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Research Article

Memory-Place Networks: Revolutionary Heritage and Multi-cultural Belonging in Paris's Belleville

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Abstract: Cultural geographers and memory studies scholars increasingly recognize that local places function as crucial nodes in transnational networks of meaning and identity. This paper develops the concept of “memory-place networks” to analyze the circulation, transformation, and contestation of memory in urban spaces. Such networks form through the layering of historical meanings and their reactivation across time, linking local practices to broader transnational narratives. I examine Belleville, a historically working-class neighborhood in northeast Paris long associated with revolutionary traditions and cultural diversity. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, I examine how Belleville sediments past struggles, translates them into contemporary forms, and circulates them through cultural practices and urban spaces. By linking transnational memory studies with cultural geography, the paper advances an interdisciplinary framework for understanding how memory is both anchored in place and mobilized across scales. It argues that memory-place networks not only preserve geographies but also actively shape urban change, cultural identities, and the politics of belonging in a globalized city.

Keywords: Memory-place networks; urban studies; cultural geography; transnational memory; place; Paris

Highlights:

- Memory-place networks link local urban spaces to transnational flows of meaning.
- Belleville demonstrates how revolutionary heritage adapts to multicultural change.
- Memorial gentrification preserves cultural forms while displacing communities.
- Democratic memorial practices create inclusive spaces for neighborhood solidarity.
- Ethnographic methods reveal how memory circulates through everyday urban life.

1. Introduction

The relationship between place and memory has long preoccupied geographers, historians, and cultural theorists (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). Pierre Nora's concept of lieux de mémoire demonstrated how certain sites become repositories of collective representation and practice (Lefebvre 1991; Nora 1996). Yet traditional approaches often treat places as bounded containers of collective memory rather than as dynamic nodes that link local experiences to global flows. This container model obscures key processes: how memories circulate beyond their original contexts, how they transform through cultural encounters, and how local places embed themselves within transnational networks of meaning and identity.

Urban spaces are especially dense with memory, but memory is never static: it is continually activated, contested, and reshaped through everyday practices and shifting populations (Lefebvre 1991; Halbwachs 1992). The paper develops the concept of memory-place networks to capture how urban sites function not as singular memorials but as dynamic nodes where geographies sediment, circulate, and are reinterpreted. Building on work in cultural geography (Alderman 2002; Massey 2005; Till 2005; Yoon and Alderman 2020; Sheehan, Brasher, and Speights-Binet 2021) and transnational memory studies (Rigney 2008; Rothberg 2009; De Cesari and Rigney 2014; Wüstenberg 2020), I argue that memory-place networks capture both the material embeddedness of memory in place and the fluid, networked processes through which memory travels across borders and communities. Rather than seeing places as fixed or bounded, this approach emphasizes the ways urban sites evoke and transmit distant geographies even as they are continually reshaped by everyday practice, functioning as nodes in transnational networks of meaning and identity formation (Appadurai 1996).

Belleville, a historically working-class district in northeastern Paris, provides the case study. Known for its role in the 1871 Paris Commune and subsequent revolutionary movements (Ross 2015), Belleville has since become one of the city's most multicultural neighborhoods, one continually shaped by successive waves of migration (Simon 2000; Raulin 2000). It is simultaneously a site of radical heritage, everyday multicultural encounters, cultural commodification, and contestation over belonging. These qualities make it an especially rich terrain for examining how memories are sedimented in place and transformed through both global and local flows.

Methodologically, the paper draws on ethnographic fieldwork and place-based exploration of Belleville's commemorative sites, murals, and public spaces. The analysis traces how memories are enacted and contested across four domains: revolutionary memory and political pilgrimage; multicultural hybridization in lived spaces; contemporary transformations and memorial gentrification; and community organizing as political

resource. By theorizing Belleville as a critical node in a memory-place network, the paper contributes to wider debates on urban change, the politics of belonging, and the transnational dynamics of memory.

The following sections describe Belleville in greater depth, develop the theoretical framework of memory-place networks, and outline the ethnographic methodology. The analysis then proceeds through the four domains noted above, before concluding with reflections on the broader significance of memory-place networks for understanding urban change, cultural belonging, and transnational memory.

2. Study Area: The Greater Belleville Area

Belleville, whose name evokes Belle Vue ("beautiful view"), is a quartier situated northeast of central Paris (Figures 1a and 1b). Its steep topography has long marked it as both physically and socially distinct (Clerval 2013; Stott 2015, Hazan 2011). Historically peripheral, existing as an autonomous commune before its 1860 annexation under Haussmann, it over time became a working-class stronghold (Hazan 2011; Campbell 2019). The neighborhood's roles during the Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871 remain central to its memoryscape. During the Commune, Belleville's working-class identity and elevated topography made it both a strategic stronghold and a symbolic heart of Communal resistance against French state forces. The last barricades fell along Rue Ramponeau before defenders made their final stand inside the adjacent Père Lachaise Cemetery. Located at Belleville's southeastern edge, the cemetery became a site of revolutionary martyrdom during the "Semaine sanglante" (bloody week) when 147 Communards were executed at dawn on May 28, 1871, and buried in a mass grave along what became known as the Mur des Fédérés (Wall of the Federalists) (Christiansen 1995; Horne 2007; Merriman 2014) (Figure 2). These sites now serve as destinations for pilgrimages and annual commemorations. Because of these resonances, the study area considered here extends beyond Belleville proper to include Père Lachaise.



Figure 1. (a) Paris (b) "The Belleville quartier, northeastern Paris."

Beginning in the early twentieth century, Belleville has been shaped by successive migrations that have left enduring traces in its built environment and everyday life. Armenians, Jews from Eastern Europe and North Africa, Spanish, Kabyles (North African Berbers), Chinese from Wenzhou and later Dongbei, and others established businesses, associations, and places of worship (Simon 1997, 2000, Clerval, Fleury and Humain-Lamoure 2011; Corbille 2013; Beauchemin, Hamel, and Simon 2018). In recent decades these earlier migration flows have been joined by growing North African and Sub-Saharan African populations that now constitute numerically significant communities (Simon 1993; 1997, 2000, 2012; Beauchemin, Lhommeau, & Simon, 2016). The result is what could be described as a palimpsest of overlapping demographies: layers of displacement and settlement that continue to define its streets and institutions. While precise demographic data remain limited due to French restrictions on ethnic data collection (Simon 1998, 2012), available research indicates that immigrant and second-generation residents constitute a substantial and growing portion of the neighborhood's population (Simon 2012; Stott 2015). The neighborhood remains predominantly working-class and lower-middle-class, though accelerating gentrification since the 2000s has brought growing numbers of students and young professionals, contributing to property value increases (Collet 2008; Clerval 2013; Stott 2015).



Figure 2. *Mur des Fédérés, Père Lachaise Cemetery.* The Mur des Fédérés, site of the final Commune executions in May 1871. Annual commemorations and pilgrimages reactivate the site as a ritualized landscape, demonstrating both transnational circulation and processual memory in practice (photo by Pierre Yves Beaudouin).

