What a journey to the Louvre !
A study of the coevolution of artistic communities and place attendance in Paris

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Résumé :

Cet article explore comment l'écologie des lieux dans une ville peut créer les conditions propices à l'émergence et au développement d'une communauté artistique. Plus précisément, nous nous concentrons sur la fréquentation de multiples lieux et la manière dont cela soutient les processus d'organisation communautaire. À cette fin, nous développons la notion de circulation préférentielle, qui décrit les schémas de fréquentation des lieux dans une ville pour la mobilisation des ressources. Empiriquement, nous étudions les trajectoires de deux communautés artistiques d'avant-garde — l'Impressionnisme et le Cubisme — actives à Paris à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle. Nos résultats montrent comment les trajectoires des communautés et le paysage urbain coévoluent. Au-delà de la simple proximité géographique dans une ville, la fréquentation de lieux peut conduire à une nouvelle organisation (dans notre cas, des communautés artistiques), en particulier lorsque des schémas sont partagés sur une période prolongée. En outre, c'est la combinaison de lieux distincts fréquentés dans une séquence singulière qui permet les processus d'organisation communautaire. Nous contribuons à la littérature sur les lieux en révélant les dynamiques impliquées dans la fréquentation de multiples lieux, et comment cela peut favoriser la génération de nouveauté et la construction communautaire.

Mots-clés : lieux ; circulation préférentielle ; communauté ; art ; ville ; organisation

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INTRODUCTION

Creative and artistic fields are punctuated by communities that introduce new practices, ideas and values. Generally referred to as movements (e.g. Accominotti, 2009; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003), they arise from the meeting of actors converging around distinct aesthetic principles. Artists are generally the main initiators of movements, but they also include critics, promoters and distributors (Delacour & Leca, 2017). Most of the time these movements form in cities before spreading to the rest of the world (Weiner, 2016), suggesting that geographic proximity plays a crucial role in their organizing (Amin & Cohendet, 2004; Boschma, 2005; Grabher, Melchior, Schiemer, Schüßler, & Sydow, 2018). To take just one example, Abstract Expressionism developed in New York in the 1940s and 1950s, particularly in the bohemian neighborhood of Greenwich Village, with the support of gallery owners and critics. Members of this avant-garde movement (e.g., Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning) hung out at the Cedar Tavern or the Waldorf Cafeteria and visited or exhibited at nearby galleries such as Hansa, Tanager, or Brata (Oberlin & Gieryn, 2015). Painters lived and worked in this vibrant, diverse environment that inspired them, exchanged ideas with their peers or artists from other disciplines, put them on canvas in their studios, and defined their value with art dealers and art enthusiasts. Yet, while we know that artistic communities are often rooted in urban contexts (Markusen, 2006), we know little about how cities facilitate and support their organizing, a process that can potentially be extended beyond artistic fields.

The study of place has recently garnered attention in organization studies (Dacin, Zilber, Cartel, & Kibler, 2024; Wright, Irving, Zafar, & Reay, 2023), with research exploring organizational phenomena at the spatial scale of cities, neighborhoods or buildings. However, when dedicated to places at the building scale, it tends to focus on the characteristics of a single place (e.g. Capron & Delacour, 2024; Irving, Ayoko, & Ashkanasy, 2020; Staggs, Wright, & Jarvis, 2022). As a result, few studies have examined how the attendance of multiple places located in the same geographic area can inform the process of community organizing. Yet, studying the

everyday environment of individuals is critical to understanding how new communities emerge and organize.

In this paper, we depart from the study of a single place to analyze the attendance of distinct places by multiple actors in a given city, shedding new light on the organizing trajectory of communities. To this end, we use the concept of preferential circulation (PC) (Capron & Suire, 2025), which defines the patterns of place attendance by individuals as they mobilize resources to innovate and possibly organize into communities. From this perspective, places are restricted to the microgeographic level of buildings (Capron & Delacour, 2024; Siebert, 2024) and are characterized by three dimensions: a unique location in geographic space, a specific materiality, and a set of socially constructed meanings (Gieryn, 2000). It also implies that a city is composed of a specific ecology of places (e.g., theaters, houses, studios) (Capron & Suire, 2024; Li & Khessina, 2024; Sorenson, 2017), some of which are attended by artists and other actors involved in the production and distribution of artworks (e.g. gallery owners, critics). By aggregating the PC of these different individuals, one can obtain the spatial configuration of an artistic community, including the places where the interactions that make it up occur on a daily basis and which can influence its trajectory.

While recurring attendances in the same neighborhood are deemed to provide opportunities for strengthening relationships through unplanned interactions (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010; Spencer, 2015), this favorable condition for community organizing is not permanent. Indeed, it is very likely that some popular hangouts will close (Milligan, 2003) or that artists will choose to relocate their housing in cheaper neighborhoods (Działek & Murzyn-Kupisz, 2023; Zukin & Braslow, 2011). In addition, artists do not live in isolation but move around the city to meet friends or visit a museum distant from their preferred venues. Consequently, the socio-spatial configuration of the community is dynamic, composed of evolving relationships between the agency of individuals and the features of a city. From this, we ask: How do the evolving attendances of places in a city foster the organizing of a community?

We apply our framework to the study of two artistic movements active in Paris between the 1870s and 1920s, Impressionism and Cubism. We argue that the study of movements is akin to an in-depth analysis of epistemic communities, which in this case produce cultural innovations (Cohendet, Grandadam, Simon & Capdevila, 2014). We use geodata techniques to operationalize and visualize our trajectory-centered approach of PC, which focuses on the entire temporal socio-spatial trajectories of communities rather than on a few influential places. Our findings show how attendance dynamics in the city shaped the organizing of these artistic

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movements. Paris was pivotal in the development of the pictorial revolution at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, as the city provided a distinctive array of places that met the evolving needs of artists throughout the trajectory of their artistic communities. Specifically, we identify four constitutive phases for both movements, but which differ in duration, configuration and composition. The choice of places to attend gives rise to collective anchoring in specific neighborhoods that structure the communities, but is always transient. Our findings also reveal how the changing urban context supports the development of artistic communities by offering novel resources to mobilize, triggering collective relocation.

By exploring the spatio-temporal conditions in which these groundbreaking artistic communities emerged, we join efforts to understand the role of places in organizational phenomena. In particular, our findings are consistent with studies that focus on the physical environment for entrepreneurship and organizational emergence (Dowell & David, 2011 ; Dutta, Armanios, & Desai, 2022), and explain how urban environments can foster community organizing. Our contribution is twofold. First, through the concept of preferential circulation, we shed light on the importance of the evolving composition and configuration of an ecology of places in fostering the organizing of communities. Dynamics involving multiple places are rarely considered in the literature (Li & Khessina, 2024). We show that the ecology of places evolves alongside artists' attendance patterns, both shaping and transforming the geography associated with artistic fields. In this process, the preconditions provided by previous movements shape, but do not determine, artists' future locations, thus altering the possibilities for new organizations to emerge. Second, we reveal the process of formation of new artistic movements through place attendances, shedding new light on community organizing processes. Artists' organizing behaviors are enabled and influenced by a specific ecology of places. Social and cognitive dynamics of community organizing are intertwined with the spatial context. We show that the trajectory of a community passes through more or less similar patterns of attendance over time. In addition, we demonstrate that the concentration of attendances in a given area, often taken for granted in the literature, is not a determining characteristic throughout the trajectory of a community, but instead plays a crucial role at a specific moment in time. These findings provide a better understanding of artistic communities, and more broadly of communities in other fields, while questioning the importance of geographical proximity in a digitized world (Burke, Omidvar, Spanellis, & Pyrko, 2023; Massa, 2017).

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. First, we frame the role of cities and places in the processes of community organizing, and develop the concept of preferential circulation.

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We then detail the empirical setting and methodology. The results provide a structural and spatial analysis of the two communities. Finally, we conclude with a discussion section.

1. THEROTICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 CITIES AS INCUBATORS FOR COMMUNITIES

To address the collective dynamics of innovation, the concept of communities has been developed (Amin & Cohendet, 2004; Amin & Roberts, 2008). Among the various definitions and approaches to communities, we define them as decentralised and informal groups of individuals who share common activities, interests or practices, and who develop shared normative and evaluation mechanisms (Marquis, Lounsbury & Greenwood, 2011; O'Mahony & Lakhani, 2011). Communities are a distinct form of organization that can participate in the production of goods and services, in the emergence of formal organizations (whether to achieve their own purpose or as spinoffs of collective actions) or markets (Caroll & Swaminathan, 2000; Cohendet et al., 2014). During the process of community organizing, a group of individuals engages in sustained mutual relationships, develops a collective identity and mobilises shared resources to achieve a common goal or carry out collective actions (Massa, 2017). It has been argued that a critical mass of interacting actors with shared interests is necessary for a community to form (Cohendet et al., 2014). Being in the same geographic space can therefore stimulate the emergence and organization of a community.

This is why cities are generally considered to be hotbeds for the formation of communities, as they temporarily bring together a whole range of actors with different trajectories but with similar or complementary interests, specializations and talents (Florida, Adler, & Mellander, 2017; Shearmur, 2012). This dynamic is particularly evident in artistic and creative fields (Currid, 2007; Oberlin & Gieryn, 2015), where cities are often associated with specific practices or communities, such as Chicago with jazz music (Phillips, 2011), Weimar with the Bauhaus (Kesidou, Plakoyiannaki, & Tardios, 2024), or New York with hip-hop culture (French, 2017). The unique characteristics of certain cities—such as the presence of peers to exchange ideas and formalize innovations (Oberlin & Gieryn, 2015), specific schools or educational programs (Rantisi & Leslie, 2015), or a city's reputation (Montanari, Scapolan, & Mizzau, 2018; Phillips, 2011)–are attractive forces for artists. Cities are also the locus where innovators can find provisional spaces (Li & Khessina, 2024) to experiment with new organizational forms or products before receiving market feedback. Nevertheless, the city is generally abstracted to the

characteristic of a taken-for-granted, persistent and stable geographic environment of co-location (Dutta et al., 2022). This co-location within the same city is often seen as the factor behind interactions, despite the lack of precise documentation of actual interactions (Grabher et al., 2018). Yet one of the ways in which cities create opportunities for community organizing is by providing a set of places where people can meet, exchange ideas, work together and promote shared frameworks (Crossley, 2009).

