

'VISUAL CULTURES OF THE *BANLIEUES*: PRECARIOUS PERIPHERIES OR CREATIVE CENTRES?

The *banlieues* of Paris have long been depicted through harmful stereotypes in political speeches, the press and mainstream film as places of violence, crime, poverty, and social, racial and religious divisions. As representations of the 2023 death of Nahel Merzouk and of the subsequent protests and riots suggest, the term *banlieue* has come to be ‘a shorthand term to denote the darker inhabitants of social housing neighbourhoods in the peripheral areas of cities’¹ and evokes under-resourced, densely populated, multi-ethnic housing projects, stereotyped as lacking in respect for the law and having too many immigrants and too much crime.² This article discusses the origins of this clichéd and harmful imaginary and shows how it leads to increased material and social inequalities in the *banlieues* and disadvantages the 7.2 million people living there who are marginalized from the advantages enjoyed in central Paris by the Parisians and by millions of tourists each year. To achieve this, the article examines the representation of the *banlieues* to demonstrate the impact of different modes of visual culture upon the thousands of *banlieue* communities and, more broadly, to examine the significance of visual representations for their potential to create, reinforce or challenge material and social inequalities and injustices. Using recent critical cartographical theory and an intermedial approach, this present article counters the longstanding focus in public, political and academic attention on *banlieue* cinema which has disseminated a detrimental imaginary of the *banlieues*. It makes an original contribution by instead arguing the importance of grassroots works including street art, documentary, social media artworks and photography for their potential to produce a more nuanced and integrated depiction of the *banlieues* than that of the dominant narratives found in the press and cinema. To do so, this article examines bottom-up, grassroots visual media that focus on lived experiences of the *banlieusards*, exploring them in relation to external top-down political and media

(mis)representations. A comparative analysis of two case studies of grassroots artists, Sandrine Madji and Aristide Barraud, will reveal the trends in the local visual culture of the *banlieues* and examine how these counter mainstream narratives. By shifting engagement from mainstream to grassroots visions of the *banlieues*, there can also be a shift from seeing these spaces as segregated and precarious peripheries, to instead considering them as centres in their own right: centres of integration, centres of living, centres of empowering creative and cultural production.

The *banlieues* as creative centres: the importance of grassroots visual cultures.

Dikeç states that ‘force est de constater que ces espaces sont plus connus à travers le discours des media et des politiques qu’ à travers les productions de leurs habitants’.³ Academic work to date has remained primarily focused on *banlieue* cinema, but there is an ethical imperative as much as an intellectual necessity to move focus onto less formalized modes of expression made by the inhabitants of the *banlieues*. This article goes beyond previous studies by exploring only what has been made by inhabitants; an important choice to promote and engage with lived experiences and to move beyond the dominant narratives of the mainstream media. Attention needs to move onto how inhabitants of the *banlieues* choose to represent themselves, which is often through less formalized and fictionalized media than mainstream film. Thus, this article favours a more inclusive and intermedial approach to the study of the *banlieues*, arguing that grassroots visual cultures including street art, documentary, social media artworks and photography create their own imagology of the *banlieues* that offers a more nuanced and integrated depiction of the *banlieues*.

An array of visual artists are living and producing art in the *banlieues* that re-visions the *banlieues* from the bottom up and considers the complex issues of integration,

marginalization and inequality that have become synonymous with these areas, acting subversively and restoratively to the top-down mainstream portrayals. One can consider the street art of collectives like PoDaMa or 9ème concept who shape and reclaim public space. Photographers including André Mérian, Marvin “monsieur” Bonheur, Flore d’Arfeuille, Linstable and 73shot create realist portraiture of *banlieusards* free from the constraints of commercial production or a narrative plot. Local filmmakers have created documentaries such as *9/3, mémoire d’un territoire* (Yamina Benguigui, 2008), *Swagger* (Olivier Babinet, 2016) and *Nous* (Diop, 2021), that counter the depictions of mainstream feature films by producing a pluralistic portrayal of the history and the quotidian experiences of the *banlieues*. There is also the increasing presence of artistic and activist collectives including Banlieusard nouveau, Plume banlieue, Or Périph and B-Attitude which base themselves primarily on social media, creating portraits of local inhabitants which contradict received notions of what it is to be a *banlieusard*. Through a comparative study of two examples of such artists – Sandrine Madji and Aristide Barraud –and their works, this article highlights some uniting trends in the grassroots visual culture of the *banlieues* and examines how these differ from mainstream narratives.