Today Belleville is a diverse, working-class neighborhood undergoing rapid gentrification (Clerval 2013, Stott 2015). Murals, community centers, and local markets maintain its reputation as a hub of cultural creativity, even as rising property values and cultural commodification threaten displacement. These intersecting legacies of revolution, migration, and urban redevelopment make Belleville a particularly revealing site for analyzing how memory-place networks are activated, contested and reconfigured in contemporary Paris.

3. Theoretical Framework: Memory-Place Networks

I propose memory-place networks as a framework for understanding how urban neighborhoods function as dynamic nodes linking local experiences with global movements, identities, and ideologies. Rather than treating place as bounded or fixed, this approach highlights how urban spaces evoke and transmit distant geographies, even as they are continually reshaped through everyday practice. This builds on Doreen Massey's view of places as constituted by "social relations stretched out across space" and memory studies that emphasize the layering of historical traces in material culture and spatial practice (Huyssen 2003; Massey 2005; Erll 2011; Assmann 2011). Central here is the idea of memory as processual rather than static, "real if...adapted in constant updates to the specific experiences of the present" (Hübner and Dirksmeier 2022, 104). Recent literature similarly stresses this dynamism in urban transitions and global contexts (Meusburger, Heffernan, and Wunder 2011; Cheshmehzangi 2021).

The concept of memory-place networks extends recent scholarship on commemoration's mobilities and flows. Sheehan, Brasher, and Speights-Binet (2021) emphasize memory's inherent (im)mobilities, such as the flows of people, ideas, materials, and capital that constitute memorial landscapes, arguing for "regenerative memorialization" that recognizes commemoration's reparative possibilities within evolving sociocultural systems. Yoon and Alderman (2020) demonstrate how memoryscapes become deterritorialized and reproduced across contexts, adapted to serve adopting communities' place-specific needs. Their analysis of transnational "Comfort Women" memorials illustrates how memories develop cross-cultural meaning through "quilting," or the anchoring of cultural meanings to other images, causes, and discourses. Building on these insights, memory-place networks capture both memory's material embeddedness in place and the fluid, networked processes through which memory travels across borders and communities.

Memory-place networks operate through four interconnected analytical dimensions, which I elaborate in depth below.

3.1. Memorial Sedimentation

Memorial Sedimentation refers to the accumulation of historical traces in urban landscapes, or what "urban palimpsests" (Huysen 2003). This dimension emphasizes how layers of meaning are actively produced through material interventions, such as monuments, plaques, street art, and architectural preservation, that inscribe specific interpretations of the past into urban space. Sedimentation retains meaning only when continually reactivated through lived experience, transforming urban landscapes into dynamic repositories where each new layer both preserves and potentially obscures earlier inscriptions. In Belleville, sedimentation operates through multiple temporal registers: nineteenth-century revolutionary monuments, twentieth-century migrant institutions, and twenty-first-century artistic interventions create a complex stratigraphy. Contemporary actors selectively activate, reinterpret, or challenge earlier sedimentations through ongoing memorial work - deliberate acts of maintenance, ritual, storytelling, and spatial practice that keep certain memories legible while allowing others to fade (Hübner and Dirksmeier 2022).

3.2. Cultural Translation

Cultural Translation captures how immigrant and diasporic groups preserve and hybridize practices in what Bhabha (1994) calls "third spaces," where memory is rearticulated through new contexts and communities. Translation involves active negotiation between inherited traditions and present circumstances, producing hybrid forms that maintain connections to origin places while adapting to local conditions. In memory-place networks, translation operates across multiple scales. At the bodily scale, it unfolds through ritualized practices such as prayer, food preparation, and language use, that carry forward cultural knowledge while accommodating new contexts. At the institutional scale, translation manifests in adaptive reuse of buildings, hybridization of sacred spaces, and creation of community organizations bridging multiple cultural worlds. Second and third generations reinterpret inherited memories through contemporary frameworks of identity and belonging. Recent work demonstrates how mobile practices reframe urban heritage as lived memory circulating through embodied movement (Huss 2024), extending translation beyond fixed sites.

3.3. Transnational Circulation

Transnational Circulation highlights how flows of visitors, activists, and cultural workers inscribe local places into global networks, extending Rothberg's multidirectional memory (2009) by emphasizing spatial mechanisms of connection. Circulation operates through material and immaterial channels: movement of people through pilgrimage, migration, and tourism; circulation of images, texts, and media representations; and transmission of political ideologies across borders. Building on Appadurai's (1996) analysis, this dimension examines how global cultural flows intersect in urban spaces to create new meanings. Circulation creates feedback loops where local practices gain global significance while global movements find local articulation. Places like Belleville function simultaneously at multiple scales: as Parisian neighborhood, node in French revolutionary memory, pilgrimage destination, and model for grassroots organizing elsewhere. Circulation thus operates as active appropriation, where communities selectively adopt, adapt, and mobilize circulating memories for their own purposes.

3.4. Temporal Negotiation

Temporal Negotiation concerns the continual reworking of past and present, generating what Williams (1977) called "structures of feeling." It addresses how communities navigate tensions between inherited meanings and contemporary circumstances, determining which aspects of the past remain salient and inform present action. These ongoing processes of selection, interpretation, and reactivation foreground some memories while allowing others to recede. This shows how memory adapts to current contexts, sustaining displaced communities while remaining responsive to shifting conditions (Hübner and Dirksmeier 2022). In memory-place networks, temporal negotiation operates through organized commemorations linking past and present, everyday practices that carry cultural knowledge, and moments of crisis that prompt reassessment. Crucially, temporal negotiation is both retrospective and prospective; communities draw on memory not only to make sense of history but also to imagine alternative futures. The selective activation of certain memories - revolutionary heritage versus multicultural diversity, resistance versus victimhood - shapes both historical understanding and future possibilities.

3.5. Interconnected Dynamics and Contested Trajectories

These four dimensions operate simultaneously and interactively rather than sequentially. Sedimentation creates the material substrate that shapes what can be translated, while translation produces new forms that become sedimented in turn. Circulation amplifies certain memories over others, influencing which sedimentations remain legible and which translations gain traction. Temporal negotiation operates across all dimensions, determining which sedimentations are maintained, which translations are legitimized, which circulations are facilitated, and how these processes collectively shape urban futures. Rather than constituting discrete or successive stages, these dimensions function as interwoven processes that mutually constitute memory-place networks.

While memory-place networks can exhibit historical patterns - such as when national commemorations precede immigrant reinterpretations, which later face gentrified appropriations - these chronological sequences represent particular manifestations rather than universal

trajectories. More commonly, the four dimensions operate simultaneously: revolutionary heritage circulates transnationally even as new immigrant communities translate its meanings, while both processes are contested through temporal negotiations over urban space. Belleville illustrates this complexity, where nineteenth-century revolutionary sedimentations, twentieth-century multicultural translations, and twenty-first-century gentrification pressures interact dynamically rather than replacing one another sequentially.