Relatedly, a stream of research has focused on the anatomy of creative cities (Capron, Sagot-Duvauroux, & Suire, 2022; Cohendet, Grandadam, & Simon, 2010; Cohendet et al., 2014), highlighting the importance of localized intermediation mechanisms (events, places, brokers) in connecting radical or deviant ideas with public actors, firms, and mainstream audiences. However, this line of work does not take into account changes in the social and spatial features of cities, which shape the conditions for the emergence and development of communities. In New York, for example, the hotspots of artistic production have shifted over time—from Greenwich Village to Soho, then to the East Village before moving to Brooklyn under the pressure of rising rents (Zukin & Braslow, 2011). This process also entailed a change in practices, aesthetics, and the individuals involved. The changing social and material characteristics of cities that underpin the dynamics of community organizing have been little studied, in particular regarding how the composition and distribution of places influence these processes.

1.2 PLACES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

As a multidimensional construct, a place can refer to a number of spatial units of analysis, such as cities (Aversa, Bianchi, Gaio, & Nucciarelli, 2022 ; Phillips, 2011), neighborhoods (Rantisi & Leslie, 2010; Spencer, 2015) or, as in our case, buildings (Capron & Delacour, 2024; Siebert, 2024). Places are characterized by their tangible and intangible dimensions (Aversa et al., 2022; Gieryn, 2000). On the tangible dimension, a place has a unique location that possesses topographic and topological coordinates, defining its spatial and social relation with other places in a shared urban context (Ferru, Rallet, & Cariou, 2022). It also has a materiality that relates to its architecture (Jones & Massa, 2013) or its interior layout (Irving et al., 2020). On the intangible dimension, a place is associated with socially constructed meanings, including identity and reputation, which contribute to its ability to legitimize actors (Foster, Borgatti, & Jones, 2011) and perform institutional work (Staggs et al., 2022). Places are thus vectors of

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association to a social group and specific practices (Dupin & Wezel, 2023). The unique combination of these tangible and intangible characteristics means that each place generates centripetal or centrifugal forces that attract (or repel) individuals. These forces influence how individuals experience the place and benefit from its potential resources (Aversa et al., 2022; Ferru et al., 2022).

Some studies have focused on interactions within buildings and how these can foster collaboration and innovation (Irving et al., 2020). Indeed, places can facilitate socialization, the exchange of ideas and the formation of communities that develop their own tacit knowledge, norms and evaluation frameworks (Cohendet et al., 2014). Other works have revealed the role of places in stimulating experimentation using the material features of a place (Capron & Saaoud, 2025; Cohendet, Grandadam & Suire, 2021; Leclair, 2023) or available technologies within its premises (Schiemer, Schüßler, & Theel, 2022; Suire, 2019). This line of work suggests that a specific place can play a decisive role in endowing individuals with know-how, material and reputational resources, and thus shape the trajectory of their innovative practices (Aversa et al., 2022; Capron & Delacour, 2024). However, focusing on the idiosyncratic and immutable characteristics of a single place tends to obscure the complementary features of multiple places located in the same geographic area, and how these can contribute to processes of community organizing. For example, while attention has been focused on places that foster intense socialization, such as bars and cafes, other places, including studios (Sgourev, 2020) and homes (Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek, 2021), are also important venues for artists to gather and exchange ideas in more private and intimate contexts. Consequently, we argue it is a combination of distinct places that provide the resources needed for community organizing.

1.3 FROM PLACES TO PREFERENTIAL CIRCULATION

Building on this, we contend it is an "ecology of places" that needs to be considered (Capron & Suire, 2025; Li & Khessina, 2024; Sorenson, 2017). It can be defined as a population of places located in a particular geographic space, such as a city or a neighborhood, that together form the everyday urban environment in which individuals navigate. An ecology of places is necessarily specific to a given area (Cresswell, 2014) and is characterized by its composition and configuration (Small & Adler, 2019).

Composition refers to the amount and types of places that are located in a given area. For example, the proliferation of places open to experimentation can stimulate the recognition of

possible uses for an innovation and facilitate the development of novel organizational forms (Li & Khessina, 2024). Among the many places artists can visit, some are integral to their everyday work: studios are where artworks are produced (Sgourev, 2020), galleries are where the categories and commercial value of works are determined (Coslor, Crawford, & Leyshon, 2020), museums are where artists can find inspiration or achieve consecration (Rodner, Roulet, Kerrigan, & vom Lehn, 2020). But there are also more mundane places that support their artistic process, such as cafés, restaurants and entertainment venues, where ideas and news spreads by word of mouth, relational networks are formed, shared visions and the artistic value of works are negotiated, and reputations are forged (Currid, 2007). These different types of places are attended by established incumbents as well as emerging artists wishing to enter the field (Patriotta & Hirsch, 2016), but also by other actors who can influence their careers (Currid, 2007). Many places of different sizes and types can thus play a role in the emergence and development of a community.

Configuration is the pattern of location of these places, which then define distances and boundaries between them. For example, music clubs (Koren & Hracs, 2024), bakeries (Dupin & Wezel, 2023) or theaters (Li & Khessina, 2024) may be concentrated in one neighborhood or dispersed throughout the city, depending on the specific aesthetic or identity with which they are associated. The location and distribution of pioneering organizations in a city can have effects on the location choices of entrants and on competition (Dowell & David, 2011), but also influence individuals' decisions to attend one part of the city or another because of the types of places located there. The configuration can influence the distance actors are willing to travel (e.g., between their home and workplace), and increase the likelihood of bumping into each other in the street (Spencer, 2015). This type of serendipitous encounters contributes to solidifying or selecting valuable ties through repeated interactions (Currid, 2007; Rantisi & Leslie, 2010).

The composition and configuration of an ecology of places strongly influence the chances of interaction between individuals, who will choose to attend (or not) a place according to their preferences, the distance they have to travel, and their habits. In this way, an ecology of places can shape, and be shaped by, individual and collective activities and behaviors. As places of interest for individuals can be unevenly distributed throughout a city, it is by identifying and characterizing the network of places attended by individuals that we can understand how a city actually supports community organizing.

To study the dynamics of multiple place attendances, we use the concept of preferential circulation (PC) (Capron & Suire, 2025). It defines individual patterns of place attendances, where resources are mobilized to foster innovation. What makes circulation "preferential" is the fact that frequentation of places is mostly routine and recurrent. On this basis, we advance two lines of reasoning. First, the joint consideration of a set of individual PCs makes it possible to observe the similarity of patterns between one individual and others. We suggest it can be used to capture co-presence and the processes underlying community organizing. Second, as an individualized ecology of places, a PC can be characterized by the number and type of places attended (composition) and their spatial distribution in the considered geographical area (configuration). While they may be relatively stable over a period of time, PCs evolve over time. To characterize this, we identify two dynamics of change.

First, a PC is constantly modified by individual decisions and collective behaviors. The search for new resources, a singular event, or a change in the conventions that assign value to places can cause artists to modify their routines, which in turn alter their PC. For instance, new needs may arise as an artist's creative project develops (Perry-Smith & Mannucci, 2017). Since, the composition and configuration of a PC are evolving according to the phase of the innovation process (Capron & Suire, 2024), it can also change according to phases of community organizing.

Second, a PC is influenced by changes in the ecology of places and the morphology of the city, independently from individuals' behavior. These dynamics include both the opening and closing of places, but also changes in the spatial configuration of the city through the creation of new transportation infrastructures that enhance spatial connectivity (Dutta, Armanios, & Desai, 2022), or changes in the demographics of a neighborhood (Zukin & Braslow, 2011). These dynamics transform the conditions in which actors live and work. Constantly reshaping the centripetal or centrifugal forces of places (Aversa et al., 2022; Ferru et al., 2022), the evolving city alters the choices individuals make about the places they wish to or can attend, and can therefore influence community organizing. Consequently, the evolution of PCs depends on the relationships between individuals, as well as on the relations between individuals and their evolving daily and lived space (Murdoch, 2006).

2. DATA AND METHODS

2.1 EMPIRICAL SETTING

Our empirical strategy is to study the trajectory of two artistic communities through their PCs. To do so, we adopt a "history to theory" approach (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014), where the goal is to use a historical case for theory building.

We situate our empirical analysis in Paris, which, like New York or London, has experienced a succession of artistic movements (Oberlin & Gieryn, 2015). In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the city underwent a profound transformation, characterized by a modernity that influenced artists and their work. Such transformation included the creation of train stations and then metro lines, the development of boulevards and public spaces initiated by Georges-Eugène Haussmann, the widespread use of electricity, and the flourishing of a vibrant nightlife. During this period, Paris benefited from a strong geographical charisma related to its art scene, attracting artists from all over the world (Działek, 2024; Koch, Stojkoski, & Hidalgo, 2024) and fostering radical artistic experimentation over the years (Sgourev, 2021b).

