafts (Giuffre 1999). Unlike other creative artists operating as independent freelancing workers, visual artists do not see themselves as small firms building subcontractual relations with artistic organizations. Moreover, they consider themselves on equal partner to gallery owners, curators or agents (Becker 1974).

Due to this self-employment, working hours of artists seem to be less important. Their income, which reflects whether their works are in demand, does not derive
from a quantity of working time at a given wage rate (Frey and Pommerehne 1989). However, if their income is low, because of the low demand for their work, a simple increase in production through putting in more work may have no effect. An excess supply of the works for sale at lower prices may not easily trigger an equilibration process because the price acts as a signal of quality. A decrease in the price of works of a contemporary artist will promptly be interpreted negatively. Instead, the participation in art fairs and granted awards increase the profile of visual artists (see chapter 2.3). Artists also face times of unemployment as Menger puts it.

Freelancing which are the prevailing work arrangements in the arts bring discontinuity, repeated alternation between work, compensated unemployment, non-compensated unemployment, searching and networking activities, cycling between multiple jobs inside the arts sphere or across several sectors related or unrelated to the arts (Menger 2001: 242).

This indicates that artists live with high risks in a constraint rationed labour market. In their pioneering research on performing artists, Baumol and Bowen (1966) identified different ways to improve artists' economic situation. Artists can be supported by private sources (working spouse, family, or friends) or by public sources (subsidies, grants and commissions from the state, sponsorship from foundations or corporations, and other transfer income from social and unemployment insurance). Artists can work in cooperative-like associations by pooling and sharing their income and by designing a sort of mutual insurance scheme, or they can hold multiple jobs. Similarly, artists may share the occupational risk by pooling their resources together as in the case of groups of visual artists, who provide each of their members with mutual support (Crane 1987).

Another aspect of freelance work refers to the working conditions. Artists are responsible for their own working conditions such as insurances and studio space (Neff et al. 2005). The motivation of artists to work under those conditions and restrictions lies in the passion for their work. The 'labor of love' argument insists that occupational commitment and achievement in the arts cannot be
matched to the monetary considerations of a market economy of exchange (Freidson 1990) Their *inner drive* seems to be the foremost criterion for professional artists (Jeffri and Throsby 1994) Table 5.1 shows a summary of reasons for working in art cities as outlined by various authors

*Table 5.1 Reasons for working in an art cities in distinct neighbourhoods*

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Distinct Neighbourhood</th>
<th>Art City</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Cheap rent, collaborative benefits, sharing work space</td>
<td>Proximity to members of the art world; supply of facilities; climate of strong support of the arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Richness of culture, highly educated citizens, authenticity, presence of vibrant artistic networks</td>
<td>Diversity, openness, multiculturalism, freedom; artistic milieus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban body</td>
<td>Deindustrialised urban spaces</td>
<td>Quality of life</td>
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Source: own design
5.1.1 Developments and Trends in Visual Arts in Paris

In 2005, around 457,000 people worked in the cultural sectors in France. One third of these people were occupied in arts and crafts (Cléron and Patureau 2007). Figure 5.1 shows the distribution of professionals in the cultural sector in France and the region Île-de-France, or here also called the Parisian region. The artists considered in this research correlate to what is described as 'artists' and 'sculptors.' Consequently, it can be estimated that approximately 18,000 artists and sculptors are living and working in the Paris region.

Figure 5.1 Professionals in the cultural sector in France and Île-de-France 2005

![Diagram showing the distribution of professionals in the cultural sector in Île-de-France and France.]

Source (Cléron and Patureau 2007)

Figure 5.1 suggests that artists are underrepresented in the Parisian region compared to all other professions in the cultural sector. Sculptors, however, are well established in the Île-de-France and make 49% of all sculptors in France. The general trend indicates that 41% of cultural professions are in the Region Île-de-France.

It is also remarkable that given the decentralisation of cultural public policy since the 1960s (Schmidt 2001), the concentration of artists and art professionals does...
not decline, with 43% of all French artists working in Ile-de-France (Menger 1993)

The decision to move into an art city is mainly driven by economic factors. The importance of being close to the art world produces art because of negotiations, criticism and the exhibiting space and gaining attention. Artists are not independent in their work. The city is a melting pot of art worlds and it offers artists social networks of gatekeeping organisations. The political economy of the visual arts consists of institutions that create a visible structure and hierarchies in the presentation of art (Irvine 2004). There are art galleries that display and sell artworks to private collectors, art journals that provide forums for art critics and organisational patrons, including museums and corporation (Crane 1992: 119). Artists are able to contribute to the large cultural debates about meaning and value and consequently, “the closer one is to the centre of things the more one can participate” (Solnit 2000: 2) The moment of metropolitan life, that is described by Groth and Corijn (2005: 505) as ‘the unexpected, non-planned and the resistant moment’ life have been closely related to many avant-garde movements in the visual arts (de Vries 1996)

It is possible to locate Parisian artists along a global – local nexus like all art scenes in global art cities. There are a few high flyers such as Sophie Calle but also thousands of less known artists that constitute the Parisian visual art scene. French superstar artists such as Louise Bourgeois, Christian Boltanski, Daniel Buren, and Sophie Calle have established their high ranking in the international art world, most of them work or live within the Parisian region. In the 1990s, Parisian artists were in crisis and artists had problems to cope with issues such as international competition, using their nationality as a marketing tool and national support. This generation of artists was not recognised enough in the Parisian art world and, as a result, many French artists needed to be represented abroad (Magazine 2006). Pierre Huyghe, Philippe Parreno, Xavier Veilhan, and Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster are artists from this generation who appeared on the international art market. Pierre Huyghe, for example, represented France at the Venice Biennale 2001, won 2002 to Hugo Boss Prize, and is now represented by the international acting Marian Goodman gallery (Goodman
Dominique Gonzalez-Foerster won the Marcel Duchamps Prize 2002. Although their successful careers started mainly outside France, all of them still live and work in Paris. This generation of artists also shows the belligerent status of the Parisian art world within a global perspective. Compared to New York and London, Paris plays a less significant role in the contemporary arts and instead competes with other European art cities such as Basel or Cologne (Gaillard 1999). Although, the French identity is very distinctive, it lacks success and international recognition when it comes to the contemporary arts. In the Palais du Tokyo, the most prominent site for contemporary art in Paris since 2002, only 40% of the works stem from artists living in France (Verdier 2006). However, the very existence of this venue can also be interpreted as a positive sign demonstrating the re-emergence of subversive contemporary art in Paris. Since the early 2000s, new young artists emerged on the Parisian Art scene, mainly supported by the Palais du Tokyo. The Palais' two directors, Nicolas Bournaud and Jerôme Sans, began to “export” young French artists to art centres abroad such as Kader Attia to Tramway in Glasgow (2006). They feel that “There is a need to brand young artists’ as ‘French’ and a new generation of art curators and collectors support that (Magazine 2006:62).

5.1.2 Major characteristics of the surveyed artists

Alongside the few internationally recognised or emerging artists, many others live and work in the Parisian Region. For this study, about 2,200 artists were identified in the city of Paris, amounting to 12% of the total artistic populations in the Ile-de-France. Around 1% of the total population of artists in the Ile-de-France took part in the web-based survey (for more details on the survey see chapter 3.4). These included those working in the more traditional fine arts such as sculptors, painters, mosaic artists, art of plastics, glass artists, engraving artists as well as a growing community working with new and different forms of media such as photographers, sound sculptors, multi-media artists, video artists, and performance and installation artists. Figure 5.2 shows the occupation of
artists who participated in the web-based survey. The dominant types of artists are painters and sculptors, whereas the other half of the sample comprises a range of artistic expressions.

Figure 5.2 Professions of artists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of survey participants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>painter</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<td>sculptor</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>photographer</td>
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<tr>
<td>multi artist</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>other artists</td>
<td>24%</td>
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</table>


The gender relation in the survey is 52% female to 48% male artists and thus a slightly different ratio to Cléron's and Patureau's (2007) study that identified about 58% male artists working in arts and crafts. The distribution of age suggests that the majority of artists taking part in the survey were between 40 and 50 years. 32% of the artists surveyed were below 40 years, and 34% were over 50 years. This correlates with the age distribution in the French labour market.

The age distribution suggests that the majority of artists taking part in the survey were between 40 and 50 years. 32% of the artists surveyed were below 40 years, and 34% were over 50 years. This seems like the normal age distribution in the French labour market.
The nationality of the surveyed artists is mainly French. Only 13% have other nationalities such as, Swiss, American, Romanian and German. Compared to the early 20th century Paris, it appears that Paris is not anymore so attractive for foreign artists. Almost two thirds of the artists were freelancers, thus confirming this professional status as being typical for these creative people (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 Employment situation of participants
The success of an artist can be measured in various ways, including the prices their works fetch at sales and auctions, the number of exhibitions at which their work is displayed, the value (or volume) of contracts with galleries. There are two criteria, however, that define an artist's success. Firstly, artists can be considered successful if they make their living from art - such income can range from 50,000 Euro a month upwards. In this survey, around 46% of the artists made their living from selling their works. Secondly, another important step for a successful career as an artist is having a contract with an art gallery that represents and exhibits the artist's work. These galleries certify the work of the artist and - depending on the status of the gallery in the local or global art scenes as well as the audience it attracts - affect the status of the artist. According to the survey, 20% of the participants have contracts with art galleries.

The factors that influence artistic careers are multilayered and, therefore, the survey aims to gain a better understanding of the artists and their working environment. Personal development and professional education at an art school potentially elevates an artist into a higher position when it comes to career possibilities, and the probability of an artist making a living from their work is indeed higher among those who have been professionally educated. Further evidence for this finding comes from the ways in which individual galleries choose to exhibit the work of artists, as the trend shows a slight bias towards artists that trained in art school. The exception to this rule are photographers, many of whom have not been professionally trained. However, much fewer of them have contracts with galleries. The geographical scale suggests that the majority of artists, who visited art schools in Paris, most likely attended the Ecole Nationale Supérieur de Beaux Arts (ENSBA). However, this does not guarantee getting a contract with a Parisian art gallery. Indeed, the majority of artists that are represented by Parisian art galleries studied at art schools elsewhere in France or even abroad. According to the survey, 66% of the participants have a professional art education, out of which 60% went to a Parisian art school. Figure 5.5 shows the other locations of art schools visited by the surveyed artists.
The interviewed artists are listed in Box 5.1 and the interviewed art dealers are in Box 5.2. Throughout the following text the interviewees will be referenced anonymously with numbered abbreviations from artist AT1-16 and art dealer AD1-3. Out of the sixteen artists, ten are painters, three are sculptors and three are painters and installation artists. This however is a generalisation, for example artist AT10 labelled as painter is combining digital photography with painting, artist AT9 paints but does also engravings. Most interviewed artists are professional freelance artists besides, artist AT13 who has a position as social worker in Belleville. Seven of the sixteen artists work not at their home but in different neighbourhoods, mostly a studio building shared with other artists. Two artists live and work in an artist house, one artist AT1 in Les Fngos, the other artist in a modern studio building in Belleville funded by the city of Paris. Four interviewed artists work in Montmartre and four in Belleville. Four artists
work in other art areas of Paris (Marais, Rive Gauche, Bastille, 13th Arrond). The interviewed artists were in average 42 years old.

The interviewed art dealers are established members of the contemporary art gallery scene in Paris. The galleries of the interviewee AD2 and AD3 are located in the Marais, the gallery of AD1 in Belleville. All three are successful art galleries and represent highly recognised artists in the international art market.
Box 5.1 Profiles of interviewed artists

AT1, sculptor, 56, male, French, Bulgarian origin, 13th Arrond. Sculptor, active in defending the artist house ‘Les Frigos’ where he lives and works, many exhibitions abroad, longer stays in Arizona, Rome and Japan, Teacher at ENSBA, produces many contract works.

AT2, painter, 38, Male, American, 11th Arrond. ‘Belleville’ Art education in New York, moved to France because of cultural input, hosts Saturdays ‘Tea talks’ in his studio flat, exhibits in France and in his hometown in the US, takes also part in the open studio days.

AT3, painter, installations, 42, Male, French, 18th Arrond. ‘Montmartre’; former Business consultant, makes now light installations, exhibits in New York and Tokyo mainly, has not established his place in the Parisian art world yet.

AT4 painter, 38, Male, French, (Central America origin), 17th Arrond. comes from a painter family, no art education, part-time jobs, and professional ties to the Caribbean.

AT5, Painter, installations, video, 39, Male, French, 6th Arrond. ‘St Germain des Prés’. exhibitions in major museums in the US and France, artistic collaborations with Palais Tokyo.

AT6, sculptor, 64, Male, French, 18th Arrond. ‘Montmartre’ Owns house in Montmartre since 1960s, created successfully huge sculptors, produces mainly for companies or the public sector.

AT7, painter, installation, video, 32, Female, French, 12th Arrond. ‘Bastille’ Lives in Paris and Berlin, has representing gallery in New York, exhibits globally with single, groups exhibitions, takes part in Biennals, travels a lot, collaborates with other artists

AT8, painter, 40, Female, French, 20th Arrond. ‘Belleville’ · exhibits in local fairs and open studio days

AT9, painter, sculptor, 41, Male, French, 18th Arrond. works in Paris and Italy, collaborates with craftsman from Italy, well-connected to other artists in Paris, exhibits ones a year in Paris.

AT10, painter, digital photography, 62, Male, French, Suisse origin, 4rd Arrond Marais lives in Paris, works in the suburbs, travels a lot for his art works, exhibits every 2 years, with Parisian gallery for 30 years.

AT11, sculptor, 39, Male, French, 19eme Sculptor, studio in artist house, not well connected to Parisian art world.

Continues on next page
AT12, painter, 45, Male, Portuguese, 16eme Chambre de bonne exhibits often in posh restaurants the 8th arrondissement, well connected to artists in Belleville,

AT13, painter, 34, Male, French, Peruvian origin, 20eme social worker in Belleville, became famous with an art project with Parisian disabled children, starts now exhibiting in Parisian art galleries

AT14, painter, books, 34, Female, French, 18eme Art consultant and artist, advised companies what to buy from Parisian artists, lives in a posh building in the 18th, paints large abstract canvases

AT15, painter, 36, Female, Netherlands, 10eme, Point FMR ‘rising star’ in the European contemporary art world, stipend from Point FMR, lives in city-run artist house

AT16, painter, 37, male, Swiss, 20th, Belleville studied architecture in Basel, became professional artist with 25 and moved to Paris, exhibits now mainly in Switzerland, lives in a city-funded artist house

In addition, gallery owners and art dealers have been interviewed to support the statements made by the artists in the survey and interviews

Box 5 2 Profiles of interviewed art dealers

AD1, gallery owner, contemporary conceptual art, mainly young artists, Belleville 20th Arrondissement

AD2, gallery owner, geometric and “constructed” abstraction (contemporary and older), 3rd Arrondissement ‘Marais’

AD3, gallery employee, contemporary conceptual art, 3rd Arrondissement ‘Marais’

The code matrix in Figure 5 5 shows the overall themes of the interviews. It shows the frequency of topics of the interview from light blue (mentioned once) to red (mentioned multiple times)
Figure 5.6 Code matrix for selected interviewed artists

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Source: own research illustrated with MAX.QDA2
Box 5.3 Interviewed artists in their studios

Artist AT3 in his studio

Painter AT8 in her studio

Studio of AT2
Studio of artist AT9

Painter AT2 in his studio

Sculptor AT6 in his studio
The survey and interviews focused on one part on the daily work of the artists. Job descriptions of a contemporary visual artist are highly diversified and complex – from applying new techniques to repeating working themes, hand-shaking with collectors at exhibition openings, ordering materials via internet, and travelling abroad for a group exhibition. Figure 5.7 shows the diversity of professional activities and gives an idea of time allocations for their work estimated by the surveyed artists. Accordingly, artists spend half of their time on production of art, followed by 17% on administrational work, and 16% on research.

The often messy, but clearly fully-stuffed workspaces displayed in Box 5.3 can be linked to the activities described in Figure 5.8. The actions of artists are being represented in the look of their studios. Half of the artists’ time is spent on the production of the art works. Consequently, studios are filled with canvases, paint (sometimes on walls, see studio of artist AT2) and various materials needed for their creative production process. Artists do administrational work around 17% of their time. This is being reflected in the fact that in all the visited studios a desk was present, more or less tidy. Most of the time a laptop or desktop computer was there too. Almost the same amount of time is being spent on research with 16% of the artists’ working time. Many studios were filled with books from large scale illustration to philosophy of art (see studio of artist AT9). Artists mainly meet other members in the art world in their own studio (see 5.34). However, most of the visited studios were hardly inviting and little equipped with chairs. The skills required for being an artist are partly trained at art schools and partly self-acquired from experience over the years. 13% of the artists’ work time is spent on networking according to the survey. This includes visiting exhibition openings, pre-viewing of other artists’ works and soirées with collectors.
The results of the survey can be summarised in three categories:

- work that is related to the production of the art piece (research and production of art work),
- administrative work, and
- networking

According to this, the surveyed artists spend 66% of their time on the production of art pieces, 17% on administration and 13% on networking. In the course of the interviews with artists it became clear however, that the boundaries are blurring. For example the visit of a studio opening is seen by some as research, by others as networking.
5.1.3 Why Paris?

The surveyed artists have been asked about the importance of working in Paris. Figure 5.8 shows that 55% of the participants consider Paris as an important factor for their locational choice. 26% were indifferent to the importance of Paris and 19% see no importance at all in being in Paris for their work.

*Figure 5.8 Importance of working in Paris*

Some participants found their locational choice for Paris not important for their work. New technologies and communication methods have changed the art business and also the practices of making and selling arts. Artists seem to have the freedom to work in their own preferred space, connected via the internet to the art markets and their actors.

I prefer more and more working via the internet where I am connected with other French regions and abroad. Original: J’aimerais travailler plus en télé-travail (internet) avec la province et l’étranger.

Another argument focuses on the unimportance of a place in general for artistic creation. It captures the essence of artistic work by focusing on creativity without taking into account the environment in which creative activities occur. It is doubtful that the statement made by one artist really applies as she claims that being in Paris has no influence on her work.
Because I am an artist and I create in Paris like in Timbuktu. It is a posture of being in the world, regardless of where I am.

This is arguably a very bold statement as it would mean the environment does not have any effect on artistic creation of this artist. It is widely accepted though that the environment has effects on the artists creation (Danto 2000, Drake 2003, Tornqvist 2004). Similarly, another artist opposes to the idea of the nostalgic artist in Paris. As he puts it:

My job is not related to nostalgic attachment or territoriality.

A more pessimistic view is provided by another artist, who describes the lack of opportunities for artists in general, not depending on certain locations.

There are few opportunities here and elsewhere. As much nervousness regarding the arts than anywhere else.

In contrast to the statements mentioned above and the results of Figure 5.9 suggest that location seems to play an important role for the majority of artists. In order to explore this further, the results of another survey question gives an insight into explanations for this high rating of locational importance. Figure 5.10 shows the answers to a closed question with multiple answers about the artists' reasons for living in Paris.
Figure 5.9 Reasons for living in Paris

![Bar chart showing reasons for living in Paris](chart.png)


The cultural life including its local art world appears to be the major pull factor in Paris. One interviewed female artist describes her point of view in more detail.

The galleries are in Paris and most collectors are in Paris and then it’s a cosmopolitan city that is open and where a lot happens. There are many cinemas, many theatres, it is a city very rich in terms of its cultural life. I never moved, I love this city. As artists, we need nourishment. Me, I don’t want to work in a forgotten one-horse town. I want to go to relax, but I, I need it that way. I can easily go to Beaubourg\(^\text{24}\), I can go and visit the trendy galleries. It’s easy.

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\(^{24}\) Referring to the contemporary art museum Centre Pompidou, locally called “Beaubourg”

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Original: Les galeries sont à Paris que les collectionneurs pour la plupart sont à Paris et puis c’est quand même une ville cosmopolite qui est assez ouverte et puis il se passe plein de choses. Il y a plein de cinémas plein de théâtres, c’est une ville très riche d’un point de vue culturel, moi je ne déménagerai jamais j’adore cette ville, on a besoin de nourriture quand on est artiste, moi je veux pas travailler dans un trou perdu, moi je veux bien aller me repose, mais moi j’ai besoin comme ça, je peux aller à Beaubourg facilement, je peux aller voir dans les galeries ce qui se passe c’est facile (AT8)
In comparison to this artist born in Paris, another artist describes his motivation for moving to Paris for similar reasons. Being in his late sixties now, he moved around 35 years ago from Switzerland to Paris to live a more culturally-enriched lifestyle. As he puts it:

It is a city where I always wanted to live. I'm in Paris now. I'm not born in Paris. It was not born in France. It seemed to me the city that offered the most opportunities in terms of its history and its overall situation at the time when I decided to live in Paris. Its position in relation to a small town, there are many more openings, it's much more international and then the beauty of the city, its culture.

ORIGINAL: C'est une ville ou j'ai toujours voulu vivre. Je suis à Paris, Je suis né à Paris, je ne suis pas né en France. Mais parce que moi ça me semblait la ville qui offre le plus de possibilités de par son histoire et de par sa situation en tout a l'époque où j'avais décidé de vivre a Paris sa situation par rapport à une petite ville, il y a beaucoup plus d'ouvertures, c'est beaucoup plus international et puis la beauté de la ville, voila sa culture (AT10).