Critically, these dimensions unfold along contested trajectories. In Belleville and similar urban spaces undergoing transformation, memory practices often crystallize into two divergent pathways: one toward *memorial commodification*, in which heritage is packaged and circulated for cultural capital and consumption; and another toward *democratic memorial practice*, where memory is mobilized by residents to claim belonging, recognition, and justice. Memorial commodification preserves cultural forms, such as revolutionary symbols, multicultural aesthetics, and artistic authenticity, while potentially displacing the communities and social relationships that gave them meaning. Democratic memorial practice, conversely, creates inclusive processes through which diverse communities negotiate shared memories and collective claims on urban space. These trajectories are not mutually exclusive; the same memorial site or practice may simultaneously serve both functions, creating tensions and contradictions that themselves become sites of political struggle.

This framework of memory-place networks thus provides analytical tools for understanding not only how memory operates in urban space but also how its operation intersects with processes of gentrification, displacement, and the politics of urban belonging in globalized cities.

4. Methodology: Place-Based Field Exploration

This study employed immersive, place-based ethnographic fieldwork in Belleville during May 2019, combining repeated walking explorations, participant observation, informal conversations, and photographic documentation (Strait 2012; Pink 2015; Strait & Fujimoto-Strait 2017). The approach draws on “walking as method” and anthropological approaches to spatialized culture (Ingold 2007; Vergunst 2010; Low 2017) to observe how memory is practiced and inscribed in everyday urban space.

4.1. Fieldwork Approach and Data Collection

My fieldwork approach focused on how memory practices are inscribed in space through both material traces and cultural performances. Fieldwork spanned May 2019 (Figure 3). I conducted approximately 30–35 informal, opportunistic conversations with residents, shopkeepers, cultural workers, activists, and visitors at markets, commemorations, cafés, and neighborhood events (Spradley 1979). Many interactions followed Kusenbach’s “go-along” method (2003), occurring during walks or everyday activities (e.g., market stalls, shop shifts, religious observances, street art). Rather than structured interviews, I practiced sensory immersion and embodied presence (Pink 2015; Low 2017). Conversations typically lasted 15–45 minutes; detailed fieldnotes and verbatim quotes were recorded promptly after encounters. Repeated visits to key sites (Marché de Belleville, rue Denoyez, Père Lachaise, La Bellevilloise) allowed observation of diverse actors engaging the same memorial spaces.

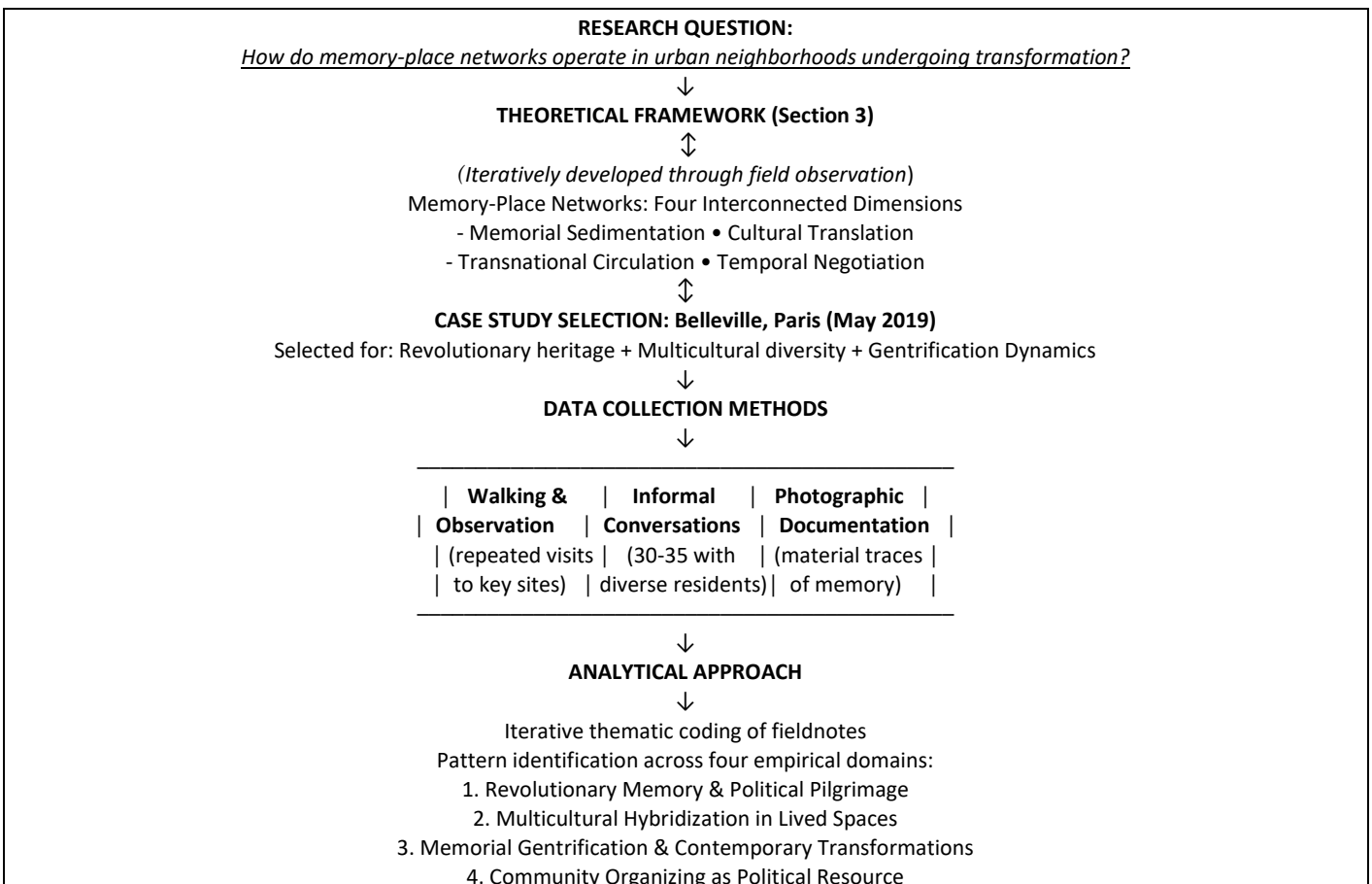


Figure 3. Conceptual Research Flow (Appendix A).

4.2. Research Participants

Participants reflected Belleville's multicultural character and a range of ages and occupations. Gender was roughly balanced (≈55% male, 45% female). Age distribution: ≈20% young adults (18–30), 35% middle-aged (31–55), 45% older adults (55+). The significant presence of older participants reflects my deliberate effort to engage longtime residents with deep neighborhood memories. Ethnic and national backgrounds included France (longtime and provincial), Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Senegal, Mali, China (Wenzhou, Dongbei), Vietnam, Spain, Greece, Chile, and others; participants ranged from recent immigrants to multi-generation families. Socioeconomic indicators were not systematically collected, though most interlocutors appeared working-class or lower-middle-class (shopkeepers, vendors, restaurant workers, mechanics, artists); a minority were students or professionals.