In our analysis, we focus specifically on two influential artistic movements that emerged and developed in Paris between 1872 and 1921, namely Impressionism and Cubism. Three main reasons informed this choice. First, although there may still be some controversy about their involvement, the main artists of these movements are well identified, making it easier to consider the social boundaries of each community. Second, both movements introduced radical and controversial aesthetic innovations in their time (Delacour & Leca, 2017; Sgourev, 2013). Within each movement, members knew each other to a greater or lesser extent, but all shared styles and positions that radically disrupted the established conventions of art production. Finally, Impressionism and Cubism were part of the cultural avant-gardes that populated Paris in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. importantly, these two movements are historically reputed to have taken root in two neighborhoods, Montmartre (in the north) and Montparnasse (in the south), which were hotbeds for new artists. This suggests that artists lived, worked, drew inspiration and met in particular places of these neighborhoods.

2.2 DATA

The aim of our analysis is to reconstruct the patterns of artists' attendances at various places in Paris. Previous works have studied artists' mobility flows between cities as a means to develop

their careers and gain new ideas (Działek, 2024; Hautala & Jauhiainen, 2019; Koch et al., 2024). This strand of research informs our perspective, but the data they used (e.g., city of birth and death) limit our understanding of the conditions urban settings provide for the development of artistic communities. Our work differs from this approach in that we are looking at mobility within cities, which requires specific data.

Our data collection process took place in three stages, drawing on several sources in French and English (Table 1). First, we carried out extensive readings of books and academic articles on the two movements under study, in order to gain in-depth knowledge of the historical context and conditions of emergence of the movement, and to identify their key members. Visits to several museums and exhibitions related to these movements (e.g., Musée d'Orsay, Paris; Musée Picasso, Paris; Musée Montmartre, Paris; Chicago Art Institute, Chicago) completed the data collection. This first step equipped us with an initial list of places associated with each movement. Next, we carefully studied the biographies of each artist to determine the period of their career when they lived and worked in Paris and to identify individual trajectories. During this stage, we identified all the places mentioned about them. We then categorized places into five types: living places (homes), workplaces (studios), places of education (schools, academies), places of socialization and entertainment (cafés, restaurants, bars, cabarets, theaters, etc.), and exhibition places (museums, galleries). The number of places and artists is shown in Table 2. In this step, we also explored in greater detail the activities of each artist in each place. By cross-referencing each artist's data, we determined who met in which place, the type of activities they engaged in (e.g., learning, work, entertainment), and possibly the reasons why artists started or stopped attending a place. Specifically, for most cases, we were able to identify the years in which artists started and stopped attending them. In a few cases, only the start year was available, so we adopted a prudential approach, assuming that these places had ceased to be attended the following year. Finally, we retrieved the geographic coordinates of each place using GoogleMaps. To generate our map visualizations, we used the data available on opendata.paris.fr to identify the polygonal coordinates of each Paris neighborhood (*arrondissements*) and matched them to the coordinates of each address.

Table 1. List of the main data sources

Impressionism

Impressionnisme : du plein air au territoire (Cousinié, 2013)

Histoire des peintres Impressionnistes: Pissarro, Claude Monet, Sisley, Renoir, Berthe Morisot, Cézanne, Guillaumin (Duret, 1919)

From Corot to Monet: The Ecology of Impressionism (Eisenman, 2010)

Impressionism : art, leisure, and Parisian society (Herbert, 1991)

Impressionnisme. Les origines, 1859-1869 (Loyrette, 1994)

The New Painting, Impressionism 1874–1886 (Moffett, 1986)

L'Impressionnisme et son époque (Monneret, 1987)

Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World (White & White, 1965)

Monet ou le Triomphe de l'Impressionnisme (Wildenstein, 1996)

Exhibition at Musée d'Orsay, "Paris 1874, Inventer l'impressionnisme", Paris (may 2024)

Exhibition at Museum of Antwerp, "Ensor : Beyond impressionism" , Antwerp (october 2024)

Exhibition at Chicago Art Institute, Chicago (august 2024)

Cubism

Cubism and Culture (Antliff & Leighten, 2001)

L'Épopée du Cubisme (Cabanne, 2000)

The Essential Cubism: Braque, Picasso and Their Friends (Cooper & Tinterow, 1984)

The Cubism epoch (Cooper, 1970)

Cubism in the Shadow of War: The Avant-Garde and Politics in Paris, 1905–1914 (Cottington, 1998)

Cubism and Its Histories (Cottington, 2004)

Cubism (Cox, 2000)

Racines populaires du cubisme. Pratiques ordinaires de création et art savant (Le Thomas, 2016)

Picasso et Braque : l'invention du cubisme (Rubin, 1990)

Exhibition at Musée Montmartre, Paris (december 2022)

Exhibition at Musée Picasso, Paris (december 2022)

Exhibition at Petit Palais, "Modern Paris 1905-1925", Paris (april 2024)

Avant-garde movements

Avant-gardes du XXe siècle, arts et littérature, 1905-1930 (Faucherau, 2016)

Les avant-gardes artistiques, 1848-1918 (Joyeux-Prunel, 2015)

Pissarro, Neo-Impressionism, and the Spaces of the Avant-Garde (Ward, 1996)

Table 2. Description of the dataset

Movements	Number	Examples
Impressionism		
- *Artists*	**11**	Monet, Renoir, Cézanne, Degas
- *Places*	**74**	Café Guerbois (café), Cirque Fernando (circus), Durand-Ruel's gallery (gallery), Hotel Drouot (auction house)
Cubism		
- *Artists*	**12**	Picasso, Braque, Léger, Metzinger
- *Places*	**91**	Le Chat Noir (cabaret), Bateau Lavoir (studio, home), Académie Humbert (school), La Rotonde (restaurant)

2.3 ANALYSIS

We used several techniques to process and analyze the data, starting from the assumption that each movement corresponded to a community of artists and that each of them had a specific location in certain neighborhoods over time. The analysis consisted of three steps. First, for each movement, we created the bipartite network linking artists to places, and use the place-specific unipartite projection to measure each place's degree centrality over time (Uzzi & Spiro, 2005). To do so, we used a 2-year moving window.

Second, we analyzed how each place's centrality evolved over time. Our aim is to trace the evolution of artists' attendances over time. To accomplish this, for each category of places we calculated the sum of the degree centrality of each place falling within that category, and plotted its evolution. This step made it possible to identify the temporal trajectories of social relevance of places for the entire lifecycle of each movement.

Finally, we visually inspected the plots and empirically identified periods characterized by the varying centrality of distinct categories of places. We then used these empirical periods to project each neighborhood's relevance over time on the map of Paris. In this way, we map the PC of communities throughout their evolution. Based on the same periods, we also measured the average Euclidean distance among all places' coordinates to estimate the geographic density of preferential attachment over time (using a 3-year moving window). We opted to use Euclidean distance instead of more sophisticated measures of spatial distance due to the lack of information about how artists traveled within the city. Together, these techniques allowed us to effectively capture the varying centrality of places both geographically (along topographic

coordinates in the geographic space) and structural (along topological coordinates of social relevance) (Hautala & Jauhiainen, 2019).

The structural analysis of the PC is complemented by an in-depth qualitative study of the two communities, based on data collected on the movements, their historical context, and the artists' biographies. By triangulating the data from these different sources, we systematically explored the reasons for attendances and changes, providing detailed insights into who attended the places and what happened there that either fostered or inhibited community organizing.

3. FINDINGS

Our results first detail the evolution of the composition and configuration of the two PCs separately. We provide an in-depth description of each community's trajectory, based on individual and collective behaviors and the contextual factors that initiated or shaped its evolution. We then jointly consider the two PC, highlighting the similarities and differences in the process of community organizing.

For this purpose, we use two analytical perspectives. First, we explore the evolving composition of the PC. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the types of places attended by each community's artists, revealing that some types of places are more or less frequented over time. Based on this, we empirically identify four periods for each movement. The transition between periods are observed in the marginal evolution of the types of places attended. This does not mean that certain places become absolutely dominant in artists' attendance patterns, or that they subsequently disappear, but that their attendance significantly changes, suggesting a distinct role in the process of community organizing. Considering that each neighborhood has specific compositions, this analysis is complemented by the distribution according to neighborhoods (Figure 2) and periods (Figure 3), which suggests uneven distribution of attendances across the city.

Figure 1. Distribution of places attendances over time. Dotted lines demarcate the four periods.
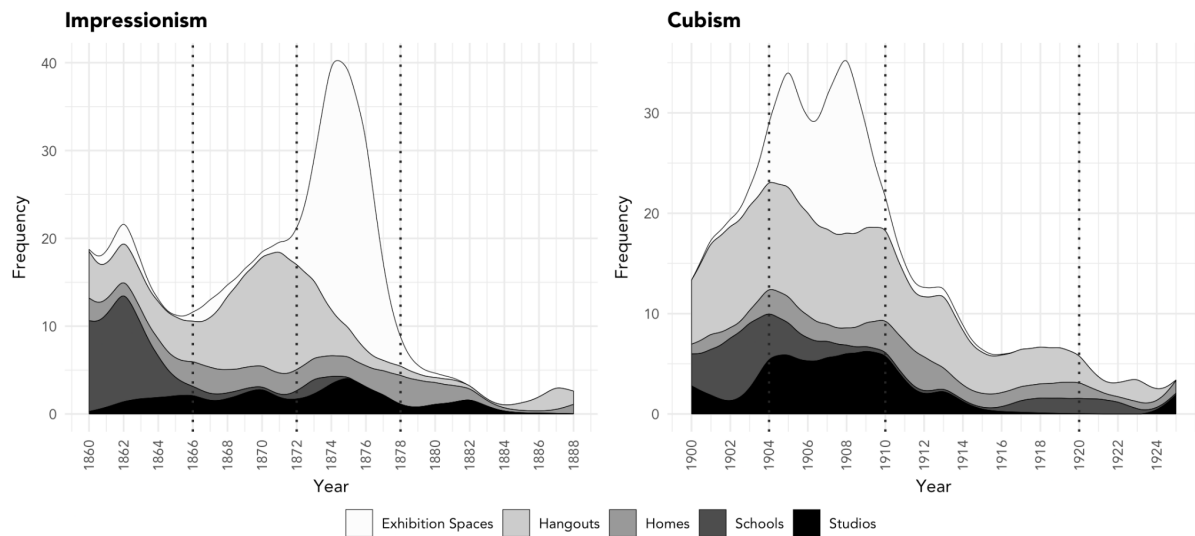