The surveyed artists responded similarly about the importance of Paris for their work. They often stressed the concentration of the arts in Paris, the existence of their professional networks, and the cultural exchange. Proximity to the Parisian art world and establishing or maintaining professional networks across this world also seem to be highly regarded by the majority of participants in both survey and interviews. Here are some further comments made by survey contributors on why it is important for them to work in Paris.

PARIS, place of my professional network

I often have to be physically present and on the other hand it appeases some

This city opens doors to meet new people. However, for work, Paris becomes negative. It is a kind of 'right place' that many artists have, but it is a mistake.


ORIGINAL: Cette ville ouvre des portes vers de nouvelles rencontres. Cependant, pour le travail, Paris devient négative. C'est une sorte de 'bonne adresse' que nombreux artistes ont, mais c'est une erreur.
Because the possibility of intercultural exchanges throughout all artistic disciplines is here reality

To be exposed, and for selling, you need a network. Paris is the best place in France to build this network.

Art is a highly centralised discipline where Paris remains the hub for France.

The majority of artists consider being in Paris as important. Artists describe the importance of being close to the art world and consequently the art market. The two major reasons for this proximity are professional contacts and the opportunity to see cutting-edge art, but also major international exhibitions in Paris. Those arguments will be explored further in the remaining sections by locating artists, and examining their practises in relation to space.

5.2 Locating visual artists in Paris

One of the most intriguing questions for a geographer is to find out where the artists are located in Paris and why. Would they cluster in the traditional artists' quarters of Paris? Is Montmartre still a major centre of has it been neglected because of tourist adoption? Are there new emerging neighbourhoods attracting the visual artists?

Figure 5.10 shows the development of artists' studios in Paris between 1800 and 2007. Map (a) shows Paris in the early 19th century with a distinct pattern of
artists south of Montmartre around the Boulevard Clichy and also on the border to Clichy. Map (b) indicated artists around the peak of Bohemianism (1890-1930). This centres on the hill of Montmartre and around the art schools of Montparnasse are clearly visible. Artists also populated the 16th arrondissement in the west of Paris where new studio spaces with large windows were built. Map (c) gives evidence of a cultural policy of the Parisian governors that strategically re-distributed newly built artists' studios and houses since the 1980s. This strategy has been part of a broader plan to improve the deprived east of Paris that due to de-industrialisation processes set free spaces for regeneration (APUR 1987, Rhein 1994). Studio space was built in the 13th arrondissement and also in the quarter of Belleville, traditionally an immigrant and working class quarter. Map (d) shows locations of artists in the year 2007. A general trend can be seen towards the traditional studios in Montmartre and Montparnasse. Additionally the newly created spaces in Belleville form another concentration. The west of Paris is relatively deserted in terms of artistic production. This is related to high studio rent in those areas.

As there are no surveys and databases available that provide the information where visual artists work in Paris, this section presents a first comprehensive overview of the city's contemporary geography of visual artists that is based on an extensive collection of addresses in the course of this research (see chapter 3.2).

Figure 5.11 reveals the main locational pattern of artists’ studios across the 20 arrondissements of Paris by focusing upon the ateliers of visual artists randomly chosen for this study. 2,300 locations have been identified which represents approximately 23% of the total visual artistic population in Paris. The map shows a distinct pattern of locational choices of visual artists identifying three different types of locations: 'traditional' artists' neighbourhoods, new emerging areas and dispersed areas. The 'traditional' artists' neighbourhoods Montmartre, Rive Gauche, Montparnasse, around Parc Montsouris and the 17th Arrondissement are still highly populated by visual artists. There are various explanations for this high presence in these areas. Due to the legacy of these places, there exists a large amount of infrastructure for artists for example studio space often built in
the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century (Delorme et al 2002), art material suppliers and art institutes. The availability of suitable studio space is often crucial for locational decision of artists. Also, artists seek proximity to each other, want to find the spirit of an art community and therefore gather at the same location. The emerging areas the east of Paris are concentrations in Belleville and around the Bastille. Here, the cheap rent and multicultural population attracts most of the artists.

The dispersal spread shows that many artists are scattered around the city. This can be also explained with the availability of studio space, but often with familial preference.

The locational pattern of visual artists in Paris is thus as much influenced by persistence, or path-dependency, of popular locations for artists in Paris since the 19\textsuperscript{th} century as it is shaped by more recent developments such as the explosion of rents.
Figure 5.10 Historic developments of artists' studios in Paris (1800-2007)

(a) Artist studios in 19th Century Paris

(b) Artist studios between 1890 and 1930 in Paris
(c) Artist studios built in the 1980s in Paris

(d) Artists in 2007 in Paris
(e) Combined Map

Source: Atelier d'artistes 2000, Le Studio 2006, own mapping
Source: own design based on various artist databases

Visual arts in Paris

Figure 5.11 Visual arts in Paris in 2005-2006
A comparison between the locations of all contacted artists with those visual artists who participated in the survey reflects the main location pattern of artists' neighbourhoods. The majority of the surveyed artists also live in Belleville, around the Bastille and Montmartre (Figure 5.12).

Figure 5.12 Location of artists participating in web-based survey

5.2.1 Parisian neighbourhoods of cultural production

The local environment plays a distinct role for creative workers (Montgomery and Robinson 1993, Ley 2003, Bain 2003). The term 'local' in this sense ranges from a neighbourhood scale to individual buildings in form of artists' houses. This part introduces the neighbourhoods in which the majority of the surveyed and interviewed artists are living and working.

In this research, artists were asked to give their opinion about their neighbourhood in terms of the attributes of beauty, authenticity, multiculturalism and affordability. The results are illustrated in Figure 5.13 for the urban quarters of Montmartre, Belleville, Bastille, Marais and Rive Gauche.

*Figure 5.13 Urban characteristics of artistic neighbourhoods in Paris*

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<tr>
<th>Beautiful</th>
<th>Marais/ Rive Gauche</th>
<th>Montmartre</th>
<th>Bastille</th>
<th>Belleville</th>
<th>Ugly</th>
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<td>Belleville</td>
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<td>Marais/ Rive Gauche</td>
<td>Artifical</td>
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<td>Bastille</td>
<td>Montmartre</td>
<td>Marais/ Rive Gauche</td>
<td>Homogenous population</td>
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<td>Bastille</td>
<td>Montmartre</td>
<td>Marais/ Rive Gauche</td>
<td>Expensive rent</td>
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Mean of Total

Source derived from web-based survey (2006)

These areas will be explained in more detail to understand their nature and distinct character.

One explanation for the importance of emotional bonding to the intimate environment lies in the absence of being part of a company structure. By that, it means that visual artists are not embedded in a company that give its employees a kind of secure feeling. This argument can be further divided into the two factors. First, many companies provide a security system including all sorts of social coverage. This creates a mutual trust between employee and employer.
that increases the efficiency of the company. Freelance workers like visual artists do not have such company provided security backup and therefore are forced to look after themselves. This could cause to the lack of secure feelings that needs to be compensated through other ways. This is in some cases the environment. The second issue is the advantage of a structural network within a company. Departments, colleagues and buildings are inter-connected within the framework of a company. This gives employees a secure feeling and also defines their choices of work-related factors such as work space, or time management. Freelancers have a huge number of decisions to make by their own which can be freedom but also restrictive. This comes along with insecurities and risks such as wrong locational choice, or finding the right business partners. Labour in the field of cultural production and especially visual artists are highly flexible in term of contracts, working place, etc. Christopherson and Storper's (1989) study of employment relations in the film industry is one of the most cited works in terms of flexibility in the cultural field. They outline that highly skilled labour in cultural economies face a economic business that demands high flexibility. The reason lies in the project type of work that leads to short-term contracts or in the visual arts more often to a freelance basis (Menger 2001). Working conditions are also marked by employment and unemployment times. This refers to the insecurity of the sectors.
Belleville is located in the 20th and 19th arrondissement and parts of the 5th and 6th. Historically, it was the centre of the independent commune (municipality) of Belleville which was annexed by the City of Paris in 1860 and divided, importantly, between two arrondissements along its main street, the Rue de Belleville. Geographically, the neighbourhood is situated on and around a hill, which is the highest part of the French capital. This area in the 20th arrondissement in the east of Paris hosts the highest number of migrants and foreigners and offers the lowest living costs compared with other arrondissements (Rocha Pitta 1997). The dominant representation of Belleville in the middle of the 20th century was of a deprived area that was place of refuge for migrants mainly with Asian or northern African background (Rhein 1994). The east of Paris was omitted from processes of Haussmannisation and, consequently, the quarter retained its medieval street layout. Furthermore, this area was traditionally the space of craftsmen and small traders but, due to changed working conditions, transport networks and distribution channels, they either moved into the suburbs or declared bankruptcy Morier (1994) displays in his book an impressive collection of picture from that time. This generated free commercial space such as warehouses and backyard garages. In the beginning of the 1980s the city of Paris undertook a number of urban renovation initiatives within the framework of the Plan Pansien de l'Est to bring this deprived eastern area back onto the Parisian map (APUR 1987). These actions included amongst other things, new street furniture, financial support for private investments, new ‘traditional’ French public housing including state-subsidised houses for artists with studio space, as well as the renovation of entire quarters like Bercy and Tolbiac (Albin 1989). This urban renovation yielded fruit and some of these eastern quarters have been subject to gentrification processes up until today. Specifically, around the streets Rue St Maur/Oberkampf and the Canal St Martin bars and trendy shops have been (re)opening. Another indicator of the success of these renovations is the high interest of estate agents in buildings that provide, due to their layout, big spaces and therefore lucrative sales prices. Despite these processes, Belleville is still the cheapest quarter and because of
that also the most multicultural Therefore, many artists now live and work in Belleville and studios are scattered throughout the quartier Some abandoned factories have been transformed into art squats, where several alternative artists and musicians work and sometimes also live One interviewed artist, who has been working in Paris since the 1960s, describes the past developments of Belleville as follows

The industries have changed, craftsmanship has changed, the organisation of work has changed, the working times have changed, and the economy has changed in general So, the businesses that were close to the commercial centre in Paris, in the fifties, sixties, seventies, eighties, have left, left Paris They are located outside of Paris because they grew bigger They needed to go along with globalisation, new criteria of quality So, they had to buy new machines ( ) They needed more space As a consequence, there are a number of spacious buildings that became available in the eighties and were affordable Unfortunately, things have changed today Rents there today are more expensive There are buildings less expensive, mainly reserved for artists, but this will not continue For a simple reason, the Bourgeoisie, we call them the 'bobo', finds this area all of a sudden interesting Consequently, there was demand And if there is demand, prices rise And if prices increase, the artists can not touch them anymore
This statement precisely captures the processes taking place in Belleville that are characteristic for many other neighbourhoods throughout large urban agglomerations. One interviewed artist elaborated on his experience when living in New York ten years ago.

That's what happened in New York. When I was in New York, I lived in East Village and then the last part just outside of Manhattan in Brooklyn. I have been back there in ten years, when I lived there, we were in a loft. There were three or four of us, depending. In a big loft divided up into work space and living space. There was nothing in the streets. We get out the subway, there were a number of different artists. This neighbourhood was really scary, which is now really trendy. You know fifteen years later, when I lived there, there were artists, drug dealers, and immigrants. It's now very trendy. It's been there since past few years I've heard reports it's full of boutiques and cafés and shops and restaurants. It's really hip. When I lived there, there were no shops. So, nothing, urban wasteland.

The process described by the artists above is called 'gentrification', by which poor and working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city are refurbished via an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyer and renters (Smith 1996 32).

In these areas, deindustrialised urban areas released warehouses and open spaces that fitted the artistic needs (Zukin 1995). So called gentrifiers such as visual artists or web-designers occupy this space and transform those deprived areas into an 'urban alternative village'. Researcher study incipient gentrification processes in many cities, most prominently are the works of Smith (1996) about New York and Ley (2003) about Chicago's Wicker Park. Neighbourhoods that are in the gentrification process undergo certain stages of development (Smith 1996, Atkinson and Bridge 2005). Gentrification starts with the pioneer stage, where 'gentrifiers' move into rundown neighbourhoods. During this time, changes...
happen quickly in these neighbourhoods, shops open and close, people experiment with retail concepts and different lifestyles. During the gentrifier stage, the neighbourhood has established a pool of neo-bohemians together with businesses that cater their needs such as restaurant, art galleries, and record stores. It is a stimulating and vibrant atmosphere and is the 'place to be' for artists, and like-minded people (Florida 2002a). In the next phase big retail chains spot those trendy neighbourhoods and move in with their fancy coffee houses and trendy clothes stores. The more of those businesses move in to the neighbourhood, the more it attracts professionals with higher incomes. This in turn increases the rents and consequently evicts the gentrifiers.

Looking into the processes in Belleville, as described by the interviewed artists, it is in the gentrifier stages where a set of artists is established, but the middle and upper class has not arrived yet (Vivant and Charmes 2008). This can be also seen by the interview with the Gallery owner in the neighbourhood who said that the Parisian contemporary art market still neglects Belleville and hardly visits his gallery.

There are still a lot of collectors who are not many who come just not. Because we are in this neighbourhood ( ). There are many collectors Parisians or the Paris region, I know they do not ever in a neighbourhood like that. But bad for them and better for others who come

Original: Il y a encore enormement de collectioneurs qui sont pas venue beaucoup qui viennent non Parce que on est dans ce quartier Il y a beaucoup de collectioneurs parisiens ou de la Region Pansienne, je sais qu'ils ne viennent non jamais dans un quartier comme ca Mais, taws peur eux et mieux pour les autres qui vont(Artist AD1)

The debate about the cause of gentrification is broad from the rent-gap theory (Smith 1996) to new lifestyles and consumption in postindustrial societies (Zukin 1996, Ley 2003). However, Smith argues that

gentrification has been stimulated more by economic than cultural forces (1996 57)
His rent gap concept explains a process of property development, centred on a profit motive. Behind the collaborative process stand developers, and investors that search for new developments. This applies certainly for the last stages of the gentrification phases, but can only be the one perspective for the other stages. The *consumption-side* theory, on the other hand, has gained more credibility as an explanation for gentrification. Researchers that support this argument generally view the characteristics of gentrifiers to be of greater importance in the understanding of gentrification (Castells 1983, Zukin 1998).

The survey clearly showed that most of the artists chose their neighbourhood based on the rental niveau. One interviewed American artists has his studio in Belleville and observed this process:

In the seven years since I've been here, I've seen that gentrification process. Apparently it was about ten years ago when 'Café Charbon' kind of started that spot and it was kind of the really bronché, no longer going to Bastille. I've seen in seven years other bars haven open up around there, it became a whole centre and a moving up 'rue saint maur' towards here. Different bars there's a bar now, that's been there for three, four years 'Le chat noir'. Before there was a new bar every six month. It couldn't, hadn't yet found it's, it's rhythm. Finally 'Chat noir' arrived and the critical mass was there and it's been there now for four years. And now we've seen other bars closer to here on the other side of here. There has been a cycle opening up, closing, opening, closing, opening. There is one now 'Fonentau Roi' going towards 'Republique'. A whole street, there was nothing on it a few years ago. We've been watching stuff kind of opening up (AT2).

Belleville has a thriving young artist scene (Salzbrunn 2007). There exists a neighbourhood artists' association organising open studio days, and exhibitions (for more on neighbourhood associations in Paris, see chapter 5.3.3.1). Further features of this quarter that convey the atmosphere of an area in the earlier stages of gentrification become evident in the following quotes from artists living in Belleville and describing their neighbourhood.
I was born in Paris 20, live in the 20th at Télégraphe, and work in the 11th. The 20th is a district in the hills, always fresh air, very mixed - ethnically socially and culturally. Very quickly in the heart of the city and along the Seine.

Local not too expensive, I like that neighbourhood for its diversity, and its air of old Paris.

I am surrounded by everyday life, I have relationships with artists in my area, and it is a city rich in cultural food (museums and theatres especially important for me).

I love Belleville. Many nationalities, many dodgy guys doing raids, unfortunately, many Jews, Chinese eager to earn money, Africans drunk de SDF, the Bobos, children.

Figure 5 14 illustrates some impressions from Belleville.
Chapter 5

Figure 5.14 Pictures Belleville

Art gallery in Rue Denoyez

Metro station Belleville

Gallery and office of artist neighbourhood association ‘Ateliers d’Artistes de Belleville’ in Rue de la Mare
CHAPTER 5

Studio of mosaic maker in Rue des Envierges

Garden of an artist at open studio days in Belleville (2006)

Gallery Jocelyn Wolff in Rue Julien Lacroix
Montmartre

Montmartre is in the north of Paris in the 18\textsuperscript{th} arrondissement. Its long tradition of artists' concentrations has been explored in Chapter 4.2. Today, Montmartre is an officially-designated historic district with limited development allowed in order to maintain its historic character. Its functions are extremely complex with a mosaic of sex related land uses, tourist trails, artists' houses, and African immigrant concentrations to name some. In the survey, Montmartre was characterised as the most authentic and most beautiful quarter with multicultural character but high rent costs (see Figure 5.14). The local environment plays a distinct role for creative workers (Montgomery and Robinson 1993, Ley 2003, Bain 2003). The term 'local' in this sense ranges from a neighbourhood scale to individual buildings in form of artists' houses. This part introduces the neighbourhoods in which the majority of the surveyed and interviewed artists are living and working.

In this research, artists were asked to give their opinion about their neighbourhood in terms of the attributes of beauty, authenticity, multiculturalism and affordability. The results are illustrated in Figure 5.13 for the urban quarters of Montmartre, Belleville, Bastille, Marais and Rive Gauche.

Figure 5.13 There seems to be a divergence in the perception of this quarter between artists who live in Montmartre and label it as the most authentic neighbourhood in Paris and some academics who describe Montmartre as a 'cultural theme-park' that is very artificial in character (Agulhon 1998) and characterised by tourists congregating around the 'exaggerated white' Sacre Coeur and enjoying the spectacle of its Belle Epoche architecture (Hewitt 2000, Weisberg 2001). This argument reflects a focus on a small spatial scale and by turning away the view from the tourist highways, it is possible to detect the 'other' Montmartre: little streets filled with stores selling fruits and vegetables, former shops transformed into studios, or nurseries. This Montmartre exudes the air of a grown 'village'. However, there are neighbourhoods within Montmartre that are distinct from each other. The sculptor AT6 describes those neighbourhoods
where he has worked for 45 years. He has a house off the *Boulevard Clichy* next to *Place Pigalle* that neighbours two Brothels and a sex cinema.

This area is extremely interesting, because it is not connoted. There are bourgeois, there are workers, even some executives, but there are also prostitutes. A neighbourhood with a very mixed population with still some separation. Within the neighbourhood there is a bourgeois neighbourhood, there is a working class neighbourhood, where the workers are. It is not as idyllic.

Original: *Ce quartier est extrêmement intéressant, parce qu’il n’est pas connoté. Il y a des bourgeois, il y a des ouvriers, même il y a des cadres, mais il y a des putains. Un quartier avec une population très mixte avec quand même certain séparation. Dans le quartier il y a un quartier bourgeoise, il y a un quartier ouvrier, il y a le parti d’ouvrières, ce n’est pas aussi idyllique*.

The high concentration of creative workers in Montmartre is affecting the everyday life of its inhabitants. One interviewed artist who lives and works in Montmartre (see descriptions about his studio in Box 5.5) dwells upon the artistic milieu in the area.

The eighteenth is a neighbourhood with a lot of artists. (…) So, my son is in class with a friend, and they discuss his mom is a photographer. I meet her at the entrance of the school, we talked and it turned out that she is my neighbour at the studio. I met my next door neighbour of my studio at the school entrance and the children are in the same class. So, it’s a little anecdote, but I believe in my son’s class there are roughly half, at least half of the children’s parents are artists. They are artists, many photographers, also people with a studio; it can be all types of professions.

These are not necessarily all artists producing visual fine arts, but all ‘creators’. They may be developing photos in a photo lab. There is a large, large lab just across the street. There can be also technicians, (…) people who work at Radio France, things like that. But all are rather within an artistic community.
Original : Le dix-huitième est un quartier ou il y a énormément d'artistes. (...) Donc, mon fils est en classe avec une amie, ils discutent et sa Maman est Photographe. Je la rencontre à la sortie d'école, on discute et en fête, elle (se t'avérail) ma voisine d'à coté. J'ai rencontré ma voisine de studio à coté sortant de l'école et l'enfant s'est dans la même classe. Et donc, c'est un peu une anecdote, mais c'est pour te dire que je pense que dans la classe de mon fils il y a un peu près la moitié au moins la moitié des enfants dans les parents sont artistes. Sont artistes, beaucoup de Photographe, des gens d'atelier aussi, ca peut être aussi tous les métiers. Ce n'est pas forcement des artistes en sens des gens (...) fin des artistes créateurs, mais ils vont peut-être être faire de tirage de photo dans un labo. Il y a un grand, grand labo du pont qui est juste à coté. Ca peut être aussi des monteurs, (...) des gens qui travaillent au Radio France, des choses comme ca. Mais qui sont plutôt autour du milieu artistique (AT3).