4.3. Positionality, Ethics, and Limitations

I conducted the research as what Pink (2015) calls a "sensory ethnographer" - neither a resident of Belleville nor of France. My outsider status both constrained access to some insider dynamics and encouraged explanatory discussions that clarified local practices, as residents elaborated on histories, geographies and practices often taken for granted locally. Following Marcus's idea of "multi-sited ethnography" (1995), I view this positionality not as a limitation but as part of the transnational circulation of knowledge that memory-place networks themselves exemplify. Ethical procedures guided all interactions (Appendix B). Key limitations should be acknowledged. The one-month timeframe provides a snapshot and cannot capture seasonal or long-term changes or full cycles of commemoration. Language dynamics and short encounters also limited depth for some topics. May was selected to coincide with Paris Commune commemorations, which significantly aided observation of revolutionary memory in practice.

4.4. Analytical Approach

Analysis was iterative. I thematically coded fieldnotes, identified recurring patterns relating to revolutionary memory, multicultural belonging, neighborhood change, and community organizing, and triangulated these findings with photographs of material inscriptions. The four analytic dimensions (sedimentation, cultural translation, circulation, temporal negotiation) emerged through successive readings of fieldnotes and engagement with the literature. Conducted amid heightened urban change around Paris's 2024 Olympic preparations, the fieldwork revealed how memory-place networks adapt to contemporary pressures while retaining inherited meanings.

5. Results

The following analysis traces how memory-place networks operate across the four interconnected domains in contemporary Belleville. Each section examines how the theoretical dimensions of sedimentation, cultural translation, circulation, and temporal negotiation manifest in specific spatial practices while contributing to broader processes of urban transformation and contested belonging.

5.1. Revolutionary Memory and Political Pilgrimage

5.1.1. The Mur des Fédérés as Revolutionary Heterotopia

"Tombe sans croix et sans chapelle, sans lys d'or, sans vitraux d'azur, quand le peuple en parle, il l'appelle le Mur" ("Tomb without a cross or chapel, without golden lilies or sky blue church windows, when the people talk about it, they call it The Wall") – 19th century poet Jules Jouy (Smith 2021).

The verse above, scrawled on contemporary walls throughout Belleville and along the sidewalk leading into Père Lachaise Cemetery (field observations, May 2019), illustrates the dynamic reactivation of revolutionary memory (Smith 2021). By inscribing this 1871 poem in present-day spaces, residents transform historical text into contemporary political statement, maintaining the neighborhood's identification with the Paris Commune while connecting it to current struggles. This ongoing process reveals how revolutionary memory operates not as static heritage but through continuous reactivation via material inscriptions and everyday practices that link local history to broader political movements (Rigney 2008; Hübner and Dirksmeier 2022).

The cemetery itself, particularly the *Mur des Fédérés*, functions as what Foucault termed a heterotopia, a space where multiple temporalities and ideologies coexist and contest each other (Foucault 1986; Dehaene and De Cauter 2008). Within this place, all four dimensions of memory-place networks converge. Plaques, contemporary graffiti, and monuments create layered inscriptions demonstrating various, often contradictory, forms of memorial sedimentation. Consider the contrast between Paul Moreau-Valuthier's *Victimes des Révolutions*, which honors all victims of the 1871 conflict including those who opposed the Commune, and other commemorative plaques that specifically celebrate the Communards as revolutionary martyrs (Figure 4). These competing memorializations demonstrate how revolutionary traces endure only through ongoing engagement and reinterpretation (Massey 2005; Hübner & Dirksmeier, 2022).

Temporal negotiation becomes especially visible in the contested presence of Adolphe Thiers' tomb. Thiers, who as head of the French government ordered the violent repression of the Commune, is remembered by many as the movement's primary oppressor. The evidence of vandalism I observed following commemorations - spray paint, broken flowers, and defaced plaques - signal ongoing contestation over how this history should be interpreted and remembered. Activists involved in these commemorations described such actions to me as "natural, if unfortunate responses" to what they saw as the provocation of honoring the Commune's "suppressor" alongside its "martyrs" (personal conversations, May 25-29, 2019). This contestation stands in stark contrast to the veneration visible at Victor Noir's nearby tomb, where the radical Republican journalist, killed in 1870 and martyred by Commune supporters, is commemorated through decades of visitors' kisses that have worn smooth the bronze lips of Dalou's sculpture (Figure 5). (Appendix C) The physical traces of devotion at Noir's grave present the inverse of the destructive marks left at Thiers' tomb, yet both represent active forms of political memory-making that have evolved far beyond their creators' original intentions.

These contradictory acts illustrate what Hübner and Dirksmeier (2022) identify as the 'processual' nature of memory sites: they endure not through passive inheritance but through active contestation, social practice, and continual re-inscription.

5.1.2. Père Lachaise as Site of Political Pilgrimage:

Annual May pilgrimages to the cemetery, or “ascents to the Wall,” reactivate revolutionary memory, linking the neighborhood to broader struggles for justice. These commemorations transform Père Lachaise into a ritualized landscape of political pilgrimage, where memorial sedimentation is renewed through embodied practice (Turner 2017; Forster 2021). Participants come from France, Chile, Greece, and Spain, drawing connections between the Commune and their own political struggles. For example, a female Chilean activist who had lived in Paris for fifteen years described the *Mur des Fédérés* as a regular pilgrimage site for Latin American leftists confronting dictatorship legacies; a Barcelona trade unionist in his fifties, visiting with a labor delegation, explained how visiting the cemetery had become a “ritual” before major strikes; a twenty year old student activist from Athens involved in various forms of student activism said to her the site offered “proof that resistance is possible” (personal conversations, May 28-29, 2019).

These testimonies demonstrate how participants inscribe new meanings through banners, chants, and symbolic gestures, producing hybrid memorial practices that link local geographies to global movements (Rothberg 2009; De Cesari and Rigney 2014). In this way, the cemetery functions as both an anchor and a conduit in transnational networks of political memory. Its layered traces, ongoing contestations, and ritualized reactivations reveal how the four dimensions of memory-place networks converge in a single heterotopic space. In Belleville and its surroundings, revolutionary memory operates not as static heritage but as a living political resource, continually adapted, circulated, and reinterpreted through contemporary struggles for justice.



Figure 4. Paul Moreau-Valuthier’s “Victimes des Révolutions (1909): This sculptural work depicts and commemorates victims on both sides of the 1871 conflict. The monument’s inclusive symbolism contrasts with Communard-specific memorials, highlighting Père Lachaise as a heterotopic site where multiple collective memories coexist and are negotiated (photo by Karaian).

This dual function of the cemetery, as both pilgrimage destination and tourist site, exemplifies the contested trajectories facing memory-place networks more broadly. The same revolutionary symbols that sustain grassroots commemorations are simultaneously mobilized for heritage tourism, revealing how sedimented memories can serve both democratic memorial practice and memorial commodification depending on the social relationships through which they are activated.