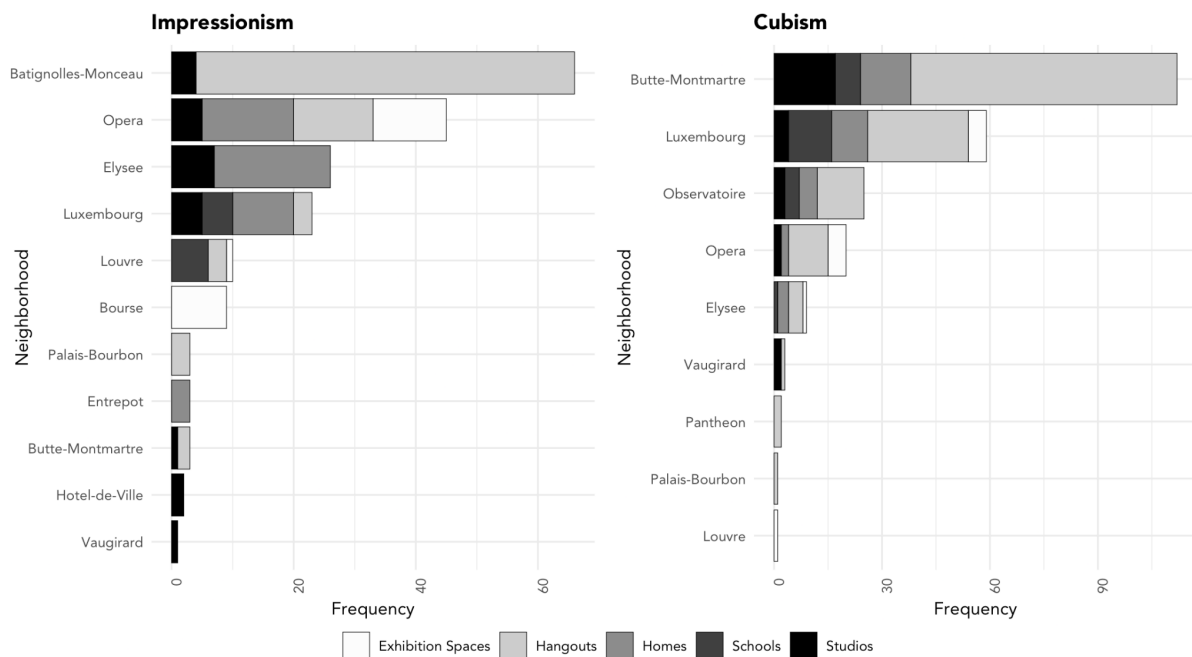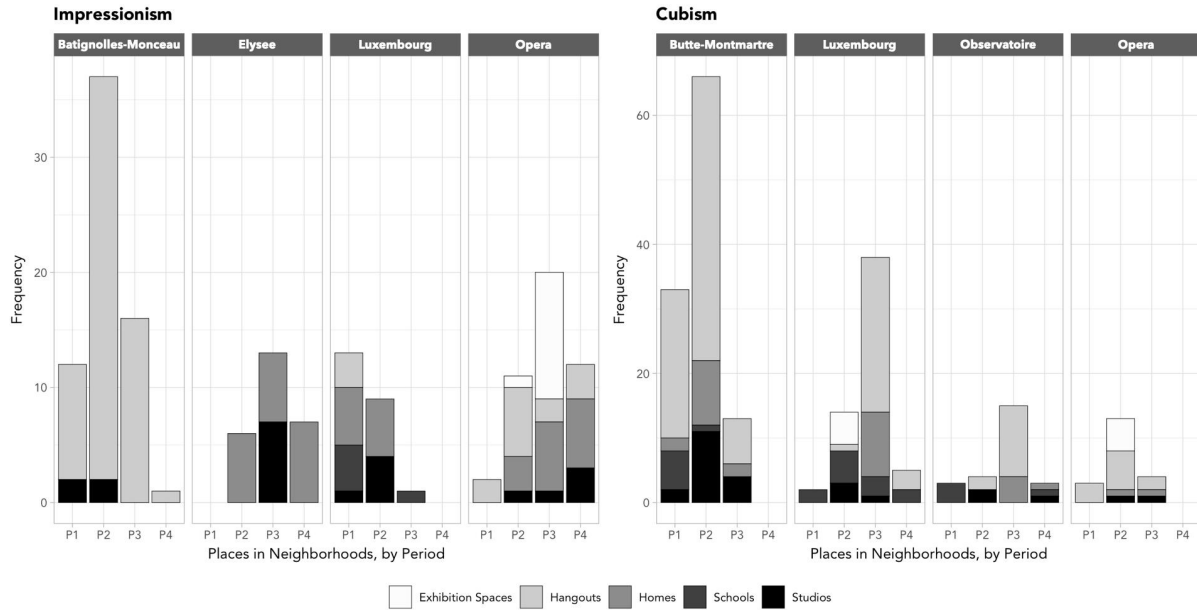**Figure 2.** Most attended neighborhoods for each movement.

Figure 3. Types of most attended places by neighborhoods.

The second perspective informing our analysis is the configuration of the PC. Figure 4 shows the evolution of the average distance between places attended by each artistic community, capturing the dynamics of location of attendances. We supplement this with the evolution of the density of the two artists' networks over time (Figure 5). Network density measures the number of connections between nodes relative to the total possible connections. It takes values from 0 (no connection) to 1 (full connection). In our case, the more places are co-attended by artists, the denser their social network. This highlights whether the geographic concentration of places attended corresponds to the same places specifically.

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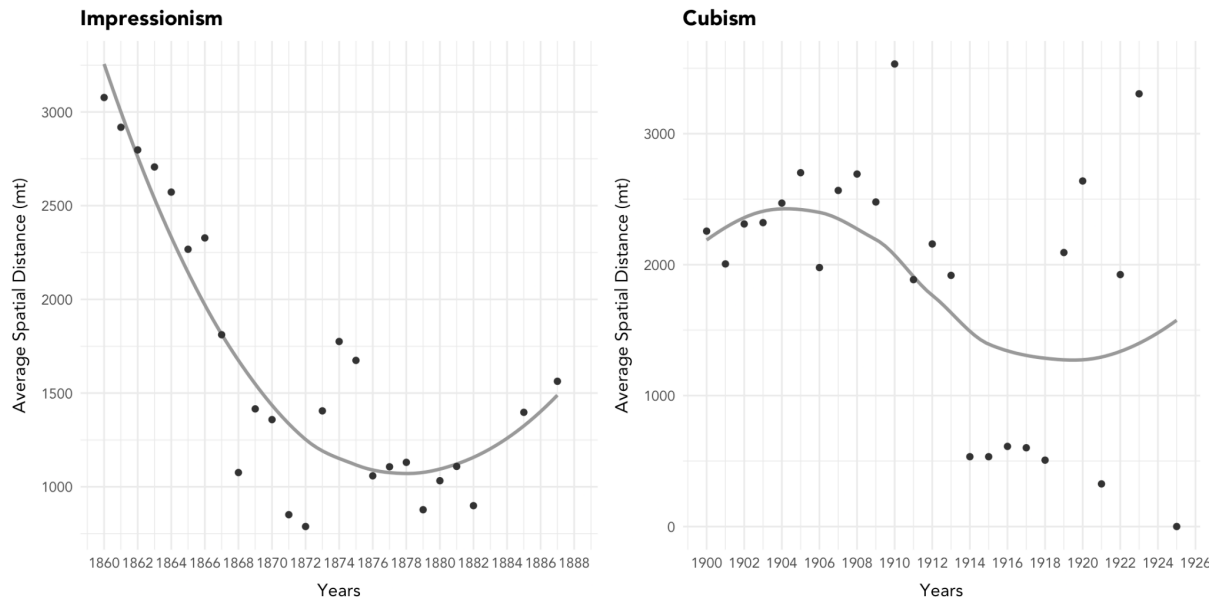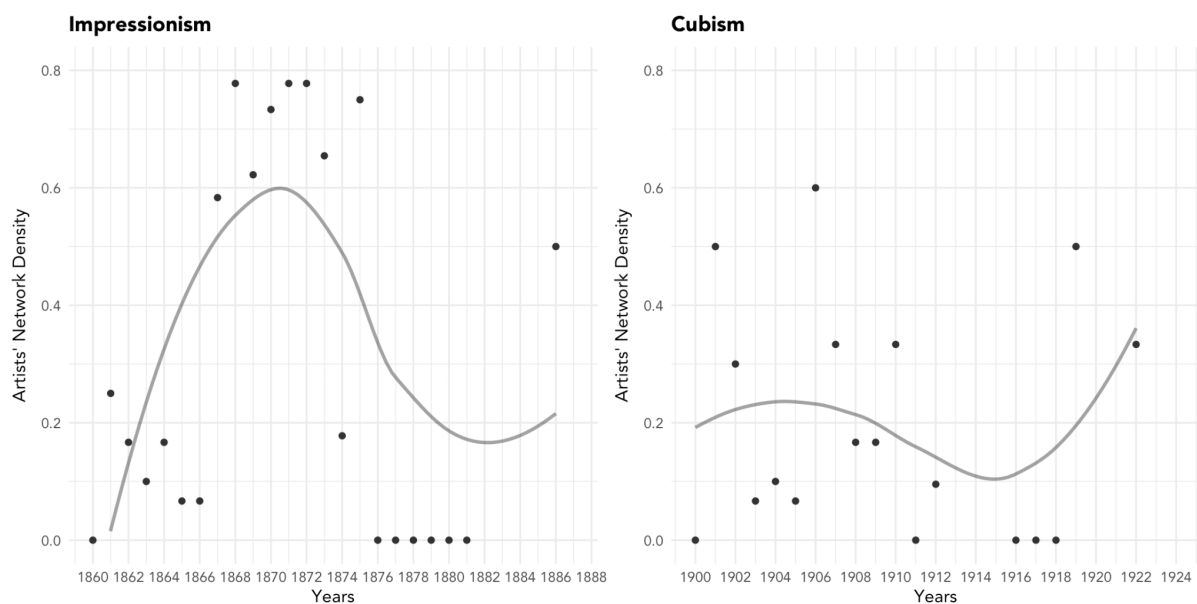**Figure 4.** Average distance between places.