The mainstream imaginary of the *banlieues*

The singular term *banlieue* to describe the urban peripheries of France’s major cities, particularly Paris, has long been negatively charged in the social, political and cultural spheres. Rather than addressing all suburbs, such as the affluent Versailles or Neuilly-sur-Seine, it has come to denote under-resourced, densely populated, multi-ethnic housing projects. As Sloomer explains, ‘*banlieue* has come to denote those suburban areas that are poor and densely populated: those places that contain many neglected social housing projects and a higher number of migrant and/or Muslim inhabitants.’²⁴ Just as former French President

Jacques Chirac and his Cabinet turned to 1995 film *La Haine* to try to better understand the *banlieues*, representations, and *misrepresentations*, of the peri-urban have the potential to influence both perception and policy. Bourdieu argued already in 1993 that the ways in which the *banlieue* is perceived evokes ‘non des réalités d’ailleurs très largement inconnues de ceux qui en parlent le plus volontiers, mais des fantasmes’⁵. Bourdieu reflects that the origins of these fantasies and the fear engendered by them stem from sensational media and political depictions: ‘[ces fantasmes sont] nourris d’expériences émotionnelles suscitées par des mots ou des images plus ou moins incontrôlés, comme ceux que véhiculent la presse à sensation et la propagande ou la rumeur politiques.’⁶ This arguably remains the case; Mame-Fatou Niang argues that ‘la crise des banlieues est avant tout une crise de représentations’.⁷ Using datamining software, she highlights the trends in *banlieue* media coverage, including ‘le glissement qui va s’opérer vers la singularisation de “la” banlieue, ou encore l’identification des quartiers à des problématiques économiques et locales en 1980, civiques et nationales en 2005, sécuritaires et globales en 2015’.⁸ Indeed, Dikeç argues that ‘terms such as “*banlieue*” and “youth” [...] are commonly used in political and media discourses to evoke issues ranging from immigration to insecurity, from ethnic separatism to Islamic fundamentalism and even terrorism’.⁹ Dikeç emphasizes the resultant dangerous amalgamation of problems with place in regard to the *banlieues*, ‘D’un symptôme de problèmes sociaux, l’existence de quartiers sensibles en est devenue une cause.’¹⁰ The public has internalized this harmful singularization of multiple territories – *banlieues* – into a unique source and locus for all *maux de société*, including jihadism. This article resists the singularizing term *banlieue* to use its plural form, *banlieues*, in recognition of the diverse and numerous locations, experiences and realities that the term represents.

In 2007, the French government recognized the need for investment in the *banlieues* to respond to the material and social problems resultant from poorly constructed housing,

overcrowding, lack of community resources including educational, social and medical establishments, and the placement of high percentages of immigrant and economically disadvantaged populations there. The government's *Grand Paris* project since 2007 has held the core objectives of 'improving the circumstances of residents and correcting territorial inequalities' of the Parisian suburbs.¹¹ However, this latest urbanization plan, due to private funding and catering to private interests, leaves little protection for residents from the displacement and fracturing caused by demolition and reconstruction, and it does not deal with the ongoing perception problems. Dikeç argues that there has been 'the consolidation of an image of *banlieues* as aberrations in an otherwise (allegedly) cohesive society, threatening its peace and identity as unwelcome intruders from beyond the city gates'.¹² Indeed, according to the Institut français d'opinion publique (IFOP, 2017), '82% des Français estiment que la banlieue est un territoire plus violent que le reste du pays',¹³ while 52% believe that 'La présence de bandes organisées et de trafic de drogue est la première source de violences en banlieue.'¹⁴ In the last decade, this phantasmatic discourse has reached new levels as the *banlieues* are asserted as violent hubs.¹⁵ However, the 2022 statistics on crime rates in Île-de-France show that these perceptions are inaccurate. In central Paris, theft without violence affected 56.3 per 1000 inhabitants, while in Seine-Saint-Denis the figure was much lower at 15.6 per 1000. Similarly, the rate of narcotic usage was higher in central Paris (7.4/1000) than in Seine-Saint-Denis (6.6). The rates of voluntary destruction were almost equal (Paris: 10.3; SSD: 10.8), and the rates of bodily harm without a weapon also remained similar (Paris: 7.3; SSD: 8.2)¹⁶. These statistics therefore show that the *banlieues*' reputation for increased levels of crime, drugs, damage and violence does not correspond with reality.

Recent developments have accentuated the need for a new approach to the *banlieues*. The assassination of teacher Samuel Paty and the Covid-19 pandemic both shadowed yet

amplified the divided and marginalized nature of the *banlieues*, further underscoring the urgency of addressing the social concerns in the suburbs. The Gilets jaunes crisis, despite further demonstrating the deep spatial divisions within France, shifted attention away from the *banlieues* outwards onto the concerns of those living the rural peripheries. These circumstances highlight that there are currently two levels of concealment of the *banlieues*, one that obscures them through extreme caricature, and another that ignores them as political and press attention focuses instead on the thriving political, touristic, and commercial hub of central Paris and the rural territories of the Gilets jaunes. The frustration of *banlieue* inhabitants as witnessed in the 2005 and 2023 riots is a reminder of the necessity to explore new modes of engagement. This article responds to an acute need for a renewed study of the *banlieues* and their representations resultant from this detrimental concealment and misrepresentation.