Figure 5. The Tomb of Victor Noir in Père-Lachaise Cemetery. Decades of visitors kissing the bronze sculpture of this radical journalist have polished the lips smooth, creating visible traces of veneration (photo by Pierre Yves Beaudouin)

5.2. Multicultural Hybridization and Lived Space

5.2.1. Sacred and Commercial Spaces as Cultural Anchors:

Since the 1960s, Belleville has become a hub for postcolonial migration, producing conditions for lived “third spaces” in which inherited practices are rearticulated through encounters with new communities (Bhabha 1994). Although French republican universalism resists formal multicultural recognition (Favell 1998), everyday life in the neighborhood reflects what scholars term “everyday multiculturalism” (Wise and Velayutham 2009). Building on this, and on scholarship examining multiculturalism as lived experience, I use the notion of “lived multiculturalism” to emphasize the embodied and memory-laden negotiations of belonging that unfold in markets, religious sites, and hybrid cultural expressions (Tastsoglou and Petrinioti 2011). These practices of lived multiculturalism form part of the broader memory-place networks I identified in Belleville, where negotiations of culture and belonging are inseparable from struggles over memory, space, and recognition.

Belleville's religious architecture provides a lens into these processes, embedding cultural memory within the built environment. The neighborhood's sacred landscape reveals layers of migration history: Neo-Gothic Christian churches dating to the mid-19th century stand alongside several mosques, including the Mosque Abou Bakar (one of Paris's largest), and multiple synagogues, including one established by Tunisian Jews in what locals call “Little Tunis.” (Figures 6a and 6b). This juxtaposition illustrates how successive waves of migration inscribe transnational connections into local space (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996). These sacred geographies do more than mark heritage; they actively shape everyday

practices. During fieldwork, I observed how post-prayer gatherings at one neighborhood mosque spilled into the streets, where conversations in Arabic and French connected religious obligations to contemporary concerns such as rising rents and increased policing. These encounters exemplify what Tweed (1997) calls 'crossing and dwelling,' where religious practices sustain transnational attachments while embedding them within local rhythms. As one male participant in his fifties explained, these conversations were central to "being Muslim in Belleville," honoring inherited traditions while negotiating the neighborhood's specific social and political context (personal conversation, May 21, 2019).

Commercial spaces similarly function as nodes within memory-place networks. Vietnamese bakeries offering *bánh mì* alongside traditional baguettes, Tunisian-Jewish cafés adjacent to halal restaurants, and Chinese import shops embed diasporic histories directly into everyday commerce. One halal butcher's shop provided a particularly striking example of this memorial juxtaposition. Ahmed, the sixty-year-old owner whose family immigrated from Algeria in the 1970s, had displayed photographs of the Paris Commune alongside images from Algeria, creating a visual dialogue between local revolutionary memory and broader postcolonial struggles. When I asked about this pairing, Ahmed explained that both represented "struggles for dignity and independence" (personal conversation, May 12, 2019). This act of personal curatorship demonstrates how temporal negotiation operates not through abstract cultural fusion, but through the deliberate forging of meaningful connections between past struggles and present conditions. In this sense, sacred and commercial sites anchor Belleville's transnational memories in both stone and storefront.

5.2.2. Markets, Restaurants and Streets as Spaces of Everyday Encounter:

If religious and commercial spaces establish durable anchors of multiculturalism, markets and restaurants provide more fluid arenas of everyday encounters. The *Marché de Belleville*, one of Paris's most famous open-air street markets, amplifies these dynamics (Figure 7). Here, memory-place networks emerge not as static representations but as ongoing, relational enactments of cultural identity (Drivaud and Peretz-Juliard 1984). Beyond economic exchange, market interactions create opportunities for memory sharing as vendors and customers narrate migration stories, compare experiences of displacement, and collectively construct narratives of belonging. Hassan, a Moroccan produce vendor in his 70s who has worked at the market for over thirty years, explained how market conversations help him understand "what it means to be Moroccan in Paris, not just Moroccan at home," while Sophie, a twenty-five-year-old French graduate student who recently moved to Belleville, described learning about North African independence movements through informal exchanges with shopkeepers that "taught me more than university ever did" (personal conversations, May 21, 2019). This aligns with Massey's assertion that places are constituted through "social relations stretched out across space," showing how the market's everyday transactions enact memory-place networks through relational exchange (Massey 2005).



Figure 6. Synagogue Palikao in Belleville (6a & 6b). Inaugurated in 1930 as Paris's first modernist Jewish place of worship, this synagogue became central to Belleville's Tunisian Jewish community following post-war migration from North Africa. The site now hosts both Ashkenazi and Sephardic rites, exemplifying how successive waves of settlement inscribe transnational connections into local sacred space (photos by Deborah Achtenberg).

Similar processes unfolded in a Vietnamese restaurant during a Vesak celebration I observed. The dining space was temporarily reconfigured when the owner's Buddhist shrine, typically kept in a corner, was brought into focus as the center of ritual activity (Figure 8). The shrine displayed both traditional Buddha statues and photographs of the family's arrival in Belleville in the 1980s, creating a visual layering that connected participants to Buddhist history while situating memory within the family's migration story. Diners described the restaurant as a "bridge between two worlds," maintaining connections to Buddhist communities across Asia while adapting ceremonies to the rhythms of commercial space and French work schedules (personal conversations, May 22, 2019). Linh, a Vietnamese woman in her 70s who arrived in France as a refugee in 1982, described these gatherings as "memory meetings" where she shares stories of fleeing Saigon with younger generations born in Belleville who "need to know where we came from" (personal conversation, May 22, 2019). These examples reveal how circulation operates along contested trajectories within

multicultural spaces. While some restaurants become framed as 'heritage attractions' for cultural tourists, reflecting memorial commodification, community-organized food festivals that foreground migrant histories without commercial packaging illustrate democratic memorial practice, creating spaces for intercultural recognition and solidarity beyond market relations.

The multicultural negotiations unfolding within Belleville's markets and restaurants extend outward into the neighborhood's visual landscape, where street art demonstrates how public walls become canvases for political expressions that connect local and transnational concerns. On a wall adjacent to the Ménilmontant Market (also known as the Exotic Marché Belleville), two murals appeared side by side: one declaring "Sudan in Revolt," the other proclaiming in French-English code-switching, "Chômeuse go on" (Figure 9). The latter phrase, combining the French feminine noun for "unemployed woman" with the English exhortation "go on," exemplifies how linguistic hybridity registers both gendered unemployment and broader languages of working-class and feminist resistance. While the precise intent of such inscriptions remains open-ended, their juxtaposition condenses international political movements and local economic struggles into a shared visual field (Appendix D). In this sense, the walls around Belleville's street markets, like the markets themselves, operate as everyday transcultural sites where memory, politics, and belonging are continuously negotiated. As I elaborate further in the following section, these fragments of the streetscape extend the same dynamics of lived multiculturalism that animate Belleville's sacred, commercial, and culinary spaces.