**Figure 5.** Network density among artists, based on co-attendances.

3.1 UNPACKING IMPRESSIONISM TRAJECTORY (1860-1887)

Impressionism emerged in Paris at a time when the city was undergoing major political upheavals (the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and the Commune insurrection in 1871) and economic changes (the development of polluting industries) (Albright & Huybers, 2023), which

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influenced living conditions. In addition, major urban works profoundly transformed the city's morphology, such as the extension of its geographic boundaries, the creation of boulevards (represented in certain paintings such as *Paris Street; Rainy Day*, Caillebotte, 1877, or the series *Boulevard Montmartre,* Pissaro, 1897, portraying the boulevard's evolution over time), and the reorganization of the omnibus system, which facilitated mobility within the city. The opening of the first department stores and the blossoming of nightlife also characterized the development of Paris during this era. At this time, the artistic field was greatly disrupted, with an increase in the number of budding artists and a rise in contestation of the conventions of the Salon, an annual exhibition fair organized by the state and the Académie des Beaux-Arts (Delacour & Leca, 2011; White & White, 1993; Wijnberg & Gemser, 2000). These conditions contributed to the development of the art market and the increasingly predominant role of sellers.

Figure 6. The evolving geography of Impressionism. From light to dark, the shades reflect the ranking of the most attended area over time.
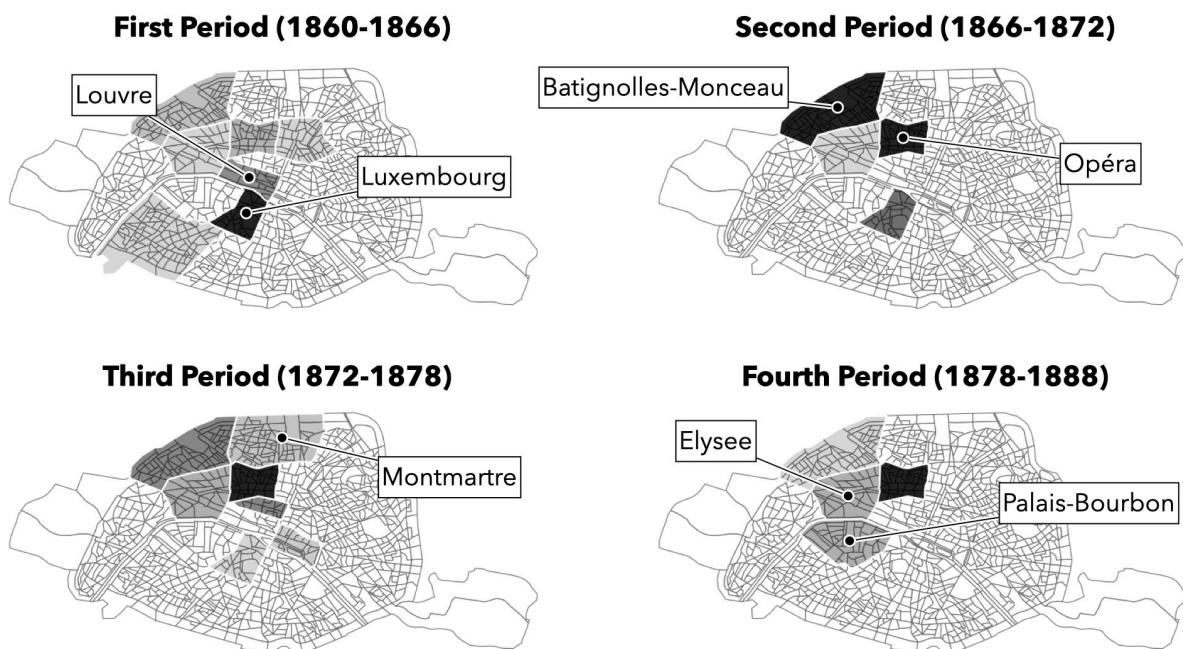
In the years prior to the movement's formation (1860-1866), the composition of the PC shows the importance of schools and hangouts (Figure 1), and were concentrated both in the core of the city and in the west (Figure 6). Several schools (e.g. Académie Suisse, Atelier de Gleyre) were pivotal locations where some of the founding members of Impressionism met in the 1860s. Located in the heart of the city, these schools were the places where artists were introduced to the conventions of art production and learned creative techniques, enjoying great freedom in

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methods and subject matters: *"everyone worked in their own way, pastel, watercolor, oil painting, copying from a model or fantasy, still life, composition, there was absolute freedom of research and process"* (Lévêque, 1995: 25). Schools encouraged the sharing of techniques, knowledge, and the convergence of values and aesthetic principles between students. They were also the ideal place for teacher-student mentoring relationships, through which tacit knowledge was shared and acquired. For example, Edouard Manet—despite his claims of not being an Impressionist—taught Berthe Morisot important painting techniques before she became one of the movement's most influential painters. Schools were also important meeting places for artists. Gleyre's teaching studio was a central meeting place for Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Bazille, who formed the first circle of Impressionists. These places were gradually supplemented by hangouts, such as cafés and restaurants, which allowed for more informal interactions within the nascent Impressionists group but also with other artists of bohemia. Indeed, the ties forged at school were strengthened when attending the same hangouts. In particular, the group that would later constitute the Impressionists attended the Café Guerbois, located in the bustling northwest. This café became a regular haunt where these artists exchanged ideas and aligned their aesthetic approaches (Retaillé, 2013). Other places, such as museums (the Louvre) or antique shops importing objects from Asia (the Boutique de la Porte Chinoise), which were major sources of inspiration for painters, were also integral to the PC.

During the second period (1866-1872), members of the movement moved to the north of the city, to the Batignolles-Monceau and Montmartre neighborhoods. These neighborhoods bordered on each other, and artists moved from one to the other in their everyday mobilities. Specifically, it is in the adjacent areas of Batignolles-Monceau, Montmartre and Opéra that artists located their homes and studios, as well as chose their favorite hangouts (Figures 2 and 3). The PC of Impressionists gradually concentrated in this area for a number of reasons. First, artists were looking for cheaper rents at a time when they lacked recognition and commercial success. Second, hangouts and entertainment venues were increasingly located in this area. Indeed, the "Grands Boulevards" that run through these neighborhoods were home to brasseries, cafés and cabarets. In addition to painting *Les Grands boulevards* in 1875, Auguste Renoir, for example, regularly visited the Cirque Fernando and the Moulin de la Galette near his studio, where he met other artists (Degas, Van Gogh). The flourishing nightlife created the context for chance encounters in these places, strengthened relationships, stimulated inspiration, and increased opportunities for the exchange of ideas and advice that underpinned the development of the Impressionist style. During this period, the high concentration of PC

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(Figure 4) supported the community-building process by multiplying the opportunities for meetings. This is corroborated by the densification of the network of relationships (Figure 5), which suggests that attending the same places in close proximity on a daily basis supported the formation of the community. Finally, artists got closer to allied gallery owners and to potential buyers, who participated to promote their innovative style (Delacour & Leca, 2017). The wealthy and fashionable west of the city was home to many galleries, bringing artists closer to potential buyers (Sutcliffe, 1995). While the market was emerging, artists began to frequent galleries in the Opéra area (Figure 3), which provided them with visibility. Two places in particular played an important role: the stores of Père Tanguy and Paul Durand-Ruel. Both began by selling materials (paints, brushes) and then actively supported some of their customers, later known as the Impressionists, by selling and promoting their works. Paul Durand-Ruel also organized solo exhibitions in his store, an unusual and innovative setting for the time.

The third period (1872-1878) defines the movement as such, with a community of artists united by converging artistic principles and values and mobilizing and sharing resources. During this period, the PC was particularly clustered (as revealed by a shortened distance between places attended, Figure 4) in the north and west of the city (Figure 6). As the network became denser (Figure 5) and the community formed around shared aesthetic ideas, the composition of the PC changed too. To gain recognition, painters attended increasingly exhibition places that participated to showcase the movement's innovations. The breakthrough came with an exhibition organized in the personal studio of a photographer, Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, better known by the pseudonym Nadar, in 1874. Nadar was already a recognized artist but, due to economic difficulties, he decided to rent out his studio for an exhibition. The studio was close to several galleries, including that of Paul Durand-Ruel. The two-storey building was large and bright, and Nadar left the artists free to arrange the interior and organize the exhibition. Following repeated exchanges that led to the alignment of their needs, a number of painters (Degas, Renoir, Cézanne, Monet, etc.) organized themselves into a cooperative, an innovative form of organization for the time, to promote their work and share resources. They allied with sellers, and strategically used Nadar's studio to exhibit their works and attract public attention through art critics (Ward, 1991). The 1874 exhibition, despite its commercial and public failure, was an important springboard for the movement's legitimacy. It was during this exhibition that journalist and art critic Louis Leroy, after seeing Monet's *Impression Soleil Levant*, described it as *"an impression of unfinished painting"*, a term that would later inform the name and

identity of the movement (Sgourev, 2021a). At that time, there was also a slight dispersal of attendances, as some artists chose to move home, set up studios elsewhere for longer periods (Guillaumin and Cézanne shared a studio on Ile Saint-Louis, in central Paris), or started to work in schools as teachers. Artists also sometimes left the neighborhood to attend or sell works at auctions (at the Drouot auction house in the Opéra neighborhood). But relationships were maintained through meetings in the studios and homes of fellow artists (e.g., Berthe Morisot's house was the scene of numerous parties attended by the painters), and in certain hangouts. While these particular places, or others of a similar nature, may have been attended in the past, their function turned to maintaining relationships rather than to initiating relationships and bridging different networks.