Figure 5.15 shows pictures from the neighbourhood Montmartre.
Figure 5.15 Pictures of Montmartre

Studio building in Rue Eugene Carriere

Artists at Place du Tertre

"Cite Montmartre aux artistes", Studio building, Rue Ordener
Marais

The Marais spreads across parts of the 3rd and 4th arrondissement in Paris. It is described in the survey as the most beautiful, but in turn also the most artificial quarter. Explanations of the urban processes that are occurring are strongly connected to gentrification similar to that in Belleville. These developments are only a small part in the Marais' long history. This urban history of the Marias starts in the 16th century when the Parisian aristocracy resided in the Marais which was characterised as 'urban' palaces framed by gardens. The large Palais hosted the extended families of royals and some of those prestigious buildings are still in the Marais. In the year 1682, the French royal household moved from the Louvre to Versailles and as a consequence the Marais started to decline. This rundown working class neighbourhood was largely spared by the Haussmanian urban restructurings in the late 19th century so that the unique medieval layout and buildings remained. In the 1960s the buildings and palaces were degenerated to a low living standard. The Minister for Culture at that time, André Malraux introduced in 1962 a law that would allow tax reductions to those investing in the renovation of ancient building. The Loi Malraux was the starting point of major reconstruction works in Paris and especially in the Marais (Kain 1981, Marchand 1993). Along with this renovation came a change of the quarters population. The Marais, occupied by the Jewish community since the early 1900s, was being adopted by the homosexual community and experienced gentrification from the 1970s onwards (Sibalis 2004). Today, the Marais retains a distinct population, hosts many bars and chic shops and experiences a permanent value added by its buildings. The surveyed artists signalised a less authentic character of the quarter (Figure 5.13). The concept of gentrification can help to explain this less authentic feel in the Marais (Smith 1996). It clearly shows that this neighbourhood has gone past the gentrifier phase and arrived at the phase where global retail chains invaded the urban gem to harvest its trendiness. Property prices have risen dramatically but it has not displaced the gay community though which is still present and marks the look of the Marais. As part of the renovations plan from 1969, art museums were re-located to the Marais, such as the Museum Carnavalet and Museum Cognacq-Jay. After almost 20
years of planning and reconstruction, the Picasso Museum opened its gates in 1985 in the former Chateau Hôtel Salé. Contemporary art galleries also relocated and can be found today concentrated in the north-east of the quarter in side streets around the museum (see also Box 5.6, p. 247). In the survey, artists explained their reasons for working in the Marais as follows:

I love this area for its quality of life. It is a central neighbourhood, which is vibrant, where you find everything. A lively and mixed neighbourhood.

It is very central, surrounded by galleries and museums.

Impressions of the neighbourhood Marais can be seen in Figure 5.16.
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Figure 5.16 Pictures Marais

Gallery in Rue Debelleyme

Picasso Museum in Rue Thorigny

Gallery F. Giraux in Rue Charlot
Workers carry art work in Rue Perche

Galleries in Rue Saint Claude

Screenshot from Website 'Les nuits de Marais', Open galleries event
Saint-Germain-des-Prés (or Rive Gauche)

Saint-Germain-des-Prés, often simply called Rive Gauche, runs along the southern banks of the Seine, in the 7th and 6th arrondissements, and consists of the area east of boulevard St-Michel as far as to include the Musée d’Orsay. After the Second World War, the area was home to the existentialist writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, who made some of the cafés such as Les Deux Magots and Café de Flore famous. St-Germain is rich in universities, prestigious buildings and museums. It is home to the Ecole Nationale d’Administration, the Institut de France, the Théâtre National de l’Odéon and museums like Musée Eugène Delacroix or Musée d’Orsay. Within the vicinity is also the famous Parisian art school Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA) and the ‘Carré Rive Gauche’25, an association that represents the shops specialising of ancient furniture and artefacts as well as the visual arts. They create a corporate identity by using a common logo, presenting them on a website and organise events within the quarter next to Musée d’Orsay and Louvre. An example of such a commonly organised event is a night at Santa Nicolas day (‘Nocturne de la Sainte-Nicolas’), which took place at all galleries and shops of the Carré Rive Gauche on the 6th December 2005. The characteristics of this evening event were late opening times and the creation of a cosy, Christmassy atmosphere due to red candles that were trimmed in each show window. A press dossier announced that evening with well chosen words:

25 The Carré Rive Gauche comprises the following streets: Quai Voltaire, rue des Saints-Pères, rue de l’Université, rue du Bac, rue de Lille, rue de Beaune, rue de Verneuil, rue Allent. For further information see website Carré (http://www.carrerivegauche.com/)
In a quiet atmosphere, in the glow of candles, antique Carré Rive Gauche invite art lovers to a night walk in the galleries. Refined, curious, clean, historic or contemporary, the objects will be the kings of that exceptional evening.

In this neighbourhood are also representative stores of the big fashion labels like Armani, Dior and Gucci. They also take part in art events, such as exhibiting the art works of the ENSBA finalists in their show rooms. The rent in St. Germain is extremely high, which makes it difficult for art students to live closely to their university. Artists are either living in chambres de bons or, the more successful ones that can afford the high rents, in St. Germain. Pictures of the area around St. Germain are displayed in Figure 5.17.

Original: Dans une atmosphère feutrée, à la lueur des bougies, les antiquaires du Carré Rive Gauche invitent les amateurs d'art à une promenade nocturne dans les galeries. Raffiné, curieux, épuré, historique ou contemporain, l'objet inédit sera le roi de cette soirée d'exception. (Carré Rive Gauche, press dossier)
Figure 5.17 Pictures of St. Germain-des-Prés

Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA), Rue Bonaparte

Quarter branding 'Carré Rive Gauche' along the Quai de Seine

Café La Palette in Rue de Seine
The four quarters that have been introduced, Belleville, Montmartre, Marais and St Germain are all distinct in their character. Belleville is the emerging artistic neighbourhood with all the features that have been studied in other neo-bohemian neighbourhoods in the last decades (Lloyd 2006). Montmartre appears to be a complex netting of areas of artists, red-light and entertainment district, tourist trails, ghetto of immigrants and working and middle class neighbourhood. The Marais, has emerged as the neighbourhood for a large gay scene which cohabits with the Parisian Jewish community. The high concentration of contemporary art galleries shows another characteristic of the Marais. Rive Gauche has been identified as the posh quarter embedded in the rich heritage of French culture with the time-honoured art school, and Louvre. The antique shops and art galleries in St Germain are well respected in the international art world. All these charters have in common their connection to the contemporary visual arts in one way or another.
5.2.2 Soft location factors

Location factors help to explain locational pattern of businesses of all sectors. The focus on location factors has increased in the recent decade also because it allows conceptualising the spatiality of creative industries. It will be outlined in this section that the locational decisions of the researched visual artists in Paris appear to be mainly soft location factor. This result agrees with other research such as the findings of the AGRE research group26 (Martin-Brelot et al. 2009).

Location factors have been studied intensively in the last decades within the context of agglomeration economies (Lambooy 1998), and regional cluster benefits (Porter 1998) in manufacturing (Marshall 1920, Gordon and McCann 2000, Teixeira 1998), knowledge economies (Fingleton et al. 2003, Taylor et al. 2003) and creative industries (Scott 2006).

Soft location factors summarise in contrast to hard location factors the less tangible characteristics of a region or neighbourhood. Funck (2000: 69) suggests the following catalogue to distinguish hard and soft locational factors for regions:

Hard location factors
- Geographic situation, topographic specifications,
- Position in the transport and communications networks,
- Tie-in with utility supply and disposal systems,
- Access to infrastructure establishments of various kinds, their capacities and levels of quality,
- Capacity, level of quality, and degree of diversity of human resources,
- Sectoral, site, and control structure of existing economic activities,
- Structure of wages, prices,
- Structure and levels of taxes, subsidies

26 The research project 'Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union' (ACRE), based at the University of Amsterdam, aims to assess the impact of the emerging 'creative class' and the rise of the 'creative industries' on the competitiveness of EU metropolitan regions. While the traditional 'hard' location factors that firms use will remain important for international competitiveness, new 'soft' location factors that are mainly related to attracting the required 'talent pool' would deserve increasing attention. The metropolitan regions in the ACRE project are: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Birmingham, Budapest, Dublin, Helsinki, Leipzig, Milan, Munich, Poznan, Riga, Sofia and Toulouse (for more information see http://acre.socsci.uva.nl/index.html)
Soft location factors.
- Intensity, diversity, and level of quality of cultural activities, and recreational offers,
- Quality of natural and man-made environment
- Creative climate (as expressed in the degree of multiplicity of political and intellectual discussion, participation of citizens in public affairs, etc),
- Identification of local citizens with their location — city or region — based on historical, and cultural motivation, and future aspirations
- Conditions that result in external benefits and diseconomies,
- Conditions that result in internal benefits and diseconomies,
- Pecuniary external effects (market imperfections)

Likewise, the AGRE research group uses a similar set of soft location factors for their research on the 'creative class' in thirteen European cities (Kovács et al. 2007, Martin-Breiot et al. 2009) They studies members of the 'creative class' and their locational decisions They identified the significant importance of personal trajectory factors (such as 'born here', 'family lives here' or 'proximity to friend') compared to hard factors (such as 'moved for job', good employment opportunities, higher wages, good transportation links, presence of good universities)

The four neighbourhoods Belleville, Montmartre, Marais and St Germain-de-Près have been identified as neighbourhoods where many artists work and spend most of their time In the survey, artists have been asked in an open question why they choose their neighbourhood in Paris Table 5.2 shows their answers categorised in terms of studio space, personal experience, proximity to art business, and neighbourhood characteristics The dominating pull factor for artists in a particular neighbourhood appears to be the price level of studio space 27.6%, followed by emotional motivation (12.4%), proximity to artists (8.8%) and a multicultural quarter (7.1%)
Table 5.2 Locational advantages of neighbourhoods

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</tbody>
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* Multiple answer question, N=170


Explanations such as the price of the studio seem rational and comprehensible. Personal experiences and feelings, however, that result in locational choices, need further scrutiny to understand the relationship between artists and their neighbourhood. The focus here lies on the distinct character of a neighbourhood and how it makes the artist feel living in it.

Two antipodes can be identified, here called *town-ness* and *urbanity* that seem to be vital for artistic neighbourhoods. *Town-ness* describes the feelings of security and mutuality in the mythical, village-like character of Parisian neighbourhoods. In contrast to *town-ness*, these neighbourhoods incorporate urbanity that displays diversity, openness and centrality of world cities. The interviewee's perceptions of their local environment have been used to explore those concepts.
Some interviewed artists described the feeling of living in a village when referring to their Parisian neighbourhood. Most of these were located in Montmartre, Belleville and Rive Gauche. The rural character of urban neighbourhoods was described by the interviewed artists focusing on different aspects. It seems that the built and social environment create a certain kind of secure feeling and increases the sense of well-being. One interviewee lives in a Studio building in Belleville. She describes her feeling of this town-ness very well.

Here, it is a bit like a village, because there are days here and I'm going downstairs and I have the impression of living in a village, it is very protected, it does not feel like you are living in the city, there is also a Park here.

Original: Ici c'est un peu comme un village, parce qu'il y a des jours ou d'ici je vais là bas et j'ai l'impression de vivre dans un village, déjà habiter ici, c'est très protégé, on n'a pas l'impression d'habiter dans une ville, il y a un jardin aussi (AT15)

Another artist, also from Belleville, uses a feature of his neighbourhood to express his sense of town-ness. He associates the church that is opposite of his studio with home.

At the same time, with the church being in front it kind of keeps a look home right here (AT2)

The spatial proximity to other artists or other kinds of creative freelance workers such as writers, and designers appears an essential issue for working environments of artists. One interviewee describes the neighbourhood Belleville and his reason to move there. He discusses the mix of people in his neighbourhood and the need to find a cheap studio in an environment where more artists are located.
There are lots of artists, there is also lots of shops and other things. People can come to this neighbourhood because they want to go out for a drink. They can do something else. And that is something that is helpful for an artist.

Did that effect your choice of location in the end when you came here? Or why did you choose this?

AT2: This is certainly a factor. I was looking in the 20th arrondissement for an apartment for budget. That is a big consideration. I knew this part further east. But I looked elsewhere as well. Trying to find something. I knew this particular area 'cause I had friends living here. And so when I came across this apartment I was like "Oh this is perfect". Cause it's in a better location than others. And it is actually really been nice as well because this, the court yard it is three buildings owned by the same person. So it is not individual apartments that can be sold and everything. So it is one person that got it as an investment. Intends to be more young couples, young people, we have quite a few families, but they are more the exception. A number of people are artists, making their way, they are going to show in their own apartments for the open studio then. So that's really interesting. Because, that kind of atmosphere. If I would be living in the 15th, living in an apartment complex with nothing but families.
Furthermore, villages allow their inhabitants to develop a strong common feeling. This mutuality is described by one interviewee particularly well.

I have a sense of village here. But no village of artists, if you want. It is a village with artists and others too. This local community, it is a potential. But it is not crystallized. You see, it is potential. It is a potentiality ( ). What I feel in this neighbourhood, because we talk about this neighbourhood, is the condition of acceptance. It is a neighbourhood of artists, you feel good, you feel at home. This means, like in a village. There are not necessary certain vibrations because there are a lot of artists. It's is developing. It creates a sense of community. This means that you are in a good environment to work. Imagine, if I was in a neighbourhood where are only banks or only and office buildings and I would have my studio in the middle, I couldn't. But here, I arrive, I feel more at home like in a village. I am interested in the community of this quarter.

Original: J'ai un sentiment de village ici. Mais pas de village d'artistes, si tu veux. C'est un village est il y a des artistes et d'autres. Cette communauté, elle est potentielle. Mais elle n'est pas cristallisée. Tu vois, elle est potentielle. C'est une potentialité ( ). Ce que je sens dans ce quartier, parce qu'on parle de ce quartier, c'est des conditions d'acceptation. C'est un quartier d'artistes, tu le sens bien, tu te sens chez toi. C'est à dire, que dans un village, ça n'est pas forcément si tu veux les vibrations des choses qui vont parce qu'il y a beaucoup d'artistes. Ça va créer. Ça crée un sentiment de communauté. Qui fait que tu es dans des bonnes conditions pour travailler. Tu imagine si j'étais dans un quartier où sont que des banques, que des immeubles de bureau et j'aurais mon atelier au milieu j'arriverai. 'Je peux pas'. Mais là, j'arrive, je me sens plus chez moi comme dans un village. Ce quartier, cette communauté m'intéresse. (AT3)
This sense of community was expressed by all interviewed artists. Artists were describing their daily routines and often referred to interactions with neighbouring artists. One interviewed artist is having her studio in Rue Sainte-Marthe, in Belleville. This is a street, where sculptors and painters use former craftsmen stores as studios. Figure 5.18 displays the street Rue Sainte-Marthe and its character. The pictures were taken on a Saturday afternoon at the Open Studio Days of Belleville in May 2006. The artist was interviewed a week later where she described her interactions with her neighbours.

That's true that when I go on the street we say hello, we speak. And I meet people here, I meet good friends, people I have known for a long time and I will drink a coffee with them. That's very nice as " Having a coffee together, that is true, in other districts this might not happen like this. Because here, all these places are on the ground floor with the people who work there, and thus there is promiscuity and we inevitably end up discussing..."
Figure 5.18 Rue Sainte Marthe in Belleville during Open Studio Days (2006)

Artists and visitors at Open Studio Days in Rue Sainte Marthe, Belleville (May 2006)

Studio of a sculptor, Rue Sainte Marthe  
Studio of a painter, Rue Sainte Marthe
A similar description was given by another artist who also lives in Belleville

There is one friend in the end court yard who also lives in the studio, she's got the largest studio, regularly I will go down and if I see her door open because it is nice weather, I am stopping and say hello, have a drink or she stops by here So that is really nice because having other artists who are living here ( ) between shows, we go to each others studios, can talk, kind of in-between shows and in-between work Kind of "Oh what am I doing" She is eager ( ) , she can motivate you if you're also in the same mode So you can kind of commiserate That's really helpful And so this quarter, I am very glad to have landed here (AT2)

The long presence of artists in certain Parisian neighbourhoods have also brought along art stores who supply paint, canvases, etc For some artists they became an integral part of artists' routine Being close to the artists seems to be the key of success for those shops One artist describes his supplier in Montmartre

In Paris there is a supplier that I love It is in Montmartre and a great store of fine arts So this is where I buy all my supplies I'll say fine arts classic, this means pigments, paints, brushes, varnish, canvases There you find the good things and all that related to the classic fine arts materials It is more expensive of course than some large stores, or some artists sales Anyway, I think there is a proximity, it's someone I like, and more historically is his uncle who had worked with Yves Klein and others Finally, I find that there are people who have extraordinary professions I prefer to work with people who are kind like that So, voila That is my main supplier in Paris
A Paris il y a un fournisseur que j’aime beaucoup qui a dans Montmartre qui est une très bonne boutique de beaux-arts. Donc la c’est où j’achète tout mes fourniture on va dire de beaux-arts classique, cet a dire, les pigments, des peinture, des pinceaux, les lacs, les liemes, les toiles, la c’est bon pour trouver des choses affermable, et tous qui est beaux-arts classique on va dire, voila C’est plus cher bien sur que certain grand surface, ou certains artistes ventes. Mais bon, je trouve que il y a une proximité, c’est quelqu’un j’aime bien, en plus historiquement c’est son oncle qui avait travaillé avec Yves Klein et tous. Enfin, je trouve qu’il y a, c’est des gens qui vont un métier extraordinaire. Je préfère travailler avec des gens qui sont des types comme ça. Donc, voila C’est sont mes fournisseurs principale à Paris (AT3)

Like-minded people seem to be the key for this feel of a village-like community. Artists search for other artists or people passionate about arts. This means, the sense of ‘town-ness’ has been captured by the presence of a church to the presence of various artistic professions in the community.

Urbanity in contrast seems to be the antipole to this village-like community feel. The neighbourhoods are marked by multiculturalism and diversity that is equally essential for artists as the intimate feel of a village. In contrast to a more homogenous structure of population in villages, certain neighbourhoods in cities offer a ‘clash’ of cultures. It inspires artists to experiment and develop their own way of artistic expression. This diversity in cultures gives artists the freedom to reflect matters in their own individual way.

The image of a quarter is mainly mentioned with regard to other creative labourers. But the attractiveness of an area can also bring potential buyers. Neighbourhoods like Belleville or Montmartre are diverse in their function and often combine residential housing, with shops, craftsmen and cafes. That has turned those areas into both trendy nightlife areas and vivid daylight consumption zones. Local artists benefit from that, as one interviewee from Belleville describes such effects by contrasting a more residential arrondissement in Paris (15th).
Another aspect of urbanity is the richness of cultural life. It offers opportunities for research, networking and market entrance, essential especially for young visual artists. Another important role plays the geographical proximity to the Parisian contemporary galleries and museums.
The world city's energy often described by the interviewees and survey participants is one major locational advantage for Paris. Here are some of the short answers focused on energy given in the open question why Paris is important to their work:

I moved to Paris to paint, the city concentrates all energies, not only artistic, but in all areas

One interviewee, a young female Dutch artist, describes Paris as having an energy that contrasts to that of villages and smaller towns

It is a good energy as I said earlier that I sense. This weekend I was in the countryside, I was born in a village in the countryside and I left. In fact, I was born in a city but grew up in a village, later in a city. I was always going into larger and larger cities since then, there is no way back. Now when I go to the countryside, I fall immediately into languishment. Me, that doesn't stimulate much. I miss Paris very, very quickly. Everything is possible any time. There is such freedom, you never get bored, have a drink very late is a certain rhythm of freedom. I'm going for a walk in the streets (of Paris) and that is what I love in small towns, you have nice views. Nature, too, I like a lot, a lot nature that I miss but it also puts me to sleep.