Figure 7. The Marché de Belleville. Market interactions enable vendors and customers to narrate migration stories and collectively construct narratives of belonging (photo by DavityDave/Creative Commons 2.0)

5.3. Contemporary Transformations and Memorial Gentrification

Belleville's current transformation exemplifies what Neil Smith called the "rent gap" driving gentrification, but filtered through the neighborhood's distinctive memorial landscape (Smith 1996; Clerval 2013). Stott's longitudinal study shows that Belleville undergoes "partial gentrification," a demographic change that retains significant working-class and immigrant populations while attracting new middle-class residents drawn to its "authentic" multicultural character (Clerval 2013; Stott 2015). Building on Stott's findings, I argue that this is not simply a demographic shift but memorial gentrification: transformation in the memorial practices animating neighborhood space, where newcomers valorize yet potentially displace the communities that created place-based memories.

Understanding these changes through memory-place networks reveals how gentrification reconfigures all four analytical dimensions, but with memorial commodification as a key mechanism. Sedimented memories persist through new commemorative practices—art installations, heritage tours, cultural programming—but often serves newcomers rather than longtime residents (Zukin 1995; Clerval 2013; Stott 2015). Translation accelerates as established communities adapt to new conditions while newcomers seek curated "authentic" multicultural experiences. Circulation intensifies through cultural tourism and artistic residencies linking Belleville to global creative networks (Lloyd 2006). Most critically, temporal negotiation becomes contested terrain as different groups advance competing visions of the neighborhood's past, present, and future.

5.3.1. Rue Denoyez as Contested Artistic Territory:

The transformation of rue Denoyez illustrates these dynamics through what Yucsoy (2015) describes as the tension between "contested" and "conquered" public spaces. Long celebrated as Paris's premier street art destination, this narrow pedestrian street functions simultaneously

as creative space, tourist attraction, and site of memorial negotiation (Figures 10a & 10b). During my fieldwork, I observed how its visual landscape embodies competing temporal relationships to neighborhood change.



Figure 8. Family Buddhist shrine in Vietnamese restaurant, Belleville. Displays of traditional Buddha statues alongside photographs of the family's 1980s arrival, creates visual layers connecting Buddhist history to migration memory (photo by author).



Figure 9. Murals near Ménilmontant Market. These adjacent murals seemingly link the 2018-2019 Sudanese uprising, often called the "Women's Revolution" for female protesters' leading role in overthrowing a 30-year authoritarian regime, with gendered unemployment in Belleville, illustrating how street art connects local and transnational feminist resistance (photo by Deborah Achtenberg).



(a) (b)

Figures 10. Rue Denoyez street art, Belleville (10a & 10b). This pedestrian street layers decades of artistic interventions, from revolutionary slogans to contemporary political critique. Detail (Figure 10b) shows graffiti invoking Élisée Reclus, the 19th-century anarchist geographer, over current political leaders: in English "To the voices of the recluses of the Elysée, I prefer the voice of ELISÉE RECLUS" (Appendix E). The wordplay contrasts the anarchist geographer with politicians "isolated" in the Élysée Palace (French presidential residence), demonstrating how street art connects historical radical thought to present-day resistance (photos by Jeanne Menjoulet).

The walls layer artistic interventions across decades, creating a palimpsest where sedimentation becomes visible: faded revolutionary slogans from the 1970s, elaborate multicultural murals from the 1990s, and recent works addressing gentrification directly. One striking piece depicted a communion wafer transformed into a coin, captioned "Belleville à vendre" (Belleville for sale). Karim, a Moroccan baker in his 50s whose shop has faced rue Denoyez since 2003, praised the mural: "Finally someone saying what we all think." (personal conversation, May 26, 2019). The street artist, a French woman in her late 20s named **Camille**, who moved to Belleville in 2017, explained her work as honoring the "spirit of resistance" that drew her to the neighborhood, though she acknowledged the "irony" of newcomers like herself contributing to the very pressures her art critiques (personal conversation, May 26, 2019). Such dialogues reveal how artistic authenticity became commodified, as described by Lloyd (2006) and Zukin (1995). Street art both preserves Belleville's rebellious identity and converts it into a cultural amenity attracting tourists and newcomers. On weekends I observed tour groups photographing murals while longtime residents described feeling "like exhibits in a museum." Mehdi, a Tunisian mechanic in his 60s whose garage has adjoined the street since 1989, noted: "Before, this was where kids played and old men talked. Now it's where people come to take pictures of our neighborhood like we're a zoo" (personal conversation, May 27, 2019).

Yet artistic transformation also generates unexpected memorial practices. Local artists described reshaping their work to address shifting demographics, creating pieces that honor revolutionary heritage while confronting gentrification pressures. One collaborative mural, painted during a weekend workshop involving both longtime residents and newcomers, depicted hands of different skin tones building barricades from both Commune-era stones and contemporary eviction notices. Carmen, a Spanish cultural organizer in her 60s who settled in Belleville in 1986, described the collaborative process as "making memory together instead of fighting over it, we all have stories to tell" (personal conversation, May 22, 2019). Street art in Belleville demonstrates how creative expression can both preserve rebellious heritage and commodify it as cultural spectacle. Rue Denoyez reveals how memorial gentrification operates not only through buildings and markets but through artistic forms, making authenticity itself a contested resource Clerval 2013.

5.3.2. La Bellevilloise as Commodified Cultural Heritage:

The evolution of La Bellevilloise shows how cultural institutions manage memorial transformation while balancing competing demands (Figure 11). Originally Paris's first workers' cooperative (1877), the building was abandoned during deindustrialization before reopening in 2005 as a cultural venue combining concert hall, restaurant, and event space. This shift exemplifies what Hackworth (2007) calls "third-wave" gentrification, where cultural amenities themselves become engines of neighborhood change.

The term "memorial commodification" captures the process unfolding here: the preservation of memorial forms without the social processes that originally gave them meaning. La Bellevilloise exemplifies this process, a place where revolutionary heritage is curated as cultural brand. During my fieldwork, I witnessed a May 2019 concert here that commemorated the Paris Commune that featured both traditional revolutionary songs and contemporary hip-hop addressing violence, what one performer described as "keeping history alive by making it relevant." The evening drew audiences across generations and backgrounds: elderly residents who remembered cooperative meetings in the building, middle-aged immigrants whose children attended cultural programs, and younger professionals drawn to its "authentic" revolutionary atmosphere.

While events celebrate cooperative heritage, the venue functions as a private enterprise catering to audiences who can afford restaurant prices, effectively excluding many longtime residents. Fatou, a Senegalese woman in her 50s whose family has lived in Belleville since the 1970s

and who works as a home health aide, noted this contradiction: "They talk and sing about workers' cooperation, but workers can't afford to eat there" (personal conversation, May 24, 2019). Her observation highlights how memorial gentrification can preserve historical narratives while undermining the economic relationships that sustained them. At the same time, La Bellevilloise occasionally hosts what might be called negotiated memorial practice. Its cultural programming includes storytelling evenings and neighborhood forums that bring together diverse publics. During one session, I observed a Moroccan elder, who has lived near the mosque since 1968, explaining the significance of Islamic call-to-prayer in neighborhood soundscapes to a mixed audience, addressing what he described as recent complaints from some new arrivals about 'noise' during prayer times (fieldnote observation, May 25, 2019). Such curated encounters do not resolve tensions over neighborhood change but enable moments of recognition across difference, what one female organizer called "learning to live together differently."