Towards the end of the 1880s, as the movement gained international recognition, most of the artists took advantage of their increased notoriety and the financial resources gained from selling their paintings to leave the city, settling in the countryside or traveling abroad. This can be seen in the decline in the number of places attended in the fourth period, 1878-1888 (Figure 1). For those who stayed, the south of Montmartre remained the neighborhood of choice. Painters such as Manet and Renoir continued to have their homes and studios there, helping to maintain relationships within the community. It was also in this festive area that artists continued to find inspiration, for example at the recently opened Folies Bergère cabaret painted by Manet. In addition, attendances became more dispersed and with fewer shared places. This marked the fragmentation of the local community and the dispersion of its artist members to other locations.

3.2 UNPACKING CUBISM TRAJECTORY (1900-1924)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Paris was a prosperous city. It was a major financial and industrial center, run by a well-developed bourgeoisie. Paris was also a city of entertainment, and major events marked the lives of its inhabitants (Olympic Games, Universal Exhibitions), some of which left their mark on lasting infrastructures: the Petit and Grand Palais (exhibition halls), the Eiffel Tower, the cinema, and the metro (Boutinot & Delacour, 2022). It was a capital city for the arts, home to many artists from earlier movements, such as Impressionism and Fauvism, and museums with extensive collections (Oberlin & Gieryn, 2015). This period saw an increase in aspiring artists and private exhibitions (Sgourev, 2013), and a growing mobility of artists between European capitals and the consequent circulation of new ideas (Działek,

2024; Sgourev, 2021b). What is special about Cubism is that it brought together foreign artists who started or spent a large part of their careers jin Paris.

Figure 7. The evolving geography of Cubism. From light to dark, the shades reflect the ranking of the most attended area over time.
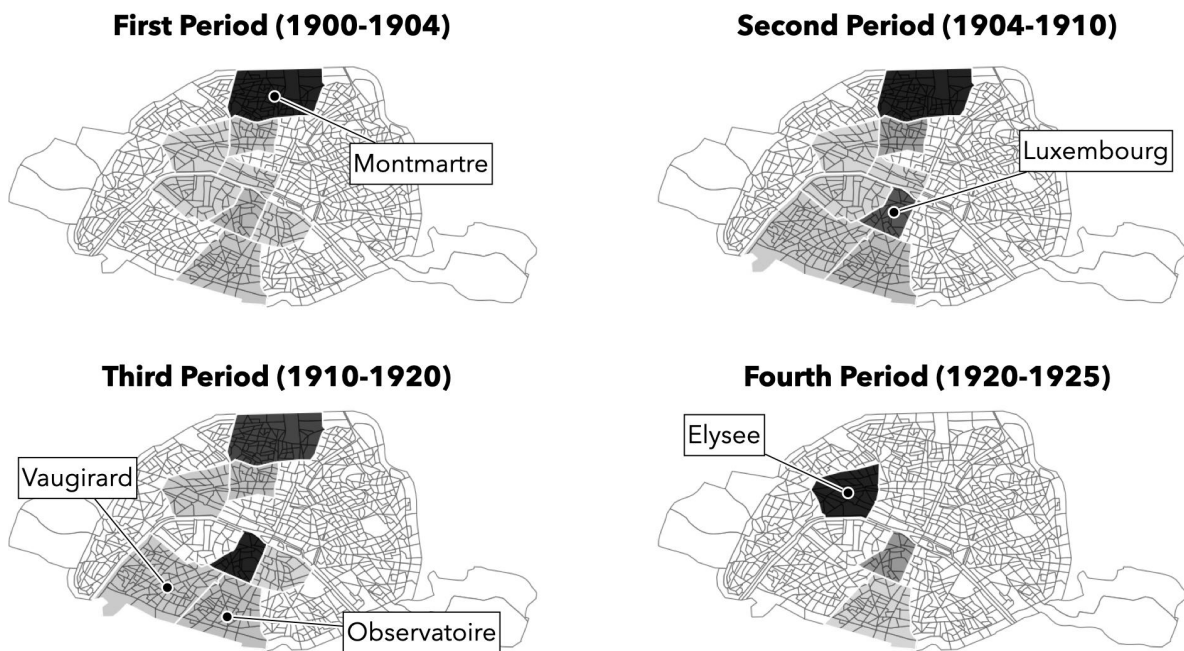
In the early days of Cubism (1900-1904), artists' attendances were relatively concentrated in Montmartre (Figure 7). At the time, Montmartre was known as the bohemian neighborhood where artists gathered and partied, and where they could find cheap accommodation (Le Thomas, 2016). For Parisian and foreign artists alike, attending socially vibrant places was key to entering the artistic scene that had developed around the preceding movements. From then on, Montmartre was where newcomers strategically located. For example, Picasso set up home and studio in the neighborhood as soon as he arrived in Paris, and attended local cafés (Café du Grand Hôtel), cabarets (Moulin-Rouge, Le Chat Noir) and restaurants (Consulat d'Auvergne, Chez Vernin) on a daily basis. The numerous hangouts in this area were particularly important for first encounters between artists, and dominated the composition of the PC (Figure 1). But the PC also included several schools attended by the painters who would later become the Cubists, and which were scattered around different neighborhoods (Figure 2). Schools were important for artists just starting out on their careers, both for learning painting techniques and for socializing with peers. For instance, it was at the Académie Carmen that Jean Metzinger,

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Robert Delaunay and Albert Gleizes met, and at the Académie Humbert that several founding members such as Braque, Laurencin and Picabia forged relationships.

The second period (1904-1910) corresponds to the constitution of the movement as such, with the formation of the community around the aesthetic principles initiated in particular by Braque and Picasso. The two painters met in 1907 in an important place in Montmartre's artistic life, the Bateau-Lavoir. It was a building shared by several artists living and working there. When Braque visited Picasso's studio (where he also lived) and they exchanged ideas on Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, still in preparation, a founding relationship was born. Other artists such as Juan Gris, Marie Laurencin and Metzinger were also regular visitors to the Bateau-Lavoir, and participated in the exchange of ideas. The movement evolved around this nucleus, and members developed habits in some places that became their landmarks: *"There were the Montmartre painters, like Maurice Utrillo. But the Bateau-Lavoir painters claimed to be avant-garde, and were in a class of their own [...] Cubists dined among themselves, meeting in the back of bistros that gave them credit, at Mère Adèle or Les Enfants de la Butte"* (Museum of Montmartre). While the homes and favored entertainment venues of some of the movement's up-and-coming members were already concentrated in the north of the city (Figure 7), this trend was further accentuated over time, with the places they attended becoming increasingly concentrated in this area (Figure 4). This fostered the organizing of the community. Indeed, in addition to the Bateau-Lavoir, members of the movement met by chance in the streets (most lived in the neighborhood), when visiting friends' studios, spending evenings in cafés, or celebrating at each other's homes. Studios and homes were places where relationships were strengthened, ideas shared, and innovative aesthetic conventions redeveloped. Hence, it was not just the number of places that was important, but also their variety and concentration in the neighborhood where artists lived. Yet, the PC was not exclusively concentrated in Montmartre. Artists attended distinct places in various parts of the city, including the Petit Palais in the Élysée neighborhood (which hosted a retrospective of Cézanne, a major source of inspiration for the Cubists), the Musée du Luxembourg in the eponymous neighborhood, and various other galleries.

During this second period, the PC underwent a twofold process of recomposition and reconfiguration. On the one hand, hangouts grew in importance and galleries became critical (Figure 1). Hangouts increased interaction, the creation of relationships and the exchange of ideas between artists, who attended more of the same places (Figure 5). For their part, galleries, and specifically the one owned by Kahnweiler (Sgourev, 2013), participated to promote the

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innovations of Cubist painters and led to a rapid recognition of the movement. In addition, while the movement's PC became more firmly rooted in Montmartre, artists also increasingly attended fashionable hangouts in the Montparnasse neighborhood (comprising parts of the arrondissements Luxembourg, Vaugirard, and Observatoire), located in the south of the Seine river, ushering in a spatial transition (Figure 7).

The third period (1910-1920) is characterized by a process of declustering and greater dispersion of the PC across two neighborhoods, where new habits began to take shape as the group fragmented. Around 1912, Delaunay, Gleizes and Metzinger broke up with the rest of the Cubists because of diverging views on the objective of the movement (Cottington, 2004; Sgourev, 2013). As the attendances of similar places decreased (Figure 5), the community's break-up revealed itself spatially, increasing the geographic fragmentation of the movement. However, the average distance between the places attended also shortened (Figure 4), suggesting that attendance patterns gradually reconfigured but remained nevertheless concentrated. Indeed, although there were significant variations between artists, the Cubists attended Montmartre as much as Montparnasse (Figure 7). The mobility within the city was facilitated by the opening of metro lines linking Paris from north to south. Yet, over time Montmartre lost its centrality while Montparnasse became increasingly favored by artists. Several reasons explain this shift. First, rents in Montparnasse were cheaper, which encouraged artists to set up their homes and studios there, sometimes sharing them. The residence La Ruche, for example, was at one time occupied by Gleizes, Léger, Picasso and other artists affiliated with other movements (such as Chagall and Modigliani). A second factor is that Montparnasse was also a party-oriented neighborhood: the brasseries Le Dôme, La Rotonde and La Coupole, which opened at this time, were assiduously attended by Cubist painters. This specificity of the neighborhood reflected in the types of places attended, mainly hangouts, studios and houses (Figure 2). Relationships were maintained between painters through attendances of the same hangouts, and Montparnasse became associated with the art community. Finally, attending new places was also a way of renewing inspiration and expanding social interactions. Cubist painters' encounters with authors and musicians led to new collaborations (e.g., the *Ballets Russes*, in which several painters collaborated) and a renewal of styles.