***Banlieue* cinema: preceding the territory**

In public perception and academic work, the dominant mode of visual representation of the *banlieues* has been mainstream cinema for the last twenty-five years since the release of Mathieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* in 1995. Despite holding the potential to nuance understandings of the *banlieues*, *banlieue* films often replicate the press focus on crime, danger, otherness and poverty. Milleliri emphasizes the reductionist, singularizing negative image constructed by these films: 'la plupart de ces films construiraient l'image pessimiste d'un univers perclus par la violence et la délinquance'.¹⁷ In this imaginary of the *banlieues*, audiences witness injustice, indifferent political powers, police violence and the 'misère sociale' of a *banlieue* population that is disdained by the rest of the French republic,¹⁸ and as such it is portrayed as 'une zone perpétuellement sous tension, prête à exploser'.¹⁹ Problematically replicating the negative imaginary of the *banlieues* found in the press, in

these films there is a focus on scenes of fire, destruction, social divisions and violence committed by both *banlieusards* and by the police. This was the case with *La Haine* and it is a trend which has continued to thrive in recent years, including in *Divines* (2016), *Les Misérables* (2019), and *Athéna* (2022). Such films are insufficient to capture the lived experiences of the *banlieues* due to their need to meet commercial demands, the desire to drive a dramatic narrative plot and the reliance on external actors, directors and producers.

The *banlieues* are an example of what Hansen and Waade have described as ‘intertextual locations’.²⁰ These are places that have appeared in film and media, and are often experienced there first before they are experienced in reality. In such locations, ‘it may be impossible to perceive them as only places without including transferred meanings from the films and media in which they were locations’.²¹ It is not reality that is filmed, but instead intertextual constructions that then seep into the collective consciousness. In recent years, critical cartography has approached the tension between ‘representation’ and ‘reality’ using a post-representational approach to account for the ongoing, processual practice of ‘mapping’ inherent to each instance of reading, referencing and reproduction of spatial information.²² This scholarship argues that spatial representations produce an imaginary of the territory. As Kitchin, Gleeson and Dodge assert: ‘maps are not representations but inscriptions or a system of propositions – they capture the world whilst simultaneously doing work in the world; they precede and produce the territory they purportedly represent’.²³ As Baudrillard asserted, ‘the map precedes the territory’.²⁴ This is, of course, not exclusive to maps in the strictest sense, as spatial information can be communicated in literary texts, films and artworks too. As Kitchin, Perkins and Dodge argue, one cannot ignore the motivations and contexts of these processes of mapping:

From this [post-representational] perspective, the processes of mapping always need to be considered as historically contingent actor-networks; as timed, placed, cultured and negotiated; a web of interacting possibilities in which the world is complex and nothing is inevitable. The focus shifts from what the map represents to how it is produced and how it produces work in the world.²⁵

This perspective requires us to rethink distinctions between real territory and representations, instead recognizing that spatial representations have the power to influence the territory, as much as the territory may inspire its representation. *Banlieue* films – like the press discourses by which they are inspired – impact how we imagine and then navigate the *banlieues*. In this way, they are liminal in terms of their physical placement between the urban centres and the rural, but also as existing in a precarious space between reality and representation that leads to harmful amalgamations in public perception. Taking into account the impact of representation, this article now turns to two case studies of initiatives, Madji’s Ma Petite Banlieue and Barraud’s Bâtiment 5, to draw out trends in grassroots artistic production that seek to re-vision the *banlieues*.

Ma Petite Banlieue: a feminizing re-mapping of the *banlieues*

Ma Petite Banlieue is an ongoing multimedia initiative headed by lifelong *banlieusarde* Sandrine Yaba Madji. Reflecting on the power of representation, her mission is to create a remapping of the *banlieues* that emphasizes its diversity, beauty and potential for both locals and non-locals to enjoy. As this article unpicks this empowering re-mapping of the *banlieues*, it addresses how Ma Petite Banlieue applies a feminizing lens to spaces typically portrayed as male-dominated in the press and mainstream cinema. Through a guidebook, website and social media accounts that combine text, illustration, and photography, Madji asserts the

banlieues as spaces to celebrate and the *banlieusard* (or more particularly *banlieusarde*) as a social position to proudly reclaim.