The case of La Bellevilloise underscores how memorial heritage can be preserved while stripped of its original social functions. At the same time, moments of negotiated memorial practice show that cultural institutions can open spaces for recognition across difference, even amid gentrification. Together, these transformations highlight how Belleville's cultural memory is selectively packaged within urban redevelopment, shaping who has the right to participate in neighborhood heritage.



Figure 11. La Bellevilloise cultural venue, Belleville. Originally Paris's first workers' cooperative (1877), now a private cultural venue exemplifying memorial commodification, one that preserves revolutionary heritage as a cultural brand while displacing original cooperative social relations (photo by Jeanne Menjout).

5.4. Memory as Political Resource: Community Organizing in Belleville

While cultural commodification transforms how Belleville's memories are preserved and circulated, community organizing reveals alternative trajectories within memory-place networks. Rather than packaging heritage for external consumption, grassroots mobilizations demonstrate how memorial practices can serve collective empowerment and democratic claims to urban space. These practices operate through two interconnected dynamics: the strategic mobilization of revolutionary heritage in contemporary housing struggles, and the creation of multilingual spaces for cross-cultural coalition-building that honor diverse memorial traditions while fostering neighborhood solidarity.

5.4.1. Revolutionary Heritage in Collective Organizing:

Droit à la Belle-Ville (The Right to the Beautiful City), a neighborhood collective significantly shaped by participation in the Nuit Debout mobilizations, exemplifies how revolutionary heritage becomes a political resource rather than tourist commodity (Appendix F). Working within Harvey's (2008) broader "right to the city" framework to Belleville's local struggles, the group campaigns against rising rents, commercial displacement, and privatization of public space while advocating for social housing and democratic control over urban development. Rather than opposing all neighborhood change, the collective works to ensure that transformations benefit existing residents. As Raymond and Pulgar (2019) demonstrate, the group situates Belleville within larger anti-austerity movements while translating these broader claims into concrete, everyday neighborhood activism that connects local concerns to revolutionary political traditions.

During my fieldwork, I observed how activist groups explicitly link contemporary housing struggles to revolutionary heritage through both symbolic and practical means. Organizers distribute flyers featuring Commune imagery alongside tenant-rights information, and coordinate marches from the Mur des Fédérés to sites of ongoing displacement. At a 2019 protest against closing a longtime Maghrebi café, speakers connected current displacement to colonial histories while invoking Commune traditions of neighborhood solidarity. As Julien, a French organizer with Droit à la Belle-Ville in his early thirties, explained: "We're not against people moving here, but Belleville has always been for people who have nowhere else to go. That's what we're fighting to keep" (personal conversation, May 27, 2019).

Recent initiatives extend this dynamic beyond housing to address broader processes of urban exclusion. The Collectif des Jeunes du Parc de Belleville, a migrant-led group founded by unaccompanied minors, has occupied the Maison des Métallos and staged protests against Olympic-driven displacement (Domec 2024; Lee Ludvigsen and Byrne 2024). These initiatives highlight how Belleville continues functioning as a node where global processes of austerity, migration, and mega-event redevelopment are contested through localized, memory-inflected mobilizations. Through such practices, revolutionary heritage becomes a resource for present struggles rather than a static commemorative form, demonstrating how memory-place inheritance can be reactivated in service of democratic claims to the right to the city.

5.4.2. Popular Assemblies as Democratic Memorial Space:

These housing and displacement struggles generate inclusive organizational forms that embody democratic memorial practice in their very structure. The monthly "Popular Assemblies" hosted by Belleville collectives bring together residents across linguistic and ethnic backgrounds to deliberate neighborhood concerns. Such organizing contributes to what Stott (2015) identifies as Belleville's "partial gentrification" - a pattern where working-class and immigrant populations retain presence and agency even amid neighborhood transformation, actively shaping change rather than being displaced by it. Meetings occur in Arabic, French, Chinese, and Spanish, with translation provided by community volunteers, practices that honor linguistic diversity while fostering solidarity across difference.

The assemblies politicize memory-sharing by transforming personal narratives into collective claims on urban space. During my fieldwork, I attended sessions where participants explicitly connected current struggles to inherited traditions of neighborhood solidarity. One assembly supporting a Senegalese cultural center facing eviction featured testimonies linking contemporary displacement to histories of colonial exclusion, while another addressing police harassment drew connections to Commune-era resistance against state repression. These connections were not abstract but practical: organizers described learning from "how our grandparents survived" while adapting strategies to current conditions.

The assemblies themselves function as sites where memory-place networks are democratically negotiated rather than commercially packaged. Amina, an elderly Moroccan woman who has attended Popular Assemblies since 2016, described these gatherings as spaces where "we decide together what Belleville means, not the mayor, not the developers." Léa, a French university student in her early 20s at her first assembly, emphasized how the discussions taught her about Commune history and immigrant struggles she "never learned in school, even though it happened right here" (personal conversations, May 26, 2019). Through such activities, democratic memorial practice creates inclusive processes where temporal negotiation centers community agency rather than market forces, transforming memory into an instrument of solidarity and collective reimagining of urban futures.

6. Discussion and Conclusions: Memory-Place Networks and the Politics of Urban Belonging

This analysis of Belleville demonstrates how memory-place networks offer a productive framework for understanding collective memory's spatial dynamics in an era of accelerated urban change. By tracing how revolutionary heritage, multicultural settlement, artistic transformation, and community organizing intersect within a single neighborhood, this study reveals how urban places both preserve and transform inherited meanings while embedding local experiences within transnational flows.

The concept of memory-place networks advances existing scholarship in three keyways. First, it moves beyond container models of place-based memory to emphasize the networked, processual character of urban remembrance. Belleville's memorial landscape emerges not as a static repository but as a dynamic node where memories sediment, circulate, and undergo continual reinterpretation through everyday practices. Second, the framework illuminates how local sites participate in global processes while retaining their specificity. For instance, the Mur des Fédérés functions simultaneously as a Parisian landmark and a pilgrimage destination for international activists, demonstrating how places can be both anchored and mobile within transnational networks of meaning. Third, the analysis reveals how memory-place networks face contested trajectories between commodification and democratic practice, offering analytical tools for distinguishing between memorial forms that serve market consumption versus those that sustain community agency.