The First World War brought the movement to a halt. Most members left the capital, either because of the war or to take advantage of the international recognition they had gained through exhibitions. As a result, the number of places attended declined (Figure 1). Although they changed their painting style with the end of the movement, some artists continued to live in

Paris but relocated in the western part of the city. In addition, as careers evolved, some painters became teachers or founded their own academies (as in the case of Lhote and later Léger). This explains the reconfiguration and recomposition of the PC in this last period, 1920-1925 (Figure 4). Homes, studios and a few hangouts helped maintain relations between the artists, until the local community disintegrated and the artists dispersed to other locations.

3.3 PREFERENTIAL CIRCULATION AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

The emergence of Impressionism and Cubism results from distinct socio-spatial dynamics. First, the temporalities are different. The emergence of Impressionism is characterized by a fairly long period between the creation of relationships and the pivotal moment that defined the movement—the exhibition at Nadar's studio. Relationships were maintained during this period of several years, before any collective action occurred. Conversely, Cubism developed more rapidly before internal conflict fragmented the group. These differences are reflected in the dynamics of the two PCs. Impressionists settled in the north, between Montmartre and Batignolles-Monceau, at a time when the art market was in its infancy. By establishing their activities in this neighborhood over an extended period, they defined the spatial and symbolic boundaries of the art world. Conversely, the Cubists benefited from what had been produced by earlier generations of artists, including the Impressionists, utilizing established venues as hubs for meeting and networking with fellow artists, gallerists and critics. The pool of resources needed for artwork production, community organizing, and entering the art market had already been built up in Montmartre, where they first located. Cubists then reconfigured their PC, moving to fashionable and less expensive locations.

Second, the evolution of the composition of the two PC suggests distinct needs in terms of places for community organizing. Impressionism's relations began in schools, were later strengthened through hangouts, and culminated in the first collective exhibitions. The Cubists, on the other hand, primarily met through hangouts, homes, and studios, which played a key role in the early organizing of the community. There are two possible explanations for the difference between the two movements. First, many artists associated with Cubism were foreigners, trained elsewhere (e.g., Picasso and Gris in Spain, Delaunay in Ukraine), and came to Paris to enter the art market. Their careers had already begun before the aesthetic breakthrough initiated by the movement, and it was the encounter in such places that underpinned the formation of a unified movement. A complementary explanation lies in the aesthetic convergence of the

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community, inspired by the varied ecosystem offered by Montmartre. As Claire le Thomas (2016) noted, the Cubists were greatly inspired by the lifestyle of its inhabitants. Montmartre was a working-class and relatively poor neighborhood: everyday life was all about bricolage and frugality, workers' unions, and spectacles announced through collages of posters on the walls. Some of the defining aesthetic features of Cubism, especially straight and broken lines and assemblages, were typical of the neighborhood itself, its streets, venues, and inhabitants.

This suggests that the organizing of the Cubists' community was more open and influenced by their neighborhoods than that of the Impressionists, who had a more insular and self-contained organizing process. For the former, the variety of places available in the same neighborhoods, and especially their composition characterized by numerous hangouts (favoring sociability), was critical in their organizing trajectory. The Impressionists, by contrast, seem to have established themselves primarily in places that encouraged learning and private interactions, such as schools and homes.

However, the two movements also shared a few similar features. First, both PC' compositions evolved, with the preponderance of certain types of places over time serving as markers of the community's phases of evolution. While the compositions remain heterogeneous, we observe a stronger representations of specific types of places attended over time. This leads us to consider four phases: (a) *schools and learning*, when schools served as primary spaces for knowledge acquisition and the creation of initial ties; (b) *building long-term relationships*, through hangouts, studios and homes, which enabled individuals to select relationships (which may or may not be maintained over time), foster the development of common aesthetic principles, and mobilize shared resources; (c) *commercial recognition and promotion*, when galleries became more central and contributed to the formal establishment of the movement; and (d) *disaggregation*, observed in a general decrease in attendances. Although the organizing of each community did not exactly follow such a sequence, these phases punctuated the organizing of both communities.

Second, the configuration of the PC was always evolving and transitory. Even in the case of Impressionists, who anchor their activities firmly in Montmartre, their attendance patterns were never exclusive. The artists consistently attended places in different parts of the city. Moreover, the periods when each PC became denser varied in duration, but patterns of declustering is observed in both communities. Overall, the concentration of the places attended is only transitional in the configuration of the PC, and therefore in the process of community organizing. Yet, it remains an integral part of the community-building process. Our findings

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suggest that it contributes to solidifying relationships, specifically once the collective is already formed. In addition, the distribution of attendances was uneven between neighborhoods (Figure 2), with some neighborhoods attended more than others and, in some cases, frequented specifically for certain types of places. For example, the Bourse and Opéra were attended almost exclusively for their galleries. This suggests that there are centrifugal forces attributable to the composition of the neighborhoods, and which in turn shape the evolving configuration of PC. Finally, we also observe that the same types of places were attended at different times, but for different reasons. For example, while the Cubists frequented academies to learn skills and acquire knowledge at the beginning of the movement (1900-1905), some of them were later employed by these same academies (from 1918 onwards), providing regular income, additional workspaces, and greater opportunities to meet their peers. Similarly, hangouts (e.g. cafés, restaurants) and private studios played a 'bridging' role in the early stages of community building, and later evolved into 'bonding places', fostering the maintenance of relationships within a more mature community. Therefore, the relationship between the type of place and the process of community organizing is not straightforward.

4. DISCUSSION

These findings enhance our theoretical understanding of the role of places in organizational phenomena (Dacin et al., 2024; Wright et al., 2023), particularly in how a city's evolving ecology of places can foster and support the formation of communities. We identified several dynamics: the role of ecologies of places in the community organizing process; the influence of repeated attendance at specific places over a relatively extended period; and the agency of individuals in strategically utilizing these places.

Our work contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of places in organizational processes by shifting the focus from the features of a single place (Capron & Delacour, 2024; Irving et al., 2020) to an ecology of places approach (Li & Khessina, 2024; Sorenson, 2017). This approach integrates a variety of places with distinct characteristics, yet all located within the same geographic space. From our findings, it emerges that various attended places have different but complementary roles in the process of community organizing, both over a given period and throughout the trajectory of communities. By shifting the perspective toward multiple places, we thus reveal specific dynamics that cannot be identified otherwise. Moreover, we complement research on mobility between cities (Działek, 2024; Hautala &

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Jauhiainen, 2019; Koch et al., 2024) by exploring the dynamics within cities themselves, thereby reducing the abstraction of geography to mere co-presence (Dutta et al., 2022 ; Grabher et al., 2018). In this way, our findings echo work on the everyday environment and how the geographical space experienced and practiced by actors influences organizing (Lefebvre, 1974; Nash, 2020). We show how the mobilities of actors within the city are not limited to neighborhoods with fixed boundaries, but are fluid and open. The way space is perceived and experienced in practice does not perfectly align with how the space was designed and planned. We also contribute to this stream of research by using the concept of preferential circulation (Capron & Suire, 2024, 2025) to study the cumulative role of multiple places in the emergence and evolution of organizations. PC refers to individual patterns of place attendance that produce resources for innovation, and possibly enable collective organizing. By aggregating several individual PCs, we identify common patterns of places visited by members of each movement, attesting to their role in supporting communities organizing. Our perspective focuses in particular on the composition (volume and types of places) and configuration (geographical distribution) of PC, which changes over time. We show that this alters the processes of community organizing.

In terms of composition, certain types of places are more attended at specific points in the trajectory of community organizing, as they allow individuals to mobilize the different resources they require at key moments. By analyzing two distinct trajectories, we argue that the context and profiles of individuals are decisive in assessing the role of composition in community organizing. More specifically, within the PC, it seems that some places exert centripetal forces on collective dynamics and catalyze movements: Nadar's studio for the Impressionists' first exhibition, the Bateau-lavoir to align the ideas of Cubism. But these centripetal and community-catalyzing forces are temporary. They evolve and shift over time as actors change their attendance habits and mobilize distinct resources. The non-linear organizing journey of communities reflects in the evolving composition of the PC. This contrasts with previous findings focusing on the attractive force of places (Aversa et al., 2022; Ferru et al., 2022) and raises the question of whether a magnetic and catalyst role of a place can be maintained over time.

In terms of configuration, the spatial distribution of PC is influenced by changes in the ecology of places (e.g., Montparnasse, which became attractive for artists as new entertainment venues opened there), but also by individual agency (e.g., artists living in the same neighborhood may choose a nearby café for convenience). This contributes to modifying the configuration of the

PC through cumulative changes of composition. Thus, we argue that PC configuration derives from changes in its composition, rather than the opposite. In addition, we show that artists do not live in a compartmentalized space, and that concentration in certain neighborhoods is only temporary. Gradual transitions from one neighborhood to another can thus be defined by recomposition (significant change in the places attended) and the resulting reconfiguration (significant spatial redistribution). While composition and configuration can support the organizing of a community, future research could explore the features of urban contexts that foster the organizing of multiple communities in parallel or, conversely, those features that inhibit the organizing of communities.