Original: Je suis venue m'installer à Paris pour y peindre, cette ville concentre toutes les énergies, non seulement artistiques, mais dans tous les domaines (AT5)

Original: pour moi c'est parce que c'est une bonne énergie comme je disais tout a l'heure parce que je le sens, ce weekend j'étais a la campagne, je suis née dans un village a la campagne et a partir, non moi je suis née dans une ville en fait et j'ai grandi d'abord dans un village après dans une ville et je suis seulement aller de villes de plus en plus grandes, there is no way back, maintenant quand je vais a la campagne je tombe tout de suite dans l'inertie moi ça me stimule pas beaucoup paris ça me manque très très vite tout ce qui est possible tout le temps, il y a un telle liberté, on s'ennue jamais, boire un verre très tard un certain rythme de liberté Donc je vais me promener dans les rues et ça j'adore dans une petite ville on a tout vu, la nature aussi, j'aime beaucoup la nature ça me manque mais ça m'endort aussi (AT15)
Similar to the performance art sector, the individual actors in the visual arts scene are either freelance workers like artists or agents, small or medium sized companies such as galleries, agencies or artist groups, big companies such as art patrons, or collectors like Deutsche Bank or Saatchi & Saatchi\textsuperscript{27}. This can be complemented by private and public institutions such as museums, foundations and art schools, as well as media such as specialised art magazines, Feuilleteons of newspapers or television programs. The relationship between such actors, when spatially proximate, constitute clusters within regional art clusters (Santagata 2002). These are concentrated in neighbourhoods which have specific characteristics. Through this process distinct art quarters emerge as gallery quarters in the 8\textsuperscript{th} arrondissement or Rue Louise Weiss in the 13\textsuperscript{th} arrondissement, artist quarters such as Belleville or Montmartre, museum quarters and mixed quarters such as Rive Gauche or Marais. This institutional thickness of contemporary art generates the ‘buzz’ of the art scene, described by Storper and Venables (2004) for other sectors of the economy. Due to this melting pot of art-interested people in the city, artists have many loose and dense social networks, for example, to gate-keeping institutions and colleagues (Crane 1992). In terms of the production of art, the cultural life of Paris plays an outstanding role. The huge variety of art events from cinema to opera, stimulates artists, and the high concentration of creative thinking within the city becomes self-perpetuating. In addition, the ease of making connections to professional colleagues, the possibility of exchanging ideas and information, and the spatial proximity of studios creates a certain kind of artistic emulation. The artists also described the special kind of energy that Paris generates, one which stimulates, inspires and creates an environment for art to be imbued with cultural capital.

\textsuperscript{27} See Author 2005 Twenty-five years of the Deutsche Bank Collection www.artdaily.com, 01 05 2005, p 01 05 2005
5.3 Practices of visual artists in Paris

This chapter critically discusses practices of visual artists in Paris. The first section focuses on the artist's research practices and how they use the city of Paris for this important part of the creative process. In the second section, artist houses and their functions for artists will be scrutinised, whereas the third section analyses various forms of collaboration. Finally, the networking strategies of visual artists will be revealed and explained.

5.3.1 Artist's research practices

Creativity is not controllable and incalculable in terms of time and place. That means, that cultural workers do not work on a 8-to-5 job basis but depend on creative episodes. Often this is not just a profession but it is a life attitude. They work all the time. While they use the metro, etc they are thinking, seeking for inspiration and start drawing. Everyday life becomes 'research' that in turn will be expressed in their individual creativity. In this context work blockades are quite often in artistic work lifes and dealing with appears to be a big issue. Consequently, artists' work can be understood a research (Sullivan 2004).

And indeed, many interviewed artists highlight the great significance of museums and exhibitions in Paris for their own development and inspiration for their work (see Figure 5.20). Out of 207 valid answers in the survey, only 4 percent of the visual artists do not visit any of the given venues. The most frequented and the venue with the most artists visiting is the Centre Pompidou. There are two more contemporary art museums that share the buildings of the Palais Tokyo, the Museum of Contemporary Visual Arts of the City of Paris and the Palais de Tokyo (venue of artistic creation). The Jeu de Paume has two venues (Concorde and Hotel de Sully) and its programme is mainly dedicated to art photography. Another aspect that is shown in Figure 5.19 is the average frequency of visual artists' visits to venues. The trend shows that around 39 percent of the artists visit
venues 1 to 3 times per year, followed by 15 percent with 1 to 3 times per 6 month. Around 6 percent of the artists visit the venues more than once a month. These frequencies can be explained with the rhythm of exhibitions in museums. Temporary exhibitions are hanging between two to five months on average. Accordingly, artists seem to look at most of the exhibitions of the 5 highest frequented contemporary visual art venues in Paris.

*Figure 5.19* Contemporary art venues visited by surveyed artists

The cultural life of Paris plays an outstanding role for the stimulation of visual artists. Based on the huge variety of art events from cinema to opera, the high concentration of creative thinking within the city becomes a self-perpetuating process. In addition, the affinity to professional colleagues, the possibility of exchanging ideas and information, and the spatial proximity of studios creates a certain kind of artistic emulation. This is why the visual artists speak of the special kind of 'energy' that Paris generates, one which stimulates, inspires and creates an environment for cultural capital.
One artist elaborates on the interaction with museums by referring to an exhibition about Alexander Calder, the famous American sculptor and artist, who invested the mobile

At Beaubourg, there is a permanent collection that is interesting. So here I am once a year. The Museum of Modern Art. But I need a reason. Recently, there was an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art about Calder, I went to see Calder. Because it is an interesting character. This is a great sculptor. And his work, I do not want to create like Calder, that doesn't interest me. But his developments, how he worked, how he moved forward, how his work evolved. This, this is what interests me.

The contemporary visual art sector in Paris offers many possibilities for visual artists. In addition, visiting the exhibitions of the galleries gets those into the "loop". This is supported by various private run exhibitions spaces which dedicated their rooms to contemporary visual art. Another pile in this context are contemporary visual arts museums in Paris which are not only exhibitions but also production spaces by working closely together with all kinds of artists. Another part of the visual arts scene is related to the realm of education. Art schools in Paris allow students to access the scene in Paris with degree shows, etc.

Galleries act as intermediaries for artists. They introduce the creative worker to potential buyers and therefore are well connected with both artists and collectors. In Paris exists a distinct pattern of the location of art galleries specialised on contemporary art. Galleries with similar concepts are concentrated in the same
quarters in order to make use of their emerging agglomeration benefits. They also coordinate specific practices such as exhibitions openings at the same day. This creates a distinct art milieu that also benefits local artists.

The following statement of a survey participant once more highlights the significance of a concentration of the French arts in Paris by comparing its situation to that of Lyon.

It was a disaster. The scene there. So they started the Lyon Biennial twenty four, but no local artist participated. There are never artists who are from Lyon. And then, the artists that are originally from Lyon that work on a national level live not anymore in Lyon. Valery Marchand, Alain Duplex, are not there anymore. Alain works in Paris, he created nothing in Lyon. It shows clearly the climate in the French province towards the world of French art. It is extremely centralized. All happens in Paris. Since Paris is less mafia. There was less when I arrived here. They judged me based on what I have created. Consequently I got an appointment at the Ministry of Culture, I had appointments, and then set up projects and projects. Voila, things function here in Paris. It's much more professional.

Onginal: c'était un catastrophe. C'Est scene la. Alors, il ont fait la biennale de Lyon quatre-vingt de croisonait, mais l'a aucun (repertusion) local. Il y a jamais d'artistes qui sont de Lyon. Et puis ( ), les artistes qui sont d'original de Lyon qui travaillent à l'échelon nationale habitent plus à Lyon. Valery Marchand, Alain Duplex ou, qui n'est sont pas la. Il travailler a Paris, il faut rien à Lyon. Ça montre bien un le clima d'un province francaise dans le monde de l'art francais. Il est extremement centralisé. Tous se passe à Paris. Depuis à Paris, c'est moins maffeuse. Il y a moins quand J'arriver ici ( ) ils ont jugé ce que j'avait réalisé, donc j'ai eu rendez-vous au ministere de la culture, j'ai eu des rendez-vous à ( ), et puis monter des projets et puis Voila, les choses se fonction au travail ici. C'est beaucoup plus professionnel (AT5).
5.3.2 Artists houses, squats and shared studio space

This section outlines the effects of dense proximity by elaborating the nature and function of artists' houses in Paris. Artist houses often combine production with living and exhibition space. The shared buildings have different spaces such as studios, studio flats, exhibition rooms and commonly-used labs, ovens, etc. These houses allow artists to engage with each other.

The purpose of communication varies between administrative issues and creative collaborations. The aim of this section is to elaborate on the various types of artist houses that can be found in Paris and to critically reflect upon their roles for different forms of human interactions in order to advance our understanding of creative production spaces and the benefits of cluster benefits through various types of collaboration. The types of houses that are going to be discussed are privately owned houses, publicly-funded studio flats and squats or former squats that are now organised by associations and often run by artists.

Privately-owned houses are usually rented out individually. Freelance creative work is often happening next to door without the artists knowing of each other. Many of such buildings can be found in Paris due to the city’s long tradition of hosting visual artists. The fieldwork diary notes, taken during a nine months long stay in Paris (see methodology section), provide a vivid impression of such a studio building in Montmartre that hosted the studio of one of the interviewed artists (Box 5.5).
Box 5.4 Fieldwork diary about the visit to an artist house in Montmartre

"The entrance seems to be already indicating that there are artists living here. There is a painting at the outer wall showing a garden with a blue sky. I am going to the courtyard, where all the studios are. It is a three storey building and it is well looked after. The paint on the walls seems fairly new, there are flower boxes everywhere. In the courtyard are also many motorcycles and bicycles. So they use it also to park their vehicles. I can smell smoke and turpentine. When I am looking up, I see that these are in fact two buildings that are connected with each other through metal walkways at every level. All painted in blue which creates a kind of Mediterranean feeling. I hear many birds singing, although I cannot see a single tree. There is also someone listening to classical music. I am in this courtyard now and there are huge glass windows. However, they are either made of milk glass or covered up so that I cannot get a glimpse of what is going on inside. The doors of the studios are huge too. They remind me of huge metal doors in factories. I guess they are useful because if you are opening the two wings, you can carry huge canvases or sculptures through the doors. A guy just walked by and does not bother about me. In general, it seems very unhurried here, it does not appear bustling to me. I am waiting for my interview partner to arrive, as he left a small note for me at his studio door. At his door is also a sticker saying "Protection electronic". Puh, you would not expect that in that kind of environment. He clung also a business card of his on the door. The doors of the other studios have only numbers on it or largely written names scribbled with chalk."

Fieldwork diary notes 3rd May 2006 afternoon

Studio Building in Rue Eugène Carrière, 18th Arrond. Courtyard of studio building
Another type of artist house is the studios owned by the city of Paris (Figure 5.21). These so-called “Artistes Residences” range from 1-bedroom apartments up to family houses. They are effectively subsidised public housing for artists. Although Paris provides around 25 of those studio buildings around the city, it is very difficult to get one of the highly demanded flats. One artist, who lives in one of the newly-built public housing for artists in Belleville describes the application process:

I lived for ten years in Paris and applied literally every year. But I have never got one of them. Applying for it is a long process but I am happy to have one now, because they are so cheap for the size of the flat. We just moved in here, about 6 months ago and it is really great. I have a flat that I am sharing with my partner, she is in fashion here. And in the back, I have this studio which allows me to be in my own space. And the view over the city is stunning. Being here in Belleville, in this new building is really nice. I don’t think we are going to move away from here. Also because we are having friends now in the building. They are all creative, one is a writer and underneath there is another fashion designer (AT16).
Figure 5.20 Modern studio buildings provided by city of Paris

Art gallery in Rue Denoyez

Artist house in 14th Arrond.

Source: Delorme et al., 2002
The third type of artist houses in Paris are squats or former squats that are rented out by associations run by artists. Squats developed due to a law which states that you can occupy a disused space if you are carrying out a creative activity. Squatting is largely absent from policy and academic debate (Reeve 2005), and Pruijt (2003:133) defines squatting as follows:

Squatting is living in – or using otherwise – a dwelling without the consent of the owner. Squatters take buildings with the intention of relatively (> 1 year) long-term use.

Further on he describes squatters' movements (Pruijt 2003:143):

In a squatters' movement, squatting itself is at the centre. It is a community of squatters who cooperate when new buildings are squatted and in the defence against evictions. Organisation is bottom-up and network structured. There is little formal organisation; informal leadership exists, however. Motives for participation vary. Some elements are: meeting personal housing needs, creating an alternative lifestyle and practising a type of politics that yield tangible results. (...) Obviously, participant tend not to be wealthy, but some of them are rich in social and cultural capital, e.g. artists and students.

Squats in Paris exist due to the extraordinary cost of workspace for artists. Large squats have been occupied and have become a hot spot for contemporary art (Chrisafis 2006). Spaces like the renowned Palais Tokyo were former squats. Some of these squats are so established today that they can be found on tourist trails and in contemporary art guide books. There is however an ongoing battle between authorities and the artists occupying the buildings. While some buildings are being forcefully evicted, others are newly being occupied by the creative workers. Paper work, protests and police intervention often go along this 'war for studio space' in Paris. Two examples will be used here to describe in detail the function of squats in Paris, ‘Les Frigos’ in the 13th Arrondissement and ‘L'imprimerie 168’ in the 19th Arrondissement.
’Les Frigos’ is a former refrigerated storage space (4000m²) that has been transformed into a creative studio space (Figure 5.22). On five levels, around 200 artists from 17 different creative professions such as painting, music, dance, and sculptoring cohabit within a framework of an association called ‘Association des locataires du sites des Frigos’. Artists have opened up the walls to add windows, transformed the ground floor into two galleries and equipped newly created rooms with a sound studio, and dance studio. Today, the building is surrounded by modern buildings around the Quai de Bercy, one of the Parisian post-industrial spaces including the new national library of France (BNF). The redevelopment process of the 13th arrondissement and Tolbiac started with the approval of the BNF at a large area (130 ha) of two former cargo train stations including their associated ware houses and storage spaces. The rundown area was almost completely knocked down and re-built with postmodern architecture. Only few building are left in the area, and one of them is the artist squat ‘Les Frigos’. The development of this well-known creative spot in Paris is rather peculiar. After decades of occupation by artists, the city of Paris bought the complex from the National Railway Company SNCF to rent it out to artists. A sculptor and co-founder of the association explains the development of the association since 1992:

The association defends its interests towards the owner. That's another chapter, because it was found to avoid that the building was being demolished. It is a parenthesis, because at the beginning the studios were rent out to us legally, and a few years later we were told to leave. And who said so ... important politics, the mayor of this part of the city and Minister of Culture and others decided that to built office buildings here to replace these activities there. I had obviously something against it... With these guys, I founded the association and finally he did not leave and we're still here. So, to make it clear, there are meetings, but let me say technical meetings about how to run this place and how to keep the workshops.

Original: L'association qui défendre aux intérêts ici par rapport au propriétaire. Ca c'est un autre chapitre parce qu'il se trouve qui fondre des l'association défense ici pour éviter que le bâtiment soit démoli puisque je fais une parenthèse la puis que à l'origine on nous la loué tout à fait légalement c'est on est venue ici un évitassions du propriétaire et quelques années après
on nous a dit que c’est fini, il faut partir. Et qui a dit ça... politique important qui était en même temps mairie de cette partie de la ville et ministre de la culture et autres parallèlement et l’a décidé qui fallait construit des bureaux ici pour remplacer ces activités là. J’ai eu évidement des alter... Avec ces hommes, j’ai fondé l’association et finalement il n’a pas tiré et nous sommes toujours ici. Donc, ça c’est pour dire que il y a des rencontre, mais des rencontre je dirais technique sur comment fonction cet endroit et comment conserver ces atelier (AT 1).
Figure 5.21 Les Frigos, now and then

Gare Frigorifique in the 1st half of the 20th century

Galerie L’Aiguillage in Les

Les Frigos in Rue des Frigos, 13th Arrondissement, 2006
Another example is the transformation of a former horse stable and printing plant into an artistic production site (Figure 5.23). The Association 'Kill Oh What!' is managing 'L'imprimerie 168' in the 19th arrondissement. One interviewed sculptor describes the place as follows:

Here is an old stable, which became a print room and then a group of artists called "Kill Oh What!" moved in. Here are around twenty artists that work inside, painters, sculptors, sonographic artists, photographer etc. It is a rather rare place in Paris, because in here is quite a lot of light, and it is in a popular neighbourhood. Therefore, you have quite some colour in here, that's nice. [...] In fact, I pay a contribution to the association, which is 40 Euro per month, and it's really an exceptional and rare place because you can't find that kind of place for that price in Paris.

The building is smaller than Les Frigos but up to 20 people with various creative production skills are working here:

Here, on paper there are twenty, but effectively about 10 people work here. There is a photographer, ceramist, painter, director, set designer, designer, makeup artist, sculptor, also many from the film business.

L'imprimerie 168 includes studios for artists, but also a large space in the centre of the building that is used for exhibitions, performances and installations.
Figure 5.22 Studio building L'imprimerie 168

Stage in
L'imprimerie 168,
Rue de Crimée,
19th

Flyer from open
studio days
L'imprimerie 168,
2008
By looking at these two examples, it becomes evident that there are many different professional occupations represented in artist's residences. Generally, there is an occupational mixture in those houses with professions including writers, illustrators, video artists, musicians, painters, sculptors, photographers, mosaic artists, performance artist, designers, etc. They all have similar working needs and therefore use similar facilities. Les Frigos accommodates about 60 artists with 17 different occupations. This concentration of creative workers leads to a certain kind of stimulating atmosphere that correlates with the descriptions of the mutual feeling in distinct neighbourhoods described by artists in section 5.2.2. The following comment about Les Frigos is typical of how artists described this ambience:

There are around fifty two who work here in seventeen professions more or less linked to creativity, but not only. There are also craftsmen and are publishers here. All this creates emulation. I would say, the only advantage of the place is influence, it is a benefit, it is an emulation. That the neighbour is also researching, working. Because, these are the professions where you have blockages, we try to move things forward. But if the neighbour or the third or fourth neighbour works, it is rather an atmosphere that fosters a renaissance of contemporary reflection. It can help.

Original: En fête qui a deux cinquante qui travail ici dans dix-sept profession plus au moins lié à la création mais pas seulement il y a aussi des artisans et il y a aussi des éditeurs tous ceci crée une émulation. Moi je dirais que c'est le seul avantage du lieu est influence, c'est un avantages, c'est l'émulation que le voisin également est en recherche, en travail. Parfois la C'est sont des professions où il y a parfois des blocages, on essaye plus avancé. Et si le voisin travail ou le troisième, quatrième voisin travaille c'est plutôt cette ambiance qui favorise une renaissance de la réflexion contemporaine tout petite peu d'un point morte. Ça peut aider (AT1)

Artists' houses serve different functions for artists. Artists transform the building into production, exhibition, and living space. These functions combined in one building lead to various forms of human interactions. Those are mainly understood as face-to-face meetings. Table 5.3 shows those functions combined.

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with the related meetings, their contents and purpose. Space appears to gain three different functions, namely, living space, working space and exhibition space. In the living space, artists have casual meetings on the floor to socialise and maintain their relationships. Organised meetings are being used for administrative purposes. Three types of interactions are characteristic for the working space amongst artists in studio buildings. The casual meetings on the floor cover chats about the art world, colleagues, working conditions and the own work progress. All these allow artists to stay in the loop, share experiences and emotions about their profession. Organised meetings can have two purposes, namely creative or administrative collaboration. Creative cooperation means that artists work on a joint project. Administrative meetings cover mostly topics around advertising and marketing of the space such as organising Open Studio Days, strategies of dealing with authorities, and so forth. The exhibition space inspired interaction in two forms, the preparation of exhibitions and the actual opening of the exhibition (for more details about the functioning of exhibition openings, see chapter 5 3.5).
Table 5.3 Functions of artists houses and associated interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Space function</th>
<th>Meetings</th>
<th>Content of meetings</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living</td>
<td>Casual meeting on floor</td>
<td>Work, leisure, private life, etc</td>
<td>Socialising, maintaining relationships</td>
<td>Socialising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organisational meetings</td>
<td>Organisation of commonly shared space, activities</td>
<td>Good neighbourhood relations</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Casual meeting on floor</td>
<td>Art world, colleagues, work process</td>
<td>Staying 'in loop, sharing experiences, emotions</td>
<td>Knowledge of art world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meetings for creative production process</td>
<td>Ideas, materials, etc</td>
<td>Common product</td>
<td>Creative Collaboration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administrative meeting</td>
<td>Open studio days, etc</td>
<td>Enhancing profile of house and individual</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibiting</td>
<td>Administrative and conceptual Meetings for preparation</td>
<td>Using space, concepts,</td>
<td>Exhibition</td>
<td>Creative collaboration, Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exhibition opening</td>
<td>Art world, colleagues, work process</td>
<td>Staying 'in loop', sharing experiences,</td>
<td>Knowledge of art world, Administration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own survey/interviews/ethnography

As stated earlier, artist houses are a work and living space that provide many forms of interaction with its residents and visitors. Neighbours in artist houses tend to use the proximity to exchange their opinions about art works, exhibitions, materials, and so forth. Because they work in such close proximity, some artists establish relationships by exchanging knowledge about recent works, asking technical advice such as dealings with particular materials, and so forth. Those relationships vary in their depth and can range from being purely professional to close friendships. The following comments are typical of how artists describe those knowledge exchanges with neighbours.
There are those [artists] that I see more regularly, a bit more regularly, because of technical exchange, tips, advice. So we a kind of collaboration and indeed we follow up on each others work. I especially, I follow fairly regularly very closely the work of a sculptor because I like his work so I go to see it And even if I finished a piece, it happened to me some times (that he came around to) see the work. But there are no philosophical discussions on the role of the artist. This is not the Bauhaus here.

Yes, I do a lot of exchanges, we exchange technical tricks I would say (Exchange) between disciplines, this is the working in a studio building. It is human. A nursery, a mini nursery. That is the advantage.