The four analytical dimensions - sedimentation, cultural translation, circulation, and temporal negotiation - prove especially valuable for understanding how gentrification reconfigures memorial landscapes. Rather than simply displacing existing memories, memorial gentrification

selectively preserves inherited meanings while transforming their social functions. La Belleilloise exemplifies this process, maintaining revolutionary symbolism while serving new demographics, whereas democratic memorial practices like popular assemblies create inclusive processes for negotiating neighborhood change. These contrasting approaches suggest that the preservation of cultural memory depends less on maintaining fixed commemorative forms than on sustaining the social relationships through which memory remains meaningful.

The ethnographic findings also highlight how memory-place networks enable what might be termed "memorial solidarity," the forging of political connections across different geographies of displacement and resistance. When activists link contemporary housing struggles to Commune heritage, or when multicultural assemblies create space for shared storytelling across linguistic differences, they demonstrate how urban places can serve as crucibles for developing inclusive narratives of belonging that honor diversity while building collective capacity for democratic participation. Understanding how communities forge such memorial solidarities becomes essential for addressing questions of justice and equity in urban commemoration. As cities worldwide grapple with rapid demographic shifts and increasing inequalities, understanding how communities preserve meaningful connections to place while remaining open to transformation becomes crucial for urban planning, cultural policy, and community development. Memory-place networks provide analytical tools for evaluating whether urban changes strengthen or undermine the social relationships that give places meaning.

These observations connect to broader scholarship on memory justice and the politics of commemoration. Derek Alderman's extensive work demonstrates how marginalized communities engage in "memory-work" and "counter-memory" practices—deliberate efforts to challenge hegemonic narratives and assert their right to shape how history is remembered in public space (Alderman and Inwood 2013; Dwyer and Alderman 2008). His research on African American commemorative struggles, street naming politics, and counter-mapping practices reveals how battles over memorial landscapes are inseparable from struggles over recognition, belonging, and the distribution of symbolic resources (Alderman 2002; Brasher, Alderman, and Inwood 2017). Memory justice, as Alderman's scholarship illuminates, requires more than preserving memorial sites; it demands attention to the power structures through which memory is produced and the social relationships that determine whose stories get told (Alderman and Inwood 2024). Belleville's community organizing exemplifies these dynamics. When activists deploy revolutionary heritage to contest displacement, or when multilingual assemblies create space for shared storytelling across difference, they practice what Alderman calls "responsible landscape policy"—approaches to commemoration that center community agency and advance social equity (Brasher, Alderman, and Inwood 2017). However, as this study reveals, such democratic practices constantly contend with commodifying forces that appropriate memorial forms while undermining the communities that created them. The concept of memory justice thus provides both analytical framework and normative guidance for ensuring that cultural heritage serves community empowerment rather than displacement, a challenge central to Belleville and countless neighborhoods worldwide.

This study also opens several avenues for future research. Comparative analysis across different types of neighborhoods, from historic districts to suburban settlements, could reveal how memory-place networks operate under varying conditions of urban development. Longitudinal studies tracking how specific sites evolve over time could illuminate the temporal and/or spatial dynamics of memorial transformation. Additionally, research examining how digital technologies reshape the circulation of place-based memories could extend this framework to virtual and hybrid spaces.

As urban change accelerates globally, memory-place networks offer both analytical tools for understanding these dynamics and normative frameworks for advancing memory justice in practice. Memory-place networks offer a framework for understanding these processes while contributing to more inclusive approaches to urban development that honor the past while remaining open to diverse futures. Through this lens, Belleville emerges not simply as a case study but as a laboratory for exploring how urban communities can sustain meaningful connections to place while navigating the challenges and opportunities of an interconnected world. The neighborhood's ongoing struggles and innovations suggest that the future of urban belonging lies not in choosing between preservation and change, but in developing democratic processes through which communities can shape both their memories and their futures.

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Appendix A:

While presented linearly here for clarity, this research followed an iterative process wherein preliminary field observations informed theoretical development, which in turn shaped subsequent data collection and analysis.

Appendix B:

I introduced myself as a researcher studying neighborhood memory and cultural heritage and obtained verbal consent before engaging in extended conversations that resembled an interview. Participants were informed they could decline to participate or end conversations at any time. Research methods followed established ethical guidelines in ethnographic cultural geography (Low 2017; Pink 2015). To protect participant privacy, all personal names used in this paper are pseudonyms; participants are also identified using general descriptors (e.g., "a Moroccan baker in his 50s," "an elderly Tunisian woman") that reflect information they voluntarily shared during our conversations. Conscious attempts were made to use pseudonyms that were culturally appropriate to participants' backgrounds.

Appendix C:

Victor Noir (1848-1870) was a radical Republican journalist shot and killed by Prince Pierre Bonaparte (cousin of Napoleon III) on January 10, 1870, over a year before the Paris Commune. His death became a catalyst for anti-imperial sentiment when his funeral was transformed into a massive political demonstration against the Second Empire. Although Noir died before the Commune, he was posthumously embraced as a martyr by Communards who saw his killing as emblematic of imperial tyranny and the corruption they sought to overthrow. His tomb in Père Lachaise, created by sculptor Jules Dalou and installed in 1891, depicts him lying as he fell. The practice of kissing the statue's lips (and other features associated with fertility myths) developed over the twentieth century, transforming the site from a political memorial into a popular ritual destination that now serves multiple, often contradictory commemorative purposes.

Appendix D:

"Sudan in Revolt" likely references the 2018-2019 Sudanese uprising that overthrew Omar al-Bashir's 30-year authoritarian regime. Women were at the forefront of this movement, with female protesters widely credited as leading the struggle that brought down the dictatorship. The juxtaposition with the gendered labor slogan "Chômeuse go on" creates spatial dialogue between transnational women's resistance and local feminist-economic struggles, resonating with Sudanese diaspora communities in Paris. Whether intentionally curated or coincidentally proximate, their placement demonstrates how Belleville's streetscapes function as palimpsests where diverse geographies of women's resistance accumulate and circulate.

Appendix E:

Élisée Reclus (1830-1905) was a French geographer, anarchist theorist, and Paris Commune participant. He authored the monumental 19-volume *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* (1875-1894) while in exile following the Commune's defeat, synthesizing spatial analysis with anti-authoritarian politics (Clark and Martin 2013). Reclus's work pioneered approaches to geography inseparable from social justice, making him an emblematic figure for activists who view place-based struggles as inherently political. His invocation in contemporary Belleville street art illustrates the transnational circulation of revolutionary intellectual heritage through urban space.

Appendix F:

Nuit Debout (Up All Night) was a grassroots social movement that emerged in France in spring 2016, initially in response to proposed labor law reforms but quickly expanding to address broader issues of economic inequality, democracy, and social justice. Beginning with overnight occupations of public squares, most notably Paris's Place de la République, the movement drew inspiration from Occupy Wall Street, the Spanish Indignados, and other anti-austerity movements. Participants held popular assemblies, organized working groups on housing and employment rights, and experimented with horizontal democratic practices. Droit à la Belle-Ville emerged from networks and practices developed during Nuit Debout, adapting the movement's emphasis on direct democracy and right-to-the-city politics to Belleville's specific struggles over gentrification and displacement.

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