By adopting a temporal approach, we show that repeated interactions in places can strengthen the relationships between actors. It is not just one specific place that catalyzes the creation of a movement, but the networked attendances of a set of places over a significant period of time. The spatial concentration of the Impressionists' and Cubists' PCs at distinctive points was critical, as it increased interaction between individuals in the same places and multiplied the opportunities of these interactions. This was further reinforced by connections on the streets, where people can meet by chance (Jacobs, 1961; Rantisi & Leslie, 2010). For example, the Impressionists attended the Café Guerbois for around six years, and they also lived in the same neighborhood, which increased the chances of casual meetings as well as of gatherings at each other's homes. Since the artists shared several places in their PC over the course of the community trajectory, we argue that the similarity of these PC reinforced the social and cognitive cohesion of the communities: attending the same cafés, visiting each other's studios, and living in each other's homes all served to intensify interactions and the exchange of ideas. Ultimately, these self-reinforcing dynamics are crucial to the development of innovative collectives (Uzzi, 1997).

While some research suggests that communities are inextricably linked to a specific location (Cohendet et al., 2014; Sgourev, 2013), their impact on shaping the geography of artistic fields is often considerable, and particularly visible in the development of formal organisations or academic institutions (Markusen, 2006; Montanari et al., 2018). Our research demonstrates how the ecology of places influences the organizing of a community and, conversely, how communities shape this ecology by attracting other artists—either in the short term, when attendance patterns cluster among community members, or over time, as these dynamics are passed on from one generation to the next. By attending specific places, artists and other members of the artistic field generate a range of resources that actors seek to mobilize (Currid,

2007). This serves as breeding ground for innovation, both aesthetic (distinct collective styles) and organizational (a cooperative). At the same time, they shape the normative structure of the field according to the affiliated places, the activities occurring there, the relational networks that are formed, and the conventions that are negotiated (Patriotta & Hirsch, 2016). Thus, an artistic field is formed by the relationships and actions of actors within a given geographic area, in a dynamic of mutual constitution (Wright et al., 2023). The agency of actors can therefore be critical to understanding these dynamics.

These dynamics can have a lasting influence. By analyzing the socio-spatial trajectories of Impressionism and Cubism, we have highlighted the way in which the PC are shaped by earlier movements which, through the choices and actions of their members, provide the resources that the artists of the next generation seek to acquire. By locating in Montmartre, the Impressionists created the social, cognitive and spatial preconditions for subsequent movements (Fauvism, Cubism), which temporarily overlapped as their members attended the same cafés and entertainment venues.[1] However, this raises the question of the legacy of previous communities and how this might hinder the emergence of subsequent communities. Further research could explore this issue.

 The focus on local mobilities reveals how artists' agency shapes community organizing. This can be seen in the strategic use of certain places, which contributed significantly to the evolution of the movements. Consider the case of the 1874 exhibition at Nadar's studio, which played a key role in the diffusion of the Impressionist aesthetics: if the novelty introduced by these artists had been confined to a distant, lesser-known experimental site or one with a more restrictive layout, the new movement's impact might have been significantly diminished. Our research shows that the choice of places attended has a strategic and collective dimension. This can manifest in a number of ways, whether in the decision to get closer to an emerging market (Impressionists) or the attempt to refresh creative ideas (Cubists), but always involves a range of places, not just one. In our case, the emergent strategies were foundational for these communities. By leaving the places attended by traditional artists and engaging with a new ecology of places to experiment and organize themselves, artists were able to express and test new ideas in a different context, while still maintaining regular interactions in diverse settings. In a sense, the location in the geographic peripheries of the city acted as a safe place for

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[1] In some cases, this was reflected in their artistic practice: Albert Gleizes' early paintings were highly descriptive and were initially categorized as Impressionist. In fact, Gleizes lived in many places near Montmartre and had a good knowledge of the area. He undoubtedly played the role of knowledge broker between Impressionism and Cubism, but he was also one of the geographic brokers, introducing the places and lifestyles of Montmartre to the Cubists.

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experimentation (Kesidou et al., 2024). These developments highlight the fundamental interweaving between the cognitive and social dynamics of community organizing and their geographic location. Beyond physical proximity within a city, shared attendances at a more micro level (i.e. in the same places) make it possible to activate other key processes of organizing: social (meeting each other), cognitive (exchanging ideas and shaping a common framework), organizational (common practices), institutional (same aesthetic 'rules', belonging to a movement, collective identity) (Boschma, 2005).

Hence, it is not either the artists and their relationships, or the places they have visited, that create the movement. Rather, the organizing into communities is underpinned by the ongoing relationship between a set of artists and a set of places within a given geographic area (Murdoch, 2006). While the dynamics of artistic production are organized around heterogenous networks (Cattani & Ferriani, 2008; Patriotta & Hirsch, 2016), we argue that they are also embedded in a particular ecology of place, whose characteristics evolve and shape the possibilities for the emergence and development of communities.

Our framework, used here in the context of a historical study, can also be applied to the study of contemporary phenomena. The characteristics of the ecology of places in Paris at the turn of the 20th century enabled a succession of movements, with dynamics of clustering and subsequent redistribution to other neighborhoods. Today, factors such as gentrification, municipal policies, and mass tourism make the presence of artists in a city more precarious and tend to push them towards the suburbs (Koren & Hracs, 2024; Zukin & Braslow, 2011). Adopting the PC framework can help identify the communities that are currently underway, where they are specifically developing, and under what conditions they can be supported. As such, our study can serve as a blueprint to explain how and why individuals move from one area to another, following specific sequences and key events.

But contemporary communities use and organize themselves also around non-geographic spaces (e.g., social media, networked platforms). While we focused on actors operating in a shared geography, we argue that our findings and framework can be extended to both online and hybrid communities, and to the study of the virtual spaces that communities use to interact and mobilize resources. The literature has shown that online communities follow distinct development patterns from offline ones (Massa, 2017). Digital technologies enabling remote exchanges can make co-presence unnecessary for organization and innovation, and communities have become more decentralized and multi-centric (Beunza & Stark, 2003). Moreover, in some cases, communities cross geographic and virtual spaces (Burke et al., 2023),

where different resources intermingle. We therefore see an opportunity to apply our framework to inform research designs that combine geographic and digital spaces to understand the process of building and maintenance of hybrid communities.

We acknowledge that our study has three main limitations. First, it does not take into account mobility between cities or regions (Hautala & Jauhiainen, 2019; Sgourev, 2021b), which has been proved to be essential for inspiration or consecration. Artists do not stay in the same city forever, and in the cases of Impressionism and Cubism, we know of some crucial comings and goings in the artists' careers. For instance, Monet traveled to London where he met Turner, who ended up having a considerable influence on his style; Impressionist painters regularly went to the Normandy countryside and coast; and Picasso constantly moved between Barcelona and Paris, inevitably bridging distinctive cultural environments. The inclusion of between-region mobility in our framework would make it possible to assess the respective contributions of the everyday local context and the extra-local, extra-ordinary context that breaks the routine. This represents a promising avenue for future research. Second, we do not study the PC of intermediaries (e.g. Nadar, Kahnweiler) or artists from other fields (e.g. Zola, Apollinaire), who played a crucial role in the promotion and development of both avant-garde movements. We know that curators and gatekeepers are integral to valuing works of art and the generation of work opportunities (Coslor et al., 2020; Currid, 2007). By including these actors, it would be possible to provide a more accurate account of the 'hot spots' where the market is constructed in all its dimensions and how evaluative frames evolve spatially. Similarly, it would be interesting to explore further the brokerage role of a coalition of individuals (Delacour & Leca, 2017) and how place managers can foster this process, two additional drivers of community organizing that are probably intertwined. Overall, the complementarity of places and individuals in the gatekeeping process is an open question for further work. Finally, some artists belonged to more than one movement (e.g. Braque, Seurat) and their careers extended beyond their original communities. This raises a number of questions: How did their PC evolve and intersect with other actors associated with a different or subsequent community? And did their urban mobility inspire the formation of new movements? Moreover, in certain situations, several artistic communities may exist in the same city at the same time. How are their PC distributed? Are there specific types of places where they intersect? Answering these questions would deepen our understanding of the evolving dynamics of communities in urban areas.

5. CONCLUSION

The everyday urban environment is often taken for granted, viewed as a persistent and immutable background feature, while it is instead constantly evolving. Within this perspective, co-location in a city is often seen as synonymous with physical connections and therefore interactions, but without knowing precisely where and how these are actually occurring. The aim of this paper was to examine the interplay between places and organizing of communities, specifically how an ecology of places that defined the attractiveness of a city contributed to the emergence of major artistic movements. Our results help advance our thinking on the relationship between the physical environment that facilitates co-presence and the actual encounters that can support organizing (Dutta et al., 2022 ; Grabher et al., 2018).

We set our analysis in Paris at the turn of the 20th century, observing the development of Impressionism and Cubism, and comparing the evolution of these movements. Artistic creation is spatially concentrated, organized around places that provide resources and opportunities for learning, creation and social interaction. By questioning the causality of the evolution of movements in the geographic space, we contribute to a rethinking of localized innovation policies, showing that spatial concentration may not always be the triggering factor and that a diversity of places can represent a crucial condition. Taking these issues into account can inform the design of sustainable creative cities (Kirchberg & Kagan, 2013).

As much as artistic movements are characterized by their strong stances on practices and cultural norms, their members also have a preferential attachment to certain places. The notion of preferential circulation captures these socio-spatial dynamics: artistic movements often gravitate towards particular ecologies of places, which in turn support and encourage the development of a distinctive collective voice. However, the dynamic between artists and places is constantly evolving: new movements build on previous configurations of these ecologies and further rearrange the geographic space according to individual and collective needs. In the search for a distinctive place in their field, artistic movements shape the physical world and are shaped by its spatial configuration.

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