Artists also gather in order to organise administrative issues. That means they have to arrange matters around living together, organising common projects such as open days and so forth. One artist refers to a 'technical' meeting in regard to the organisational structure of the association Les Frigos:

So we have artist meetings besides the guys I meet here, neighbours. But never structurally, except the association meetings when we were defending our interests towards the owner ( ). So it is to say that there are meetings, but the technical meeting I would say depend on how this place is being organised and how to keep the workshop
Another type of collaboration are events to advertise or promote either the venue itself or individual artists. Almost all artist associations hold Open Studio Days that need to be organised (for more details on Open Studio Days, see chapter 5.3.3.1). In addition there are debates, and events that take place at those venues as the artist from the L’impmnene 169 explains:

We do soirées during exhibitions, there are music bands who come by, it is electronic music with reggae, hip hop.

By organising exhibition openings or literature evenings, the artists who live in artist houses benefit in various ways. It is a good opportunity to network, see other artist’s work and exchange ideas and knowledge about contemporary trends in the art world.

The third purpose of meetings, in addition to exchange with neighbours and administrative meetings, is an actual collaboration in order to create an art work. The co-existence of inter-disciplinary creative professions creates an atmosphere of creativity that can be regarded as the main benefit of artists’ proximity.

To summarise, this section identified different types of artist houses in Paris in terms of their ownership (privately owned, publicly owned and run by associations). These houses have mainly three functions for contemporary visual artists namely working, living, and exhibiting space. The geographical closeness of different types of creative workers leads to various forms of face-to-face contacts. Through these face-to-face contacts it becomes easier to resolve administrative issues, exchange art knowledge and form creative collaboration with fellow artists.
5.3.3 Artistic collaborations

The previous chapters have shown that artists collaborate in various forms with other artists and with art institutions. This section aims to examine the artists' relationship with neighbourhood associations, galleries and museums in more detail.

5.3.3.1 Artist's neighbourhood associations

Artists seek proximity to other creative and a similar working environment. As a result, they organise themselves into associations with a geographical range from artist houses to neighbourhoods which can include entire arrondissements. Depending on the geographical scale of the association, these organisations can have between thirty and over four hundred members promoting common political, communication, educational, and promotional interests. They often provide exhibition space that can be used by members for their works but also for meeting and debates. Some associations run a studio house which means they deal with residential issues as well as studio space matters. Another activity is represented by online platforms for members to show their work; some associations also provide internet blogs. Furthermore, they often organise Open Studio Days. Table 5.4 lists some artist associations in Parisian neighbourhoods and their functions.

One example for those neighbourhood collaborations of artists within the framework of artist associations are open studio days (French Journées Portes Ouvertes des ateliers d'artistes). Open studio days are days where artists make their studios or workrooms accessible to the public for viewing, selling of work and socialising with single buyers and collectors. They stem from the concept of open studios that themselves derive from the salons of 17th century Paris such as the one of Madame de Scudéry where bohemians met, debated and worked together (Vincent 2007). In the second half of the 20th century open studios were
used to foster creativity and encourage experimentation in an atmosphere of cultural exchange, and conversation. One example is Andy Warhol’s ‘Factory’ where happenings took place with many artists involved in the late 1960s (Finkelstein 1989). Today, open studios have nearly disappeared in Paris. Creative collaboration in the same studio space can be found mainly in the production of multimedia art. However, open studio days survived and are essential local events in the annual calendar of many artists all over the world (see Bain 2006 on open studio days in Toronto). These open studio days take place in artists’ studios where they display their works, and in galleries where the public can view and buy the artwork. They are organised by artists associations such as Ateliers d’Artistes de Belleville, Montmartre aux Artistes and Les Ateliers du Père-Lachaise Associates that represent all local participating artists. In order to promote those days, the associations produce costly leaflets, advertise in local newspapers and have posters around the city. The leaflet for the open studio days of Belleville in May 2006 identified 126 different locations of about 250 exhibiting artists. The included map also displays invited artists from abroad and gives information about each artist, his or her occupation and contact details.

Table 5.4 Some associations of visual artists in Parisian neighbourhoods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Association</th>
<th>Artists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Exhibition space, Communication, Publications, Debates, Meetings, Rally Artists Residences</td>
<td>59 Rivoli</td>
<td>About 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Association Alternation 2119</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kill Oh What! IMPRIMERIE 78</td>
<td>About 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La Forge de Belleville</td>
<td>About 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Les Frigos</td>
<td>About 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incognito artclub</td>
<td>About 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Exhibition space, Production space, Communication,</td>
<td>Immanence</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Defend the quarter with its spaces of creative production, Expositions, Opens studio days, Meetings, Debates Web address book Blogs</td>
<td>Ateliers d’Artistes de Belleville</td>
<td>About 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Les Peintres du Marais</td>
<td>About 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Montmartre aux Artistes</td>
<td>About 180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Typically there is a diverse range of artists exhibiting at ‘Portes Ouvertes des Ateliers d'Artistes’ in regard to media, subject, celebrity status and stage of career. Given the established nature of those open days and the enormous number of art interested residents and visitors in Paris, the open studio days are usually very popular and successful. The benefits for the individual artists are getting to know potential buyers, exchange opinions and views with visitors, colleagues as well as socialising.

One artist from Les Frigos describes his experience of the open days when he walked around many studios in the building himself and felt almost like a visitor.

But when we do open the doors once a year, then here are thousands of people who come to see the works. Over the years, we had between five and eight thousand people. It is quite enormous.

And then, I take the advantage to also see the studios. So, then I see the new stuff, etcetera. And where I can where I am more interested about the works of someone, we maybe start discussing about the changes in the works.

Coming from the United States of America, another artist from Belleville did not know much about the concept of transforming the studio into an exhibition room.

But after settling and being around for seven years in this neighbourhood, he feels like an integral part of the artist community in Belleville.

There are three artists that are in the studios in this court yard. I got to meet them through the 'Portes Ouvertes'. Met them 'cause I had questions about the event. And the year later, when I participated for the first time, we really got to meet each other that way. And over the years, that's become des 'Portes Ouvertes', it is a moment where we're all together and have a drink.
The Open Studio Days seem to be a distribution channel mainly for artists who are not well represented through galleries. Contemporary visual artists that are represented by galleries sometimes participate at open studio days even though they have their market somewhere else. Their art works have reached price levels that are above the normal open day visitors' budget that usually is under one thousand pounds. Potential buyers for well-established artists communicate with the artists either via a gallery, an agent or directly. The types of art objects that can be sold at open days are described by one interviewee as follows:

Open Studio Days here do never bring collectors No, no No, because when people come and visit my studio at the open days, they see the dimensions of my works and its price. The open studio days are not for selling important art works. It is impossible. People buy small prints, a small canvas. Selling a sculpture, at least that is not me. There are sculptors who sell small bronzes, things like that. That's possible. What I do and particularly the dimensions and lighting, etc. People are intrigued but they do not act immediately. It is not possible. It is a unexpected world and so, people who have seen an exhibition somewhere else, think about it, and then they come back. It works like this.

Original: Les portes Ouvertes ici ne m'on jamais rapporter des collectionneurs. Non, non Non, parce que quand tendance, c'est un atelier on visite de portes ouvertes. Et on voir les dimensions de ces pièces et les prix. Les portes ouvertes n'ont pas pour principe de ventre des pieces important. C'est impossible. On achète des petits gravures, un petits tableau, on parts avec. Vendre une sculpture, c'est en tout cas moi non. Il y a des sculpteurs qui vendent des petits bronzes, des choses comme ça. Ca c'est possible. Moi, ce que je fais suffisamment particulière et dans les dimensions et même dans la façon de présenter mes sujets que les gens sont intriguée. Me ne sollicite pas tout de suite. Ce n'est pas possible. C'est un monde un peu inattendu et donc, c'est plus des gens qui ont vue une exposition quelques parts, qui réfléchi, ils reviennent, C'est comme ça, c'est fonction (AT1)
This statement shows clearly the distinctions between art works in terms of their value and price. The artist here creates large sculptures and canvases for walls with very specific light effects. The pieces are usually implemented in an interior design concept and therefore not suited for being bought at Open Studio Days. He identifies rather small sculptors or canvases as objects for sale at Open Days. This means, the location of the art market depends on the value of a piece of art. This has also been confirmed by an art dealer for contemporary art. The interviewee works at a well-known gallery for contemporary art in the Marais. She does not even consider going to the Open Studio Days to look at new artists because in her opinion they create a different style. As she puts it:

"Often for me, it (the art) is more a 'local' production. This means, at Open Studio Days where you go to Belleville, there are often paintings or sculptures. But not very contemporary approaches. Mostly things are related to modern art, not contemporary art. So, I find that if I buy if it allows these artists to live, it is certain that at a gallery like ours, us, it doesn't interest us to go there to find artists because it is not really is not the same style. We are not selling the same thing."
This section explores the crucial role of galleries for artists. It outlines different forms of collaboration between art dealer and artists. Many of the survey participants stressed the necessity to be close to the galleries. One interviewed artist who lives and works in the immediate vicinity of his representing gallery appreciates the advantages:

It is convenient as it is 200 meters from my atelier. We have very quickly developed a physical interaction. I go down, I meet them, we work, we discuss, that is it that makes it interesting, it is proximity. It is clear if my gallery was 50 km away from my home, it would be rather difficult.

This artist worked also very closely with his art dealer in regard to his creative process. He creates ‘Design Art’ where he uses the logos of global brands such as Heineken and ‘reorients’ them. This is a strategy to find buyers also within the corporate world as it displays their brands and connects the corporate world with a cultural image. For many artists, galleries and publishers, corporate art is a significant source of income. However, such sales don’t just happen by chance. In fact, in the increasingly competitive game of art sales, corporate art buyers are highly coveted (Callaghan 2005). Figure 5.24 shows an example where the art dealer asked for the type of art he knew he could sell.
The artists talks very openly about this collaboration and confirms the influence his art dealer has on his works:

Yes, he has influence, he gives his point of view, and then he gives me advice on which direction to go, an artistic exchange, which part of the piece may be mounted in what sense. You see this finished painting. It was my art dealer who asked me to make a canvas for the Heineken brewery, because he had the idea to present this project to the Heineken brewery so you see the logo of Heineken in a certain form. We presented the canvas to the Heineken brewery and there, the management is currently reviewing their interest in the piece. That is great, a project between me and my art dealer.

Original: Oui il a de l'influence, déjà il donne son point de vue, et puis il me donne des conseils dans quelle direction aller, un échange artistique, quelle opération est susceptible d'être montée dans quel sens, vous voyez cette toile en fin de compte elle a été faite, c'est mon galeriste qui m'a demandé de faire un toile pour les brasseries Heineken, puisqu'il a eu l'idée de présenter ce projet la aux brasseries Heineken donc la vous voyez le logo Heineken en forme de capsule et on a proposé cette toile aux brasseries Heineken et là la direction de Heineken est en train de réfléchir dessus pour savoir si ils sont intéressés ou pas pour la prendre, c'est bien un projet entre moi et le galeriste (AT7).
This kind of proximity has lead to an artistic collaboration between artist and art dealer. This artist said he would visit his representing gallery about once a week. That is quite frequently given that only 15% of the surveyed artists stated to meet their dealers on a weekly basis. The majority of the visual artists meets with their representing galleries less often, about a couple of times a year (Figure 5.25).

Figure 5.24 Contact frequency of artists with art dealers

![Contact frequency art dealer chart]


One interviewee, an owner of a well-known gallery in Paris who focuses on geometric and 'constructed' abstraction describes the relation to her artists as follows:

Well, I obviously do not go into their studios every day, after all, they have not painted a new picture every day. But we do have very regular contact. And I have one living in the deepest province and then he comes up to Paris. Or I go from time to time, so one or two times a year, I go down and see what he has painted. But contact is not a problem. We meet, especially now, before the fairs. I go to some ateliers and look at the works.

5 3 3 3 Museums

Collaboration with individual artists has become an integral part of the activities of contemporary art museums. Cooperation between artists and museums take many forms. Sculptors, graphic designers, architects, and painters transform museum spaces into interactive learning environments often related to certain exhibitions or group of art works. Dance performers, musicians, and writers create and perform new works inspired by art in the galleries. Artists are commissioned to design gallery guides, write interpretive materials, participate in audio tours, and develop curriculum materials for teachers. Museums support artistic projects both financially and in terms of the creativity.

This marks a functional change of museums that adds entertainment and consumption to the 'traditional' role of a museum characterised by conservation, restoration and exhibition. Museums need to present collections in an educative way as well as doing research. The reason lies in the tendency of museums to make more money and therefore they need to have an income in terms of visitor admissions and private investors. The Museum of Modern Art (MoMa) in New York provides a huge variety of offers from distance-learning and lectures to the Contemporary Art Centre Department of Education (P S 1) founded in 1971. As MoMa describes itself:

P S 1’s education programs seek to strengthen ties within the community and to promote public understanding and appreciation of contemporary art.28

Within this educational program they launched the world's first internet art radio station. The Centre Pompidou in Paris is promoting itself in a similar way. They seek attention with music in relation with education and initialised, in 1969, the creation of ICRAM (Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique).29

One interviewed artists in this study was doing an art project in collaboration with the Palais Tokyo and major French companies. The project introduced tribal people in the Amazonas region to information technology. The artist monitored changes in that aboriginal community as a result of their newly gained knowledge through internet access. Back in Paris, he worked on an exhibition in the Palais Tokyo, created a DVD, and took part in discussions (see Box 5.6) A blog followed the project through its different stages.30

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29 ICRAM http://www.icram.fr (30th June 2005)
30 http://thechamaproject.blogspot.com/
Cinquième Nuit Tropicale

Valéry Grancher

"Tanguntsa Amazonie 0"

> le jeudi 29 juin 2006 à 20h30

La cinquième Nuit Tropicale propose un voyage dans les profondeurs de la jungle amazonienne, dans le village de Tanguntsa, l'un des lieux les plus extrêmes de la planète, habité par les Indiens Shiwiars. En 2005, Valéry Grancher y a séjourné et y a construit un projet qui a été présenté en 2005 au Palais de Tokyo : "The Shiwiars Project".

C'est l'histoire de cette aventure qui est contée pendant cette soirée par une véritable immersion dans l'univers sensoriel de ces territoires. Images tournées sur place, sons prélevés dans la nature, discussions avec les Indiens, chants des femmes shiwiars, récits et impressions du voyage, cette matière sonore dense et riche d'émotions a permis à Valéry Grancher de construire une pièce radiophonique qui a été produite et diffusée par France Culture. Pour cette soirée, Valéry Grancher l'a enrichie d'images, donnant ainsi une nouvelle dimension à ce travail.

Offrande au Palais de Tokyo
par les indiens Shiwiars du village de Tanguntsa, 2006

Les indiens shiwiars ont souhaité également être présents et, depuis leur village de Tanguntsa, ils ont envoyé les recettes d'une de leur boisson quotidienne, la "chicha", et d'une de leurs soupes préférées, nous laissant le soin de les préparer pour vous et de vous les offrir de leur part ! Vous goûterez à leur chicha de bananes et à leur soupe de poissons et légumes préparée au retour de la pêche.

Ainsi, un lien basé sur le partage sensoriel sera établi entre les Shiwiars et les visiteurs du Palais de Tokyo, répondant ainsi à leur souhait et montrant qu'à l'époque de la globalisation, un peu d'Amazonie se trouve à notre porte car, si l'esprit de ces mets est de là bas, tous les produits que vous dégusterez ont bien été acheté à Paris...

Source: Palais Tokyo
In summary, this section has explored forms of collaboration which are horizontal and vertical within and outside the sector of the visual arts (see Figure 5.26). The horizontal collaborations occur amongst artists and other members of the visual arts sector. Artists' collaboration have been found in form of artist associations such as 'Kill oh what!' and neighbourhood associations such as 'Ateliers d'Artistes de Belleville'. Collaboration occur also between artists and art dealer such as the example of the 'Heineken' art work, curators, and other members of the visual arts. Vertical collaborations outside the visual arts sectors are creative interactions between the visual artist and others creative freelancer such as poets, or musicians. Artists are also vertically connected to actors of other sectors such as companies and the public sector.

*Figure 5.25* Horizontal and vertical forms of collaboration of visual artists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vertical collaboration</th>
<th>Creative Individuals</th>
<th>Intermediaries and Collectors, Supporters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Economic Sectors</td>
<td>Other creative freelancers e.g. poets, designers, etc.</td>
<td>Companies, Public sector, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual Arts Sector</td>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>Art dealer, Curators, Art journalists, etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own design
5.3.4 Spatial network pattern of visual artists

Social networks play an important role for artists I surveyed out of all responding artists, 196 artists to examine their contact frequency with other members of the art world Figure 5.27 shows the results obtained through the survey, and highlights that almost all artists meet other artists (93%), followed by suppliers (78%), 64% gallery owners (64%), and collectors (55%) Interestingly, very few artists have contacts to curators or art consultants

Figure 5.26 Contact frequency of artists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact frequency of artists</th>
<th>2-3 times/year</th>
<th>monthly</th>
<th>weekly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery owner</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curator</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplier</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art consultant</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art journalist</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source Web-based survey (2006)

These artistic networks display different intensities Industrial cluster theorists, following Marshall (1920), describe dense labour pools as locational clusters and, within this, describe spatial proximity in terms of connections and contacts with both partners and rivals Contrarily, the GREMI group argues that a set of indicators form a social milieu, that in turn increases their contact frequency (see
Maillat 1991, 1998, Camagni 1995) Both perspectives are important for the study of the visual arts and are therefore considered. Secondly, artists make contacts with the galleries, approximately, one to two times per month. The lower contact frequency can be explained by the greater distance as most galleries are not in the same quarters where many of the artists live and work. Another explanation lies in the loose kind of contact, because not many artists have a contract with an art gallery in Paris. That means that the professional contacts with the gallery owners or employees usually take place at their vernissage. French galleries organise in average, approximately eight openings per year (Beder 2005)

Thirdly, the contacts to the other art groups are rare, approximately, three to four times every six months. The reason for this lies in the duration of the production process of an art work. There are no rules in existence about the duration of the production of an art work or object series. Some artists exhibit every day and some exhibit every month at local artists markets such as Place du Tertre or Montparnasse, whilst others are organised with galleries and exhibit their work every two years. Hence, artists’ contact with curators and art journalists are related to their working habits.

In order to study the networking activities further, artists were asked where their contacts to members of the art world were located. The results revealed an interesting contact pattern of visual artists in Paris. This spatial contact pattern of Parisian artists describes the sum of contacts to contact groups, namely galleries, collectors, suppliers, curators and art journalists, at various geographical scales, including the local environment, the city, the regional, the national, and the international scale. For example, the geographical contact pattern for all artists in Belleville shows how many contact groups of all artists in Belleville are located within Belleville, within Paris, within the Ile-de-France, within France and abroad. Figure 5.28 visualises this spatial connectivity for all Parisian neighbourhoods and geographical scales. Figures 5.29 (a)-(f) show the visualisation of this spatial connectivity per neighbourhood and geographical scales.

31 The questionnaire was divided into neighbourhood and arrondissement, but because of the number of cases these two were merged
Figure 5.27 Spatial network pattern for all Parisian neighbourhoods

The contact pattern of all artists in Paris suggests that 35% of all contacts are located in other Parisian neighbourhoods, followed by 25% located in their own neighbourhood, 15% located in the wider region, 14% located abroad and 12% located in France beyond Île-de-France. That means that 60% of the artists’ contacts are located in Paris and that foreign contacts are more important than contacts in the French provinces, which confirms the role of Paris as an internationally well interlinked world city for the visual arts scene.

This network pattern has also been calculated for particular neighbourhoods in Paris. The results suggest that,

- Artists in Belleville have more contacts within Paris than the average (67% of all their contacts, average: 35%) instead, they are less connected within France and abroad. This supports Belleville’s position at the earlier stages of the gentrification process as compared to the other more gentrified neighbourhoods much less internationally established artists live here.
- Artists in Montmartre are less connected with their fellow artists in the neighbourhood than the average. They are, however, very well connected in France with 17% of all their contacts, and slightly above average abroad, too. This can be interpreted as a sign for a long-established artistic neighbourhood with a considerable number of internationally renowned visual artists.

- Artists located in the Marais and Rive Gauche are much less connected with other members of the art world in Paris and in the whole France. In turn, they are significantly well connected to contact groups abroad with 25% of all their contacts. These expensive neighbourhoods have internationally recognised museums with the Louvre, Musée d'Orsay and Centre Pompidou as well as international acting galleries. These results suggest that financially well-off artists live in this area. Successful artists are usually well connected to the art centres globally.

- Artists around Montparnasse are less connected to contact groups in their neighbourhood and abroad. They are, however, well connected in the region and France.

- Artists in other Parisian neighbourhoods are significantly less connected within Paris than artists that are located in more artistic neighbourhoods. They are, however, better connected to the art world outside of Paris.

In conclusion, it can be argued that artists who do not live in identified artistic neighbourhoods are significantly less connected to members in the art world than the ones that mingle in those arty districts. This result supports the idea that proximity promotes connectivity. This also shows that the position of the neighbourhood in the gentrification cycle and the careers stages and also the international networks of artists interlink. It takes time to build up international networks so it would not be expected to find well established international networks among the emerging artist residing in the emerging 'hip quarters' such as Belleville, Marais and St Germain-de-Prés. Appear for that reason to be by far the most internationally oriented districts.
Figure 5.28  Spatial network pattern by artistic neighbourhood

Figure 5.29 (a) Belleville

Figure 5.29 (b) Montmartre

Figure 5.29 (c) Marais/ Rive Gauche

Figure 5.29 (d) Montparnasse

Figure 5.29 (e) Bastille

Figure 5.29 (f) Other Parisian districts

n = 5

n = 4

n = 34

n = 27

n = 14

n = 10
In addition to these spatial characteristics, there are professionally-related characteristics which are important in shaping the structure of the artists' network. The freelance visual artists have numerous contacts with different members of the art world such as artistic colleagues, suppliers, institutions, agents and traders, as well as buyers and collectors. In the survey, contact groups have been created, including other artists, suppliers, galleries, collectors, art journalists and curators, in order to find out how the artists relate to them. Figure 5.30 shows the location of all contact groups at the five different geographical scales discussed before. Figure 5.31 (a)-(f) show the geographical distribution of contacts for the distinct contact groups.

![Spatial pattern for all contact groups](image)

The location pattern of all contact groups of Parisian based artists suggests that 34% of all contact groups are located in other Parisian neighbourhoods, followed by 23% located in their own neighbourhood, 16% located in the region, 14% located abroad and 12% located in France. That means that 57% of the artists' contacts are located in Paris.
This network pattern has also been calculated for particular contact groups. The results suggest that,

- contacts to other artists are significantly higher in the artists' own neighbourhoods (36% compared to 23% of all contact groups) Artists seem to have less contact to other artists in other Parisian areas.

- Half of the artists have contacts to galleries in Paris, but mainly not in their own neighbourhood. Also, they are more connected to galleries abroad than to the average of all contact groups.

- 88% of all suppliers are in the wider Paris, compared to 12% suppliers located in France or abroad.

- Most of the collectors are located in Paris and the region (59%). Compared to the other contact groups, however, contact to collectors in France and abroad are well above average. The few artists that are connected to curators located 55% outside the Parisian region. This ties in with the argument that contacts to collectors are very selective and that established artists with direct contacts to collectors live in the long established neighbourhoods such as St Germain-de-Pres.

- Contacts to art journalists are most frequent within Paris.

In conclusion, artists seem to be well connected with other artists and suppliers in their neighbourhood. Galleries and art journalists are located in Paris, while collectors and curators are mainly outside the Parisian region. In the survey, most of the artists stressed that they seek contact to colleagues, and most of them have the contacts within their own contact group. Furthermore, artists seek contacts to suppliers, galleries, collectors, journalist and curators, and an examination of the geographical pattern of these different groups is informative. The explanation lies in a similar motivation for artists to live in certain urban areas that consequently lead to local clustering. The characteristics of artistic neighbourhoods are cheap rents, authenticity, and presence of a multicultural
population (for more detail see 5.2.1) The spatial proximity to suppliers implies two conclusions. Firstly, art traders locate themselves near source of demand and supply, namely in neighbourhoods with a high percentage of artists. Secondly, artists consider that being close to an art material supplier is very convenient. The galleries are situated in artists’ neighbourhoods and in other areas of Paris. This shows that for galleries the regional proximity in terms of being in the same city seems to be a more important issue than being in a close proximity to the artists’ neighbourhood. Hence, there are strong ties between artistic neighbourhoods and metropolitan entertainment clusters.

A few artists have contact with curators that arrange exhibitions or advise collection form in Paris. However, most of the Parisian artists have contacts to curators that work abroad. This is another indicator of the internationality of the sector and the concentration of the contemporary art scene in a few countries. This also shows that the international well connected artists do have strong ties to curators and dealer abroad, while the local networkers meet other artists and gallery owner in Paris. This mean different spatiality can imply also different contact group.

This shows that a high proportion of traded contemporary art is exhibited in places such as the USA, Great Britain and Germany and thus involves a higher percentage of agents, curators and traders working in regional clusters in these countries.
Figure 5.30 Spatial network pattern of contact groups

Figure 5.31 (a)

Figure 5.31 (b)

Figure 5.31 (c)

Figure 5.31 (d)
Figure 5.32 (a)-(d) shows the types of network pattern of individual artists. Every single artist has his or her own spatial pattern of contacts that is influenced by issues such as their biography, their age and career stage, and their national and international reputation. It is possible to create categories that classify spatial network patterns into the four types of (a) the local player, (b) the regional networker, (c) the locally networked international networker, and (d) the transcendent international working artist.

Figure 5.31 Types of spatial network pattern of individual artists
By looking at the geographical patterns of artists' professional contacts, four types can be identified: artists who are connected on a neighbourhood level, those who have neighbourhood-interregional contacts, those with intra-regional contacts in Paris; and interregionally connected artists.

The artists who are connected on a neighbourhood level unite their working environment together with their professional contacts, and act primarily within a very small geographical scale. The second type of artists' connectivity is being well bonded within their neighbourhood and additionally having strong ties to art professionals outside the Paris region. The third type is comprised of artists who are very well connected within Paris and the Region Ile-de-France. However, these artists do not necessarily have strong ties within their neighbourhood. Finally, the fourth type of artists' connectivity represents artists who are not embedded in the professional life of Paris but have established their contacts abroad. These 'transcendent' international stars live and work in Paris but are acting on a global scale.

By comparing these connectivity types, it is apparent that the artists who have most of their contacts outside of Paris have a high probability of having more contacts with curators and journalists than the average. These types of artists also have more contacts to collectors than the average. The analysis shows that the majority of the neighbourhood-interregional type of artists can make their living from art. Evidence also suggests that the artists having local and interregional type of contacts seem to support themselves. The artists who are more locally active are in a precarious position as they are more likely to take on a second job in order to support their livings.

It appears that these artists are focused on their local environment and, have only a few contacts within the art world. In contrast, the artists having neighbourhood-interregional type of contacts lie above the average in regard to all contact groups. These artists are well connected in their local environment as well as outside the Parisian region. The artists having Paris-regional type of contact lie slightly below the average, except for frequency of meetings between artists and suppliers, which is very high for their colleagues and art material...
suppliers. It becomes evident that Paris-orientated artists are strongly connected to artists and suppliers, however their contacts to the art world professionals such as, galleries and curators are less frequent. Finally, the artists having interregional type of contacts clearly lie below the average with regard to meeting frequencies. However, artists having interregional type of contacts meet more frequently to the curators and collectors. Hence, it is apparent that the geographical proximity affects the number of contacts in terms of how frequently the artists meet with their fellow artists. As stated above, think more in terms of different tiers of internationally, regionally and locally networked artists.

The final step in this analysis is locating the connectivity types of visual artists in distinct Parisian neighbourhoods. The visualisation is illustrated in Figure 5.33 and shows some distinctive features.

*Figure 5.32 Artists' connectivity by Parisian art neighbourhoods*
Artists working in the Belleville, Bastille and Montmartre quarters show a similar pattern of connections within the neighbourhood and on the interregional level. This phenomenon can be explained with the strong association of artists to these neighbourhoods. Artists have identified these areas as the most authentic and multicultural neighbourhoods, and consequently a higher bonding can be experienced. Additionally, these neighbourhoods have a very vivid local artist scene with associations such as the Association d'artistes de Belleville, and Artistes de Montmartre. Local artists are believed to be well organised in conducting events such as open studio weekends - e.g. Portes Ouvertes d'artistes de Belleville - with a number of participating local artists and their invited colleagues reaching as high as two-hundred and fifty. This is related to Ley's (2003) work on gentrification and artists, where he argues that artists who live in these distinct neighbourhoods seek their proximity and collaborate.

Artists from Belleville are very well connected within Paris and the region Ile-de-France. Bastille shows similar tendencies but on a fairly smaller scale. This gives evidence of the fact that artists who live in Belleville hold strong ties with other art neighbourhoods in Paris. They share information not only in their neighbourhood but also on a regional basis. However, the likeliness of these artists being time-honoured at a regional and/or national art scene is limiting considering Paris is known to be the centre of French cultural production.

As mentioned above, the artists who are connected regionally do not encompass strong relationships with administrative art professionals such as, galleries and curators. Furthermore, these artists work and sell on a regional basis mainly on local art markets or open studio days.

The systematic reason is believed to be strong ties within the local clusters benefiting from presence of galleries and art experts in a close proximity. The close proximity of galleries and art experts to the inhabited artists allows them to interact on a very small scale and increases their visibility to galleries simply by sharing the daily routines in the same neighbourhood. Additionally, due to this close proximity, common values and behaviour occurs and leads to a common local identity, which in turn, helps the artists to get established at art scenes due
to 'circulating their names'. For example, Valery Gracher who is an internationally recognised artist lives in Rive Gauche where his chances to engage with local galleries, ENSBA, etc are very high. To summarise, the connectivity types show the different ways of professional interaction of visual artists on different scales. Hence, this analysis provides a deeper understanding of different art clusters within Paris in terms of their spatiality and intensity. The different types of connections can be located in neighbourhoods so that it became possible to identify typical patterns of professional networking within different local cultural production clusters.

Taylor (2007) defined town-ness and city-ness as two relational urban processes both generic in nature. Town-ness connects central places to their hinterlands through the offering of central goods and services. Therefore, town-ness can be understood as a local process in defined boundaries that generates vertical relations between central places and their hinterland. Christaller (1933) developed the best-known model of town-ness in the central place theory. City-ness in contrast links different cities with each other beyond their supporting hinterland. City-ness is considered as a non-local process, generating horizontal rather than unequal relations between cities by means of a mutual exchange of goods, and capital (a network). Taylor et al. (2008) present a central flow theory as a geographical model of city-ness. While town-ness is a rather stable and static process, city-ness is much more dynamic and prone to change. Being processes, city-ness and town-ness are not mutually exclusive but can and do occur in one and the same place at the same time. Consequently, both processes are present in towns as well as in cities, although one can expect that city-ness is proportionally more important to understand the economies of large cities than those of small towns and vice versa (Verbruggen 2008).

Taking this into account, one can find town-ness and city-ness also in a neighbourhood scale. Town-ness describes the feelings of security and mutuality in the mythical, village-like character of Parisian neighbourhoods. The process of town-ness in the concept of Taylor can be found in this context of the studio as central place and the neighbourhood can be seen as the hinterland. In contrast to town-ness, these neighbourhoods incorporate urbanity that displays diversity,
openness and centrality of world cities. These neighbourhoods are in a network of other global art neighbourhoods link to each other. The interviewee’s perceptions of their local environment have been used to explore those concepts.

Every step towards success in the art world has barriers and just a few artists are able to reach the pinnacle of the art world, however, these artists rule the art market. The monopolistic structure of the visual art market is dominated by the mechanisms of international artistic life and economic globalisation, creating a market dominated by a few star artists (Smiers 2003). The phenomenon of “superstars” was first described in economic terms by Sherwin Rosen (1981) who assumed that the talented individuals produce higher quality products. The superstar effect implies that the highest quality producers earn a disproportionately large share of market earnings. In the high arts sphere, reputation is a factor of exceptional longevity, from a twofold point of view. The sense of achievement is enhanced, well beyond the average working-life term, and the reputation as capital may be converted into an artistic and economic rent, since the famous artist faces a rather inelastic demand for his praised work (Moulin 1987). Accordingly, Haak (2005) shows that these effects can be related to artists’ earnings.

5.3.5 Meeting place: Vernissages

Artists use phrases such as “creating an address book” to underline that professional contacts are the most viable ingredient for their economic success. Establishing a network of art professionals seems vital for getting exhibited and sold. Interactions at exhibition openings have been identified as important meeting places (see Figure 5.34). This section positions openings with regard to their effect for artists’ networking activities.
Openings, also known as Vernissages (French), or previews are phrases often used for addressing the pre-events held prior to an art exhibition. Vernissage literally means "varnishing," and refers to the final, finishing touches on a painting shortly before an exhibition. Openings are often private, pre-public, sometimes 'invitation only' events serving as the opening ceremony of a show. The guest list is largely comprised of those who are most likely to buy or write favourable reviews that may entice others to buy. Vernissage attendees get first choice for purchasing key new pieces. Vernissages have its roots in the old practice of setting aside a day before an exhibition's opening for artists to varnish and put finishing touches to their paintings — a tradition that reportedly dates back to at least 1809, when it was instituted by England's Royal Academy of Arts. One famous member of England's Royal Academy, Joseph Turner (1775-1851), was notorious for making major changes to his paintings on an opening day. English speakers originally referred this day of finishing touches to simply as "varnishing day". It was from sometime around 1912 that the French term 'vernissage'
(literally, 'varnishing') took over and became widely used as a phrase for opening days.

Today, exhibition openings of contemporary artists mainly take place in galleries. However, in the last decades, museums have increased their interest in contemporary art as well as their activity in hosting exhibition openings. Recently, cutting-edge venues such as Tube stations and old warehouses attracted artists to hold their exhibition openings. In Paris, contemporary art galleries are concentrated in few neighbourhoods such as the northern Marais. One interviewed artist reveals his 'hot spots' for vernissages:

There are some concentrations of galeries. The galeries of the rue Louise Weiss, they have their openings all at the same time. But it is a bit, a bit too far. It is there the problem of the neighbourhood. It is really the other end of Paris. So it is a place, I go there two, three times a year. I'm not going to the opening because it is not the right time. In contrast, there is another place where I am going practically all the time. In fact, there are openings tomorrow at rue de Seine. It is some year now, where they started to have them at the same time. In general, I am invited by the Gallery Valois. So I go often there. And if not, I go to openings of my friends, and then occasionally to the galeries that also expose me. Even if there are artists that I do not know.

Similarly, another interviewee, a young Portuguese artist, sees those opening days as an advantage:
It is where a few good artists show artistic work – originally and free. And to enter into a gallery is free and even better, when you go on Tuesday or Thursday, those are the days where openings take place, you can also have a drink with the artists of the gallery. So that is great. The openings, yes, it is a good opportunity to meet other people and also to catch up with other people’s current work; it is always interesting.

Both artists mention the synchronisation of date and time of vernissages. This has been confirmed by an ethnographic approach to gallery openings in Paris (see Box 5.6).
Box 5.6 Excerpt of fieldwork diary on gallery openings in the Marais

A night of gallery openings in the Marais

The northern Marais in the 3rd arrondissement is characterised by a dense concentration of contemporary art galleries and many galleries organise events on Saturdays. Accompanied by exhibitions are openings (or vernissages) and finissages (which is the event at an ending exhibition) where often the represented artist is present. Next to that, galleries hold evenings where their represented artists meet buyers, journalists and other interested member of the art world without a current exhibition. I visited three events of galleries in this area on Saturday the 21st January. The first remarkable characteristic is the lively in this area. It was Saturday evening and many galleries were open until 10pm. Art interested parties walked around from one venue to another. Especially in the area of dense concentration of galleries around rue Charlot, rue Perche and rue Vieille de Temple were many people on the streets and although it was a bit rainy it seemed that the pavements were occupied by art discussions with good spirits. This neighbourhood is filled with an interesting mixture of people. In rue Charlot you can find music shop, architects, antic shop, art photographer, the Association développement animation culturelle de Paris, designer, interior designer, decorators, marketing agencies, art galleries, market research institute, model agency, piano shop, cafés and a restaurant. In the side road rue Perche are art galleries, lingerie, architects, a cloth shop, interior designer, and web designer. However, this evening, I concentrated on the activities that happened at these galleries. They were taken up by artists, the gallery owners and their employees, journalists and visitors. Some visitors seemed to know place and people very well as they started long friendly welcomes. They hugged each other and exchanged personal issues. Others seemed more detached from the scene, walked around and tried to avoid eye contact with the ‘established’ participants. They looked at the art works and hold on to their champagne glass. Next to that, the main activities were drinking, introduce people or being introduced, look interested, bored or even annoyed, some waiting to talk to someone. One main characteristic was the extreme noise in all three events. Next to music, there was a lot talking and loud laughter. Disregarding that French are having much communication anyway when they go out, these settings appeared to me an exaggerated version of French communicational behaviour in bars or cafés. The topics they raised focused mainly on current debates in the French art scene, rumours or facts about changing personnel and so forth.
The whole setting seemed quite relaxed and not like there was any business taking place at all. Although, within the time I was there, in Galene Chantal Crousel was added a new black dot on one art work.

**Ethnography at contemporary art galleries (21st January 2006)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gallery</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Present Artists</th>
<th>Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Galerie Alain</td>
<td>meeting with artists,</td>
<td>Michel Brylak,</td>
<td>rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaron</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brigitte Terziev,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galerie Condee</td>
<td>Finissage of exhibition</td>
<td>Colin Cook, Jean-François</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caminade</td>
<td>'Dessins et dérives'</td>
<td>Courtilat, Maike Freess,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galerie Chantal</td>
<td>artist meeting in</td>
<td>Rirknt Tiravanija,</td>
<td>rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crousel</td>
<td>association with current</td>
<td>Charlot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork diary notes 22nd January 2006

As the two cited interviewees outlined, the openings are held on the same day providing evidence that these opening events are locally embedded. This is only possible due to close geographical proximity of the various venues that are used to hold openings. At these events, the art centre transforms into an entertainment space for one evening but more importantly, into a business centre too.
### Table 5.5 Interpretation of an opening night in the Marais

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Place as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday a day with many events</td>
<td>Knowledge about other galleries; or locally-embedded (developed) knowledge</td>
<td>Community practice (knowledge)</td>
<td>Temporary space,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galleries in close proximity open</td>
<td>Advantage</td>
<td>Community practice (knowledge)</td>
<td>Art lump,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vivid atmosphere</td>
<td></td>
<td>Community practice (effect)</td>
<td>Entertainment space,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixture of inhabitants/businesses</td>
<td>‘Creative class’</td>
<td>Community practice (knowledge, code)</td>
<td>Creative space,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of visitors</td>
<td>Elite, established people, role and status</td>
<td>Community roles</td>
<td>Human space,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Noise’ in the galleries</td>
<td>Relaxed atmosphere</td>
<td>Community practice</td>
<td>Entertainment space,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black dots on art works</td>
<td>Business transactions take place</td>
<td>Community practice (business)</td>
<td>Business space, financial transaction space,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: own design*

Gallery owners send out newsletters and invitations for openings to the associates who are part of their network. The invitees include artists, collectors, journalists, curators, etc. The simple rule of thumb is, the better connected the artist with the gallery is, the better it is for him/herself. A good network means wealthy collectors and influential intermediaries in the art world. One employee of a renowned contemporary art gallery in the Marais explains her motivation to go to openings to other galleries as follows:

> I try, but it's not very easy because we are not very easy opening hours. So we try to go to vernissages that are close by. But looking at the exhibition at openings is not always very good. But we are looking at quite lot exhibitions.

> But yes, we try to go. It is important to know what happens around us and see what others are doing. (Be close all the time.)
Ongmal: J'essaye, mais c'est pas très facile parce qu'on a pas des horaires très simple Donc on essaye d'y aller auprès les vernissages Mais voir des expositions pendant des vernissages c'est pas toujours très, très bien On voir pas très bien des expositions Mais oui, on essaye d'aller C'est important savoir ce qui se passe à coté et de voir aussi ce que les autres font (être fermer tout le temps ) (AD3)

Together with artists, art dealers, and media personalis, collectors go to the opening events AD2 is a gallery owner and illustrates the importance of the presence of artists at her openings:

There are a lot artist visiting my openings, I've always full house Because there just a few galleres that represent this type of art And, every time I have 50-60 artists Yes, yes The vernissage is then full, thanks to God, when the collectors come and the artists come that is very nice Then we are happy

Ongmal: Es kommen enorm viel Kunstler zu meinen Vernissagen, also ich hab immer das Haus voll Weil es eben so wenig Galeren gibt, die diese Richtung vertreten. Und, ich hab jedes Mal 50-60 Kunstler Ja, ja Die Vernissage ist dann voll, Gott sei dank, wenn die Privatleute kommen und die Kunstler kommen ist schon sehr schon Freuen wir uns (AD2)

Openings are also very essential for the success of an exhibition One interviewed artist names figures and argues that

The opening, yes, it is so important In fact, I would say that if you take 100 people who visit an exhibition, there are 70 who went to the opening and 30 visiting at other times

Ongmal: C'est l'inauguration oui c'est quand même important, en fait c'est quoi je dirai que c'est si vous prenez 100 personnes qui passent voir l'exposition y en a 70 qui sont passées au vernissage et 30 qui passent tout le temps après (AT13)
For the exhibiting artists, an opening seems to be a more difficult situation. The artists not only face the judgment of their critics, but also find themselves in the limelight for the evening. The following statements of two young female artists underline their utter exposure towards their critics:

I think, it is difficult for artists. It is like a birthday party. You say ‘hello’ to everybody and in the middle of the day you say ‘good bye’ to everyone. And you have the feeling you have been very superficial and did not pay enough attention to anyone. But it’s very often, your closer friends, the friends of the gallery, the museum, they had fun.

You meet many people, and it also calms me down. It is still, it is your intimacy, when people ask you questions. This is not bad. Sometimes it’s bad but it’s just super close. So, you speak, you speak, you meet the other artists, and you have a lot emotions even when you are at openings. In group exhibitions, it is a bit stronger, even emotionally. That is really something. Then, there are people who say very nice things, very nice word about your work.

Original: Pour l’artiste quand même c’est dur je trouve. C’est comme une fête d’anniversaire tu dis bonjour à tout le monde et au milieu de la journée tu dis au revoir à tout le monde. Et tu as l’impression d’avoir été très superficielle et de ne pas avoir donné assez d’attention à personne. Mais c’est quand même c’est souvent, les gens dans ton entourage, tes amis pour le galeriste pour le musée là on s’était amusé (AD13)

Original: Tu voir beaucoup de gens, et tout ailleurs tu te me calme. C’est quand même, c’est ton intimité, c’est des gens posait des questions des fois. Ce n’est pas méchant. Des fois c’est méchant mais c’est juste super intime. Et donc, tu parle, tu parle tu rencontre des autres artistes, et t’a beaucoup d’émotion quand même quand on soi au des vernissages. En commun c’est un peu fort, puis émotionnellement il y a vraiment un truc. C’est des gens qui te disaient des trucs très belle, très belle sur ton travail.
Finally, one might argue, why these opening events are highly successful. It appears to be a win-win situation for everyone attending these events. The exhibiting artists get their much-needed exposure, the visiting artists get their valuable contacts with potential buyers, art dealers and collectors meet artists and can indulge themselves with the ‘artistic’ input, and gallery owners make their profit. Easy to say, but in business terms, transactions in the art world are based around mutual trust. An interviewed gallery employee describes the importance of trust as interpersonal relationships are extremely important because it is a still a very small world. And there are many people who want to enter. So, personally knowing people, actually allows you to improve your network. Virtual interaction is something that you can have. That means, communicating with people via the internet, via telephone, because in a gallery you have contacts with people that are quite different. But the fact that you know people, see them, shake their hands, meet them, etcetera that allows you clearly to improve the tie you have with them. And like all our work is based on those ties. Because when you have a gallery, you need to sell. So you must know the collectors, so it is important that collectors gain confidence. So, for them to gain confidence they need to have the impression that you know a little bit anyway. It works like this. And with the artists it works the same way. Because the contracts we have with artists are mainly oral contracts. Those are not at all written contracts. Those are not at all written contracts for the most part anyway. So, artist and gallery owner have a lot to talk and exchange. There is very rare that it happens that you don’t know the artist that you exhibit.

Original: Les relations interpersonnel sont extrêmement important parce que c'est un malgré tout c'est un monde de très petit. Et il y a beaucoup de gens qui veulent rentrer. Et donc, le fait de connaître personnellement les gens, ça permet effectivement d'améliorer son réseau. C'est qu'on peut avoir un réseau entre virtuel. C'est à dire, la communication avec des gens par internet, par téléphone, parce que dans une galerie on a ramené des contacts avec des gens tout à fait différent. Mais le fait de connaître des gens, de leur a voir, serrer le main, de leur rencontre, etcetera ça permet évidemment d'améliorer le lien qu'on a avec eux. Et comme tout ce travail basé sur ce lien parce que quand on a une galerie il faut vendre, donc il faut connaître les collectionneurs, donc il faut que les collectionneurs on face confiance. Donc, pour qu'il face confiance il faut qu'ils ont l'impression de vous connaître un petit
peu en tout cas Ca marche comme ca Et avec les artistes ca marchent aussi comme ca Parce que les contrats qu'on a avec les artistes sont des contrats qui sont surtout oral, qui ne sont pas du tout des contrats écrits pour la plupart en tout cas Et donc, ca passent quand même beaucoup parler d'échange entre galeriste et artiste Il y a très peu de chances que ca arrive si l'artiste ne connait pas (AT13)

5.3.6 Working abroad: 'in situ'

The production of artworks takes place mainly in the artist's studios in Paris. However, when they are going abroad for exhibitions and projects, the artists often work 'in situ'. In art, in situ refers to a work of art made specifically for a host site, or to a work of art that takes into account the site in which it is installed or exhibited. Reasons for working 'in situ' are difficulties with transportation because of the fragility or size of art pieces that in turn increase costs to extreme high amounts. Another argument is the advantage of using local suppliers and embedding local materials or issues into a project. One artist worked on a project called "The Sick Home" where she created an installation out of drug packaging. After a successful exhibition in Paris, she was invited to expand the project for exhibiting in Italy, Toronto and Tokyo (see Figure 5.35). Consequently, she flew there and worked locally to collect those local drug packages in order to address her audience on site.

Most of the time, I bring the works from Berlin or Paris. It's quite rare that I take the risk of doing something on the spot. Because everything takes a long time ( ). The frames are often made on site or if there are things directly on walls or installations. For this, ok it can be done. For example, there is a well-known installation of mine called "the sick home". And it is true that everywhere I have shown it, I have worked with local hospitals. It is an installation that shows drug boxes. It did this on site mostly because I was interested in that fact that people could recognize the boxes in the installation. French drug boxes for Japanese audience are just different. So, for installations like this where
there's a real relationship with the audience, I do them on site.

Original: La plupart du temps c'est plutôt ramener de Berlin ou Paris, quoi. C'est assez rare que je prenne le risque de faire un truc sur place. Parce que tout prend beaucoup temps. (...) souvent les encadrements sont faits sur place ou s'il y a des choses directement sur les murs ou installations. Pour ça, ok ca peut être fait. Par exemple, il y a une installation les plus connu lorsque j'ai fait, c'est "la maison malade". Et ca, en principe c'est vrai que partout j'ai les montré on a travaillé avec des hôpitaux sur place. En fête, c'est une installation de boîte de médicaments. C'était surtout parce que c'est plus intéressant pour moi que les gens pu se reconnaître dans l'installation. Si c'est des médicaments français, pour des japonais c'est la plupart autre chose. Donc, voila pour des installations comme ça ou il y a un vrai rapport avec le public on va dire la c'est fait sur place (AT7).

Figure 5.34 Working 'in situ', the example of 'La Maison Malade' AT7

Variable dimensions ARCO (cutting edge), Madrid, Es (2002)
Ipermercati del'arte, Palazzo delle Papesse, Siena (It), 2004
Hypochondriaque, Mizuma Art Gallery Tokyo (Jp), 2003
Tutto Normale, Villa Medicis, Roma (It) 2002

Source: AT7
Another aspect of being creative abroad is the potential to be open to foreign influences. One sculptor is working mainly with rural environmental themes such as trees. He acknowledges that being at a different place changes some aspects of his theme. He stayed for a period of two years in Arizona where he faced challenges such as finding proper material or colour choices that differ from the one he would pick in his familiar Parisian environment:

What interests me is to be confronted with the difficulty of a place where you must start from the beginning. Not intellectually, I know what I wanted to do. But you must find materials, find the places, find, find ... sometimes be influenced like with this little piece here, that has been made in Arizona. I took the blue of Arizona and the red of Arizona. Things that I have never made in France. Here, I made a duplicate of a piece of paper I have made in Japan. In Japan, I have learned to work with paper.

Figure 5.36 shows the studio of this artist with his art works being produced in Japan and the USA.
Figure 5.35 Parisian studio of AT1 with art made in USA and Japan

Glass works made in USA

Paper works made in Japan
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This final chapter summarises the findings from chapter four and five. It then, theorises the results within recent debates and literature. And finally it looks into future research perspectives.

The main findings of this research are focused around the practices and geographies of visual artists in Paris. First, this research has identified Paris as a global contemporary art city next to New York, London, Barcelona and Tokyo. By comparing contemporary art exhibitions, contemporary art collections and galleries representing the Top 100 contemporary artists between 2002 and 2004, these cities have in common a high proportion of these attributes. Other types of contemporary art cities have been identified such as major exhibition cities like Munich, Basel and Los Angeles, contemporary art gallery cities like Cologne, and Milan, and institutional contemporary art collection cities such as Washington, Toronto or Ghent.

This research has hence displayed the various actors in the contemporary visual arts in Paris. The Marais and St. Germain-de-Prés are home to Parisians major art dealer. Major contemporary art exhibition venues with their significant collections are the state run Centre Pompidou, and the Palais Toyko and private foundations such as the Fondation Cartier. Art education plays also an important role in Paris with many art schools including the leading art school in France, the Ecole National Supénuere des Beaux-Arts (ENSBA). In addition, major French art magazines and culture sections in newspapers bring the visual arts in the media cycle. All these actors in the arts create a distinct atmosphere within the city centre that promotes contemporary visual artists. Most of these actors are spatially clustered in inner arrondissements of Paris, mainly in the 4th, 6th and 8th arrondissement.
Paris is also home of a large number of visual artists. The cultural offerings of Paris and the presence of major contemporary art actors were highlighted by more than half of the surveyed artists as reasons for working in Paris. The location of artists in Paris showed spatial clustering in distinct creative neighbourhoods, but also dispersal spread across the city.

The reasons for the locations of many artists in the introduced neighbourhoods of Paris are related to path-dependency and creative neighbourhood characteristics. The historic trajectory of the neighbourhoods Montmartre, Montparnasse and St. Germain-de-Près displayed a strong relationship between these locations and bohemians such as visual artists. The mapping of artists' studios between 1860s and 2006 has shown the historic developments of artists in Parisian studios. The emerging neighbourhoods such as the Marais and Belleville gained an interest for artists due to City Council studio houses built in the 1980s and cheap rents. Both neighbourhoods are marked by stages of gentrification. Belleville in the pioneer stages, the Marais in mature stages.

Further on, this research has shown that artists have a complex set of activities in their work life from research and physical production of art works, to administrative activities, networking, and travelling. These practices of visual artists in Paris have been scrutinised within the scope of their geographies. One activity of artists is visiting art exhibitions which they usually consider as doing research. The importance of being able to compare their own works and seeing other creative products as face-to-art contacts has been described as an important act for visual artists.

Then, it has been found that artists have horizontal and vertical collaborations with other creative individuals and institutions within the visual arts and outside the sector. This research focused mainly on horizontal collaboration meaning these within the visual arts (see chapter 5.3.3). It identified studio buildings as living, working and exhibition space for visual artists. The explored interactions such as casual meetings on the floor, administrative meetings, and creative collaborations serve various purposes such as socialising, 'staying in the loop', and increasing the profile of artists house or individual. These studio buildings
allow artists to be on their own in the studio and also interact with other creatives within close distance. This generates a distinct atmosphere. There have been also explored collaborations between artists and other members of the arts such as the artist who worked closely with his art dealer and another artist collaborating with the Palais Tokyo. All these form of collaboration have shown that spatial proximity increases contact frequencies and collaboration.

In a next step, these interactions have been spatially mapped and it could be seen that proximity increases contact frequencies and collaboration (see chapter 5.3.4). There were identified different network types amongst visual artists in Paris by locating their contacts and contact frequency. These are the local player, the regional networker, the locally networked international networker and the transcendent international working artists. These different network types could be located in different neighbourhoods. Artists working in the Belleville, Bastille and Montmartre quarters show a similar pattern of connections within the neighbourhood and on the interregional level. The Marais and St Germain-de-Prés seem to host more neighbourhood-interregional contacts than any other types.

For these networks have been identified two crucial meeting spaces: the studio and exhibition openings (see Figure 5.33). Exhibition openings have been explored as spaces of art, entertainment, creativity, and economic transactions. It could be seen that locally embedded knowledge is apparent and communities of practice could be described.

Finally, travelling and working abroad brought in another geographic scale of artists work life. From ordering material, travelling to an exhibition to producing art work at a long-term stay abroad, all these international connections could be observed amongst the visual artists in Paris.
After the summary of the research findings, the following part theorises the multi-scalar geographies of visual artists. It has been shown that different scales are needed to explain geographies of visual artists. From artistic production in neighbourhoods to working for an exhibition abroad, the work life of visual artists covers different geographical scales.

The city as ground for cultural production has often been described. It serves as one scale in the complex geographies of visual artists. Geographies of creative industries have been elaborated as geographical clusters in an urban environment with international links (Scott 1999, Bathelt et al 2004). The city is often host for creative activities that need involvement from different specialised groups within the production and consumption process such as fashion, film or visual arts (Pratt 2004, O'Connor 2004). Local spaces of cultural production are highly diversified and range from arts centres, theatres, production studios and *haut couture* ateliers to public spaces such as bars, and cafes. All these places enable a creative environment where the creative work force such as designers, and artists meet cultural intermediaries and the wider public to create and reflect on cultural products (Drake 2003). These meetings and collaborative actions provoke a certain creative atmosphere that is unique for a specific place (Storper and Venables 2004). The city of Paris offers a large amount of those cultural venues in form of public centres such as museums, artist houses, theatres and opera, and private locations such as cultural foundations, music halls, and cabaret cafes (see chapter 4). Those places experience great media attention in cultural sections of the local and national newspapers, as well as national television channels. Culture in Paris is seen as a national affair where the Ministry of Culture and Communication has a large influence with its policy and large sums of public spending in the field (Dubois 1999). Due to this, the visual arts are highly funded and therefore very visible in the public eye. This attracts both inhabitants and a large amount of tourists, expecting to see 'high culture' in Paris (Pearce 1998). That makes Paris a hub for cultural production and consumption. Visual artists make use of the specific atmosphere in Paris in various ways. This research has shown that artists benefit from agglomeration.

32 See French Newspapers such as Le Monde, Le Parisien, Le Figaro.
effects such as institutional thickness (Amin and Thrift 1995), face-to-face contacts (Storper and Venables 2004) and shared facilities (Zukin 1995). More specific a set of benefits have been identified. First, an awareness and active contribution of cultural production amongst the citizens of Paris is part of this specific atmosphere. This can be shown with one example described by one interviewed artist who describes Paris as an ‘art intellectual’ city where conversations about art can occur with the taxi driver on the way home after a night out (AT2). This attention to visual arts in the city puts artists in a signification role as actors in this cultural production. Second, artists benefit from the large amount of members of the contemporary visual art sector, mostly geographically concentrated at few streets within the inner city of Paris (Marais, St Germain-de-Prés). These art dealers in Paris also benefit from their proximity to each other. The observed collaborative marketing projects such as special evening openings (see chapter 4.4) suggest embedded local knowledge and collaboration as outlines for economic clusters by authors like Maillat (1991) and Porter (1998). The benefits for artists of those cultural quarters are an increased awareness for Paris as a contemporary art centre. This in turn creates for artists sales arguments as they produce their works in a city with high cultural value added. It also increases the artist’s chances to get exhibited, to meet potential buyers, and so forth. Especially the ability to meet face-to-face cannot be underestimated in this context. Storper and Venables (2004) presented a good overview of the importance of meetings for economic actions as it is an efficient communication technology, it allows actors to align commitments and thereby reduces incentive problems; it allows screening of agents, and it motivates effort. Consequently, these contacts stimulate a local buzz. Table 6.1 shows the properties of face-to-face contacts in the visual arts.
Table 6.1 Properties of face-to-face contacts in the visual arts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Advantage of f2f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>Preparation and accomplishment of exhibitions; Preparation of art fairs or other events</td>
<td>Trust and incentives in relationships</td>
<td>Detection of lying; Co-presentation a commitment of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>Presentation of art work, Presentation of artist, Betting on auctions</td>
<td>Rush and Motivation</td>
<td>Performance as display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being ‘in the loop’</td>
<td>Interviewing actor for art magazine; Attendance of art fairs, vernissages / finissages</td>
<td>Screening and socialising</td>
<td>Judging and being judged, loss of anonymity, acquisition of shared values, discovering new ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-codifiable information, generating ideas</td>
<td>Meeting accidentally</td>
<td>Communication technology</td>
<td>High frequency, rapid feedback, visual, body language cues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Stoper and Venables (2004)

The cultural offerings of Paris allow visual artists to do research and get inspirations for example from exhibitions and art events (see chapter 5.3.1).

The importance of the city as base for cultural production (Zukin 1995, Hall 2000) is also supported by the network pattern of the surveyed artists. It shows a clear trend towards contacts in the city opposed to outside the regions (see chapter 5.3.4). The majority of contacts of the visual artists are located in different arrondissements but their own in Paris. That strengthens the argument that the city as a whole plays the important role for artists, not only the creative neighbourhood.

This argument is also supported by the fact that the mapped artist studios show geographical cluster patterns but also a high degree of dispersal spread (see
chapter 5 2) Explanations for this spatial clustering are related to path-dependence and the trajectory of artist studios in Paris since the 19th century (see also chapter 5 2) as well as cluster benefits for artists. The dispersal spread in contrast can be explained with some of the soft locational factors such as familial reasons and cheap studio rent. Authors such as Zukin (1995) or Lloyd (2004) argue that cultural production happens in the city and often in creative neighbourhoods. This seems to be partly true for visual artists in Paris as the dispersal spread would suggest that close proximity to other members of the art world is overrated. The city as a whole becomes more important than the neighbourhood. Looking more closely though, the research has also shown that artists located within creative neighbourhoods such as Belleville or Montmartre are better connected (see chapter 5 3 4 1). They are more connected to professionals in the visual arts in their own neighbourhoods and also more connected to member of the art world within Paris. Consequently, being in the city is a benefit, and even more, being in a creative neighbourhood suggest more connectivity to the visual art sector.

These observations go also in line with some of the research that has been done on economic clusters because of the found parallels with artists’ neighbourhoods in Paris (Marshall 1920, Maillat 1991, Bathelt, et al, 2005). The GREMI-Group (Bramanti and Maggino 1997) argues that geographical closeness provokes collective learning and innovation. Agglomeration benefits such as shared facilities and large pools of creative labour create a distinct innovative milieu. This research shows that this applies also to the visual arts and respectively to visual artists. The benefits of being in close proximity are evidently present for artists in Paris and become visible in form of artists associations, open studio days and collaborative works (see chapter 5 3 3).

To describe very simple an art cluster, one can use the structure of Porter’s diamond and literally insert the characteristics of the art sector. The Neo-Marshallian concept of agglomeration advantages could be one explanation of the clustering in the art market. As said before, it is based on a study of international competitiveness of international trading firms. The art market is highly internationalised so I seems to be appropriate to use the Porter Diamond.
to explain the advantages of clustering in the business world of arts. Consequently, the objects of investigation are firms, public organisations and freelance worker, which include auction houses, art galleries, museums, art magazines, artists, and collectors. Porter’s competitive diamond of local industrial clustering shows the relation of interactions of a set of four factors.

In the contemporary art sector the vertical dimension of actors is striking. Examples therefore are the conglomeration of art galleries and experts around auctions houses like in Paris. The horizontal dimension in the arts is about artists’ attentions seeking, galleries that compete for buyers, visitor attractions as an advantages for museums, investments in auction houses and magazines fighting for readers. Porters factor input conditions are within an art cluster the highly skilled local labour because of art schools and education run by some museums themselves. Nations and cities provide subsidies and local competitions. The demand within an art cluster is extreme high. The traditional art centres are in great cities with consumers seeking for art.

Looking inside creative neighbourhoods, the Parisian example offers similarities to other research conducted in bohemian urban quarters. In general, these characteristics often described in literature (Solnit, 2000, Ley, 2003, Lloyd, 2004) have also been found in Parisian creative neighbourhoods such as authenticity labelled by artists in Montmartre, multiculturalism evident in Belleville, the village-like atmosphere described by interviewees, and the observed de-industrialised spaces like the studio building Les Fngos. The surveyed artists labelled Belleville and partially Montmartre with these attributes (see chapter 5.2.1).

Within the context of creative neighbourhoods, this research introduced a different aspect by using Peter Taylors lately formulated concepts of town-ness and city-ness (Taylor 2007, Taylor et al. 2008). Verbruggen (2008 online article) summarises the two concepts.

Town-ness is a generic process that links central places to their hinterlands through the offering of central goods and services. Consequently, town-ness operates on a local scale in bounded territories, and generates vertical relations between central places and their service areas (a hierarchy)
City-ness is a generic process as well, linking different cities with each other beyond their hinterlands. City-ness is a non-local process, generating horizontal rather than unequal relations between cities by means of a mutual exchange of goods, capital, etc. (a network).

These concepts bring a different notion to the different aspects of creative neighbourhoods in the city. Defining slightly different however, town-ness in a neighbourhoods scale can be understood as a process that connects local attributes to each other. Those attributes can be people, buildings, actions. Additionally, it also connects other neighbourhoods of the city to create a specific atmosphere in the city. Hence, it creates a sense of belonging, and intimacy in these neighbourhoods often described by the surveyed artists. Along with it comes a sense of security, and a homely feeling. In addition to town-ness, city-ness is similarly understood as Taylor (2007) suggests as a network of relations outside the neighbourhoods and city. This process of city-ness involves inter-regional relations that trade knowledge, goods and people. Creative neighbourhoods are have two notions of inter-regional relations. First, these quarters are often described as multi-cultural that have consequently strong ties to other cultures outside the city or country. For example, in Belleville exists a large 'China town' where its residents have strong ties to friends and relatives in China (Rocha Pitta 1997). Similarly, the Goute d'Or neighbourhood near Montmartre has a large community of northern African immigrants where their international ties provoke new products such as cross-cultural music production (Halbert et al. 2008). Second, creative freelancers have often ties to other creative clusters in different cities and countries. These intra-sectoral international relations display complex networks.

These two processes, town-ness and city-ness spark authenticity that can only be achieved on these places. For visual artists these processes have advantages as illustrated in Table 6.3.
Table 6.2 Advantages of Town-ness and City-ness for artists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town-ness</th>
<th>City-ness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community feeling</td>
<td>Cultural Rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Multicultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensible</td>
<td>Diverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homogene</td>
<td>Complex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own design

These two perspectives on creative neighbourhoods lead to the observation that proximity and networks provoke collaborations between artists and other actors in the art sector. Within art venues such as artists' houses occur various forms of meetings, collaborations and interactions amongst creative people. This correlates strongly with the findings of Markusen and Johnson (2006) who worked on the role of art centres in neighbourhoods. In addition, this research has proven that weak ties are the main force to enter and stay in the contemporary art scene. Howard Becker (1982), an institutional art theorist enlarged the definition of artistic production towards collective activities and shared conventions in the art world. Networks in the arts are necessary to achieve the functions of defining, validating, and maintaining the cultural category of art. This has been shown very clearly with the examples of vernissages as meetings places (see chapter 5.3.4.2) and collaborative efforts amongst members of the arts.

This leads to the conceptualisation of places as nodes for networks. The example of creative industries shows the re-identification with place. The cultural sector that includes services and industrial production and is marked by characteristics such as local clustering of small- and medium sized firm in urban areas with a capacious labour market and international bonds for global distribution. This local clustering is taken place because of the need of highly skilled labour, the highly specialised steps in the production line of a cultural product and the inspiring milieux of creative workers. Looking at the production of visual arts, the artists seek the proximity to urban areas mainly art cities not for the need of highly
skilled labour or networking. This research has shown that individual artists have distinct spatial network pattern. Different types of networkers have been identified: the local player, the regional networker, the locally networked international networker, and the transcendent international star. The majority of the surveyed artists were regional networker, followed by local players, locally networked international networkers and transcendent international starts.

Different types of networker appear to be concentrated in distinct neighbourhoods in Paris. Especially striking are the differences between intra-regional only and international connected artists. For example, in Belleville are around 75% of all artists local and regional connected to members in the visual arts. In contrast, around half of all artists in Montmartre, Marais and St. German-de-Pres are intra-regional and international connected (see Figure 5.30, chapter 5). This shows that some neighbourhoods have more interregional ties than others.

The 'pipelines' between one economic cluster to another formulated by Bathelt et al. (2005) have also been found amongst Paris-based artists. Their network and travel pattern suggests strong ties to other contemporary visual art hubs such as New York and Berlin (see chapters 5.3.4 and 5.3.5). In addition to these social ties, artists have second studios abroad. Finally, artists travel for exhibitions and biennales to other locations on a temporary basis. These stays can range from one day trips to multiple months stays. Depending on the type of art, some artists work 'in situ' for exhibitions.

The different scales described are neighbourhood, city and international ties to the visual arts (see Figure 6.1). Paris-based artists show a pattern of connectivity to these different scales.
In summary, this research suggests that the geographies of visual artists are multi-scalar and complex. It further suggests that creative neighbourhoods have distinct attributes that relate to concepts of town-ness and city-ness. These concepts hence provoke different connectivity patterns for visual artists in Parisian neighbourhoods.

The research questions of this thesis focused on the geographies of visual artists in Paris and their practices. It has been shown that the commonly recognised cluster approaches often used to explain creative industries (Bassett et al. 2002,
Fingleton et al. 2003, Mommaas 2004, Cook and Pandit 2004, Bathelt et al. 2004, O’Connor 2004), could be applied only partially to geographies of visual artists in Paris. The spatial clustering of artists in Paris has shown some cluster benefits but these should be considered more within a context of city-ness and town-ness (see discussion earlier in this chapter). It has shown that economic geography models fail to deliver an answer to explain spatial clusters in the cultural industries. The cultural industries are a complex set of variables such as experts, international conglomerates, public opinion and cultural spaces. The portenian concept does not go into detail about the inner setting of economic clusters but focuses on competitive advantages. These competitive advantages cannot be confirmed by this research. Visual artists need to be in the loop, in the right circle to get recognised and become economically successful. This community circle can be in spread around the globe and does not necessarily have to cluster in a distinct neighbourhood. Consequently, the geographic location does play a minor role for high valued artists. In contrast though, the GREMI model (Bramanti and Maggino 1997) and also the approaches of Bathelt et al. (2004) give an insight into spatial clustering of companies and individuals of a similar industry. The idea of a creative milieu that sparks learning processes and spill-over effects seems to apply partially to distinct artistic neighbourhoods in Paris. Learning process have hardly been observed, maybe there occur exchanges about certain artistic techniques. Spill-over effects however, occurred regularly for example in form of new collaborations between artists and other creatives. In addition, Bathelt et al.’s (2004) introduction of pipelines that connect cluster seems to reflect certainly the reality in art cluster in Paris. Few, more successful artists have strong ties to clusters outside Paris such as New York or Berlin. This however could also be explained with the different scales of success of visual artists from a local painter to an international star. Meaning that one could add to Bathelt et al.’s pipelines another attribute – economic success. The pipelines between different clusters are maintained by successful gatekeeper such as international recognised artists or international operation art dealer in the case of visual arts.
The research about artists in Paris is in some ways specific to Paris. Especially artists' abroad network connections could be expected higher in places like Berlin or New York. Paris is a more exclusive place for the contemporary visual arts where foreigners will struggle to find exhibition space, studios and so on. The whole support structure with subsidies, grant and prizes favours French artists and makes it for outsiders difficult. But other findings can surely be adapted to other places and cultural industries. The practised of artists in Paris such as artists' houses or open studio days can also be found in Berlin or Paris. In other creative industries occurs similar spatial clustering (see the works of Ley, 2004 or Lloyd, 2004).

It is hence suggested that future research can be undertaken in different paths. First, it could be focused on the vertical collaborations between artists in other sectors such as companies or freelance individuals. Second, further research on the of art dealers as intermediaries between culture and economy can enrich this perspective of geographies in the visual arts. Finally, following the city perspective it can be looked at global art cities and their relation to each other by scrutinising relationships in the visual arts amongst art dealer, artists and curators in for example in New York, Paris, and Berlin.
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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ONLINE-SURVEY

Invitation Email

**Enquête "Les artistes dans la ville"**

Madame, Monsieur,

L'identité de Paris tient notamment à la créativité de ses artistes. Or, on traite encore souvent le secteur culturel comme une simple industrie (musicale, audiovisuelle), délaissant le rôle des individus.

Comment travaillent les artistes aujourd'hui alors que l'on assiste à l'affirmation d'un travail de plus en plus liés à des professionnels et personnels ? Quel rôle joue la proximité à d'autres artistes, aux galeries d'arts, etc ?

Voici autant de questions qui constituent le questionnement d'une thèse de doctorat que je développe à l'Université de Loughborough en Royaume-Uni.

C'est pourquoi je me permets de vous inviter à participer à une enquête menée auprès des artistes travaillant à Paris. Je vous remercie par avance de l'attention que vous accorderez à remplir ce questionnaire en ligne. Les réponses seront traitées de façon strictement anonyme, et dans un seul usage scientifique.

Vous trouverez dans le présent courrier un lien vous permettant d'accéder directement à cette enquête en ligne. Je serai très heureux que vous acceptiez d'y participer.

**Titre** L'espace de l'art contemporain à Paris

**Date limite de participation**

Vous trouverez ce sondage à l'adresse URL

https://secure2ask.net/0004/e19680c866962cd7/survey.html

Je vous ferai parvenir les résultats de ce travail si vous le souhaitez.

La réussite de ce travail qui vise à mieux comprendre la relation des artistes à l'espace urbain dépend largement de votre bonne volonité et de votre coopération. Pour toutes suggestions ou questions, n'hésitez pas me contacter.

En vous remerciant par avance pour votre participation à cette étude,

Bien cordialement,

Ulnke Waellisch
(doctorante)

(Pansian Address)
(Loughborough University Address)
QUESTIONNAIRE

N = 225

1 What is your working situation?
   23 Employee full-time
   22 Employee part-time
   132 free-lance worker
   12 unemployed
   2 student
   5 retired
   4 housewife
   0 Studentships, funds
   14 other

2 What is your profession?
   open

3 Do you finance your life with the production of art?
   93 Yes
   109 No, with

4 Have you been to an art school?
   74 No
   87 Yes

5 In which city do you live?
   161 In Paris
   33 In a community in the Region Ile-de-France, in
   5 In an other community in France, in
   3 In an community abroad, in

6 Why do you live in your city?
   106 Professional network
   15 Art education
   37 Presence of art members
   34 Art facilities
   111 Cultural life
   86 Familial situation
   67 Quality of life
   26 Born in that community
   27 Other

7 In which city do you work
   171 In Paris
   39 In a community in the Region Ile-de-France, in
   12 In an other community in France, in
   6 In an community abroad, in

8 Do you have other working places?
   137 No
   57 Yes, in

9 Why do you also work at another place?
   Open
10 Is it important for your work to be in your community compared to another?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very important</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Why?
Open

12 Are you satisfied with your community as working place?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Not satisfied at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Why?
Open

14 How often do you visit these art places in Pans?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-3 times/week</th>
<th>1-3 times/month</th>
<th>1-3 times/6month</th>
<th>1-3 times/year</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>I do not know this place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musée d'art moderne</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palais du Tokyo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre Pompidou</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeu de Paume</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passage de Retz</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Plateau</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fondation Cartier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maison Rouge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salon 'Les Inattendus'</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Ephémère</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other places</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 If you are living in Pans, in which arrondissement?

16 If you are working in Pans, in which arrondissement?

17 In which neighbourhood/street do you work in Pans?
Open
18. Do you live in one of the marked neighbourhoods. Please show on the map?

19. When did you move in your neighbourhood where you work?
   16 2005-2006
   31 2003-2004
   25 2001-2002
   22 1999-2000
   31 1996-1998
   17 1993-1995
   13 1990-1992
   18 1985-1989
   11 1980-1984
   15 Before 1980
   1 I don't know

20. Why do you work (and live) in that neighbourhood?
   Open

21. What importance has your neighbourhood for your work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indispensable</th>
<th></th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### APPENDIX 1

#### 22. How would you describe the neighbourhood in which you are working?

| Description                          | 41 | 53 | 63 | 14 | 7 | ugly | 47 | 62 | 54 | 11 | 6 | artificial | 77 | 41 | 37 | 17 | 8 | homogene population | 26 | 39 | 37 | 34 | 36 | expensive | 65 | 46 | 44 | 19 | 11 | quiet | 14 | 24 | 62 | 31 | 55 | quarter inspired not my work | 55 | 38 | 49 | 36 | 10 | There are no other artists | 12 | 7 | 38 | 69 | 55 | no art gallery | 49 | 45 | 51 | 25 | 13 | no cafes | 6 | 19 | 28 | 42 | 82 | no trendy shops |

#### 23. What bars/cafes visit you the most in your neighbourhood?

#### 24. Did you do projects with companies or individuals in your neighbourhood?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yes, I am member of an art association in my quarter
Yes, something else

#### 25. Is your working place also your living space?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 26. Do you share your atelier with other artists?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yes, something else

#### 27. Why do you share or not share your atelier?

Open

#### 28. Considering your work, how do you consider the importance of spatial proximity to other members of the art world?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>a bit important</th>
<th>not important</th>
<th>I don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General museums</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contemporary art museums</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery owner</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectors</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other artists</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suppliers</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Art centres</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8</td>
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</table>

303
29 With what actors in the artistic scene do you meet and how often?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2-3 times/week</th>
<th>1 time/week</th>
<th>1-2 times/month</th>
<th>2-3 times/year</th>
<th>Never</th>
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<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>89</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>168</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>53</td>
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</table>

30 Where are your contacts located?

31 Why do you meet?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>To sell</th>
<th>Information, exchanging ideas</th>
<th>Preparation for an exhibition</th>
<th>Presenting an art work</th>
<th>Study new techniques</th>
<th>Others</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
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<td>79</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collector</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplier</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art consultant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Art journalist</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

32 In general, where do you meet your professional contacts?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In your atelier/office</th>
<th>In the partner's office</th>
<th>At vernissages</th>
<th>In restaurants/cafes</th>
<th>Other places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 What influences your work?

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Living in my community</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Opinion of other artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Opinion of collectors</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Opinion of friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Opinion of other members of the art world</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>General trends in contemporary art</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>Personal experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Countryside</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>Human beings in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34 Considering your working times per month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How much time do you spend on what?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35 How do you sell your art works?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 Via internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103 Galleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 Expositions in other places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Direct to collectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 International art faires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36 Do you have a contract with an art gallery?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes, at</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

304
37 Are you taking part in art projects in Paris?
   143 No  59 Yes

38 Are you a member of an artists association?
   92 Yes, active member  59 Yes, passive member  67 No, not a member

Finally, your opinion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I agree</th>
<th>I agree a bit</th>
<th>I don't agree</th>
<th>I do not agree at all</th>
<th>I don't know</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artistes seek proximity to other artists to ensure their distribution of art work</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In quarter where many artists live start new art movements</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Paris exist no artistic neighbourhood</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It exists a special knowledge in quarters where many artists live</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For selling, it is better to be in Paris</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting other artists is more important then meeting other members of the art world</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 What is your age?
   0  0-17
   15 18-29
   52 30-39
   69 40-49
   50 50-59
   21 60-70
   1 Over 70

40 What is your sex?
   109 Feminine
   100 Masculine

41 What is your nationality
   184 French
   27 Other

42 Do you wish to get some results of this survey
   177 Yes  32 No

43 Are you willing to be contacted for an interview
   120 Yes  66 No

44 Personal details
Surname Name, Street, Postcode, Country, Telephone, Email
APPENDIX 2 : QUESTIONNAIRE INTERVIEWS ARTISTS

Entretien personnel avec des artistes à Paris

Travailler à Paris ou pas.
- Pourquoi est-ce que vous produirez l'art à Paris?
- Quel sont les avantages et désavantages de produire l'art notamment à Paris?
- Qu'est-ce que vous pensez sur votre quartier ? Pourquoi cherchent artistes le même quartier ?
- Voyagez-vous pour votre travail ?

Produire d'art en général, relation artistes, fournisseurs,
- La Production d'un œuvre C'est quel processus – de l'inspiration à vente ? Votre recherche, c'est quoi exactement ?
- Avez-vous travaillez avec des entreprise dans un projet ?
- Comment a votre environnement l'influence sur votre travail ?
- Du Paris ? Du quartier autour votre atelier ?
- Concernant des fournisseurs Comment achetez-vous vos matériaux ? Livraison ?
- Parlez-vous avec vos fournisseurs sur nouveau produits, techniques , etc ?
- Quels équipements d'art est-ce que vous êtes besoin ? Copy shop, four à cuir, etcetera ? Et c'est ou ? Rencontrez-vous la d'autres artistes/ créatives ?
- Est-ce que vous rencontre d'autre artiste dans votre quartier ? Pourquoi ? Comment se produire ce rencontre ?
- Etes-vous inspirez aux autres artistes ?
- Avez-vous faites des collaborations avec d'autres artistes ?
- Est-ce que vos collègues sont aussi vos amis ?
Relation galeriste, collectionneurs
- D'ou avez-vous exposé l'année prochaine ? Avec quels personnages avez-vous eu contact (organisation, galerie, media) ?
- Avez contacts avec des galeries d'art ? Ou ? Quelle relation avez-vous avec votre galeriste ?
- Comment communiquez-vous avec vos galeristes ?
- Est-ce des galeristes influencés votre travail ?
- Est-ce qu'il nécessaire de rencontre des galeristes ?

Collectionneurs
- Comment connait des collectionneurs votre travail /nom ?
- Est-ce vous pouvez designer des profiles de votre collectionneurs/acheteurs ?
- Quelle relation avez-vous avec des collectionneurs ?

Evénement d'art
- Est-ce l'internet à influence votre travail ? Concernant la production ? Concernant la distribution / vente ?
- Ou faire vous nouveau connaissance avec artistes, membre du monde de l'art
- Quel rôle joue biennales / foires d'art pour vous ?
- Quel rôle joue vernissages ? D'aller aux vernissages ? Qui vous rencontrez là ?
- Organisez-vous des soirées ? Participez-vous ?
- Portes Ouvertes des Ateliers ?
- Visitez-vous des expositions à Pans ? Pourquoi

Le monde de l'art en général
- Est-ce vous pouvez me dire pourquoi c'est important de regarder un œuvre d'art en original
- Quel rôle joue l'internet sur les Beaux-arts ?
- Le monde de l'art est en transformation, par exemple la possibilité de communiquer par internet, des nombreuse biennal et foires d'art internationaux, la professionnalisation de l'employée dans les arts eg galenistes, gestion d'art, etc Est-ce que ça influence votre travail ? Depuis 10 ans ? Pourquoi ? Comment ?
Dans des industries culturelles comme cinéma la créativité est un processus collectif. Est-ce que vous connaissez des processus collectifs dans les beaux arts?

Votre nom sera utilisé anonyme. Est-ce que je pourrais prendre quelques photos de vous et votre atelier?
APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE INTERVIEWS ART DEALER

Entretien personnel avec des galéristes à Paris

Travailler à Paris.
- Pourquoi vous avez choisi de travailler à Paris?
- Quel sont les avantages et désavantages d'avoir une galerie à Paris?
- Quel
- Qu'est-ce que vous pensez sur votre quartier ? Pourquoi avez-vous choisi de
  ouvre une galerie ici ?
- Est-ce que vous êtes engagé dans ce quartier ?
- Avez-vous des contacts avec autres membre du monde de l'art dans ce
  quartier ? Lesquelles ?
- Autre lieux. Voyagez-vous pour votre travail ?

Relations avec des artistes.
- Combien d'artistes représentez-vous ? Ou sont-ils installés ?
- Comment est votre relation avec ces artistes ?
- Comment communiquez avec l'artiste ? tel, email, rencontre,
- Pourquoi c'est important de rencontrer l'artiste personnel ?
- Pour quels raisons rencontrez-vous des artistes ? Organisation d'une expo,
  Foire, etc ?
- Existe-il une collaboration créative entre vous et des artistes ? Comment ça
  se produisent ?
- Relation avec autres membre du monde de l'art
- D'ou faites-vous des contacts avec autres membre du monde de l'art ?
- Avez-vous travaillez avec des entreprise dans un projet ? Pourquoi ?
Le monde de l’art en général

- Est-ce vous pouvez me dire pourquoi c'est important de regarder un œuvre d'art en original

- Le monde de l’art est en transformation, par exemple la possibilité de communiquer par internet, des nombreuse biennal et foires d’art internationaux, la professionnalisation de l’employée dans les arts, etc. Est-ce que ces changements ont influencé votre travail ? Notamment votre lieu de travail ?

- Dans des industries culturelles comme cinéma la production d’un produit culturel est un processus collectif. Est-ce que vous connait des processus collectifs dans les beaux arts ? Quel rôle joue le lieu de la production ?

Votre nom sera utilisé anonyme Est-ce que je pourrais prendre quelques photos de vous et votre galerie ?
## APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### Interview schedule Artists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Parisian quarter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AT1</td>
<td>01 05 2006</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>Atelier</td>
<td>13eme “Les Frigos”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT2</td>
<td>02 05 2006</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>Atelier</td>
<td>11eme “Belleville”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT3</td>
<td>03 05 2006</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>Atelier</td>
<td>18eme “Montmartre”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT4</td>
<td>04 05 2006</td>
<td>1h</td>
<td>Atelier-flat</td>
<td>17eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT5</td>
<td>10 05 2006</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>Café “La palette”</td>
<td>6eme “St Germain des Prés”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT6</td>
<td>11 05 2006</td>
<td>1.5h</td>
<td>Atelier-house</td>
<td>18eme “Montmartre”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT7</td>
<td>11 05 2006</td>
<td>1.5h</td>
<td>Atelier-flat</td>
<td>12eme “Bastille”</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15 05 2006</td>
<td>1.5h</td>
<td>Atelier</td>
<td>20eme Rue St Marthe</td>
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<td>AT9</td>
<td>18 05 2006</td>
<td>2h</td>
<td>Atelier</td>
<td>18eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT10</td>
<td>24 05 2006</td>
<td>1.5h</td>
<td>Café</td>
<td>3eme Marais</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT11</td>
<td>24 05 2006</td>
<td>1h</td>
<td>Atelier</td>
<td>19eme Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT12</td>
<td>26 05 2006</td>
<td>1h</td>
<td>Café Palais Tokyo</td>
<td>16eme Chambre de bonne</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT13</td>
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<td>1h</td>
<td>Bureau</td>
<td>20eme Place de Fetes</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10 06 2006</td>
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<td>Atelier-flat</td>
<td>18eme rue Ordener</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT15</td>
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<td>45min</td>
<td>Flat</td>
<td>10eme point FMR</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT16</td>
<td>20 06 2006</td>
<td>1.5h</td>
<td>Studio</td>
<td>20th Belleville</td>
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### Interview schedule Galleries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Parisian quarter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD1</td>
<td>23 05 2006</td>
<td>1h</td>
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<td>20eme “Belleville”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD2</td>
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<td>1h</td>
<td>Gallery</td>
<td>3eme “Marais”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD3</td>
<td>29 05 2006</td>
<td>1h</td>
<td>Gallery</td>
<td>3eme “Marais”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>