Aristide Barraud: A work of reconstruction

Born in Saint-Cloud but spending most of his life in an HLM in the Vaux-Germains estate of Châtenay-Malabry then Massy, Aristide Barraud is a former professional rugby player for the under 20s French national team. After being hit by three bullets during the Paris terrorist attack on 13 November 2015, Barraud was forced to retire from rugby, turning to visual arts and poetry. Accepted by Ladj Ly's école Kourtrajmé under the mentorship of JR, Barraud produced and documented transient portraits of *banlieue* memory and identity in and on the last remaining HLM building of the historic Les Bosquets in Montfermeil during its process of demolition in 2019 and 2020. Inviting the responses and participation of former inhabitants, Barraud created ephemeral poems and portraits in the building before its collapse, which he has documented in a photo exhibition (2021), a short film for Ateliers Médicis (2022) and a photo-book with Seuil, *Bâtiment 5, Courte vie pleine* (2022). This article explores this re-visioning of Les Bosquets, a process which Barraud describes as a 'reconstruction'²⁶ of his own life destroyed by the terrorist attack, and of Bâtiment 5 and everything it represented for the people who lived there. With attention to Barraud's positionality, this article studies his establishment of co-creative practice of reinvention.

Trend 1: Activist motivations

Both Barraud and Madji frame their initiatives as practices of social and artistic activism. Ma Petite Banlieue explicitly outlines the mission of Madji's creative outputs as to challenge and change perceptions of the *banlieues*. In the 'À propos' section of her website, she states: 'Ma Petite Banlieue c'est l'histoire d'une nana qui a eu l'idée un jour, non sans avoir réfléchi

comment, à mettre en valeur la Banlieue Parisienne'.²⁷ Madji makes it explicit that she recognizes the crisis of representation that the *banlieues* face and how she therefore created her project to showcase them in a positive light. She outlines how negative perceptions cause concrete impacts on the interactions (or lack thereof) with local spaces:

Je me suis fait la réflexion que c'était un 'réflexe' d'aller sur Paris car presque 'ringard' d'aller juste à côté, au resto ou à la boutique du coin, particulièrement en Banlieue. Ce mot: Banlieue fait peur... et pourtant, il ne fait que désigner un ensemble d'agglomérations qui entourent une ville et participent à son activité.²⁸

Thus, Madji underscores the disparity between attitudes towards central Paris and towards the outskirts where the latter is perceived as frightening and untrendy. She indicates how the internalization of this message results in an aversion to visit places even in one's own neighborhood. In an interview, she reasserts her mission to correct a false vision of the *banlieues*, to re-establish a reputation that has been tarnished: 'l'idée c'est [...] de redonner un peu ses lettres de noblesse à la banlieue'.²⁹ Madji's work therefore is one of re-visioning, or indeed, re-mapping the territory, acknowledging the powerful impact of representation that has been established earlier in this article. Madji explains that the 'cible' of this remapping is an audience that is 'plutôt un public féminin [...] 25 à 34 ans, les femmes actives'³⁰ but doesn't distinguish between women from the *banlieues* and those from elsewhere. Thus, Madji in part targets *banlieusardes*, persuading them to 'consommer local' and 'maintenir le lien humain'³¹. Yet, she equally offers to central *Parisiennes* a guide to navigate the *banlieues* 'dans l'esprit du Grand Paris'³², reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Paris guidebooks for Parisians as they adapted to an evolving modern urban landscape.

Aristide Barraud also describes his mission as to bring a positive change in the *banlieues*. He describes the interweaving need to ‘tout réinventer’ in both his own life, disrupted by his injuries, and for Les Bosquets,³³ a *cit * in a state of ‘demolition permanente’ according to sociologist Camille Fran ois.³⁴ JR, Barraud’s mentor while at Ladj Ly’s  cole, affirms that Barraud’s mission stems from a sense of brokenness found in himself and in B timent 5: ‘Il est arriv  avec des sujets en lui, des cassures, des fissures, des choses qu’il a recherch es dans le monde autour de lui et qu’il a retrouv es dans les b timents de Montfermeil’.³⁵ In the face of this destruction, Barraud emphasizes his objective as being the ‘reconstruction’ of what has been broken.³⁶

Barraud, in his photobook *B timent 5, Courte vie pleine* (2022), outlines the process of destruction that occurred in Les Bosquets in Montfermeil and describes both material and representational damage. Barraud provides a history of the estate, revealing how these buildings were once touted as ‘une utopie architecturale et urbanistique’ (*B5*, 11)³⁷ that would later become ‘ghettois e’ (37). Barraud uses the passive verb form when describing the state of Les Bosquets, highlighting that they are not the source but the victims of ghettoization. In his photobook, he signals the instigators of this process as being the media and those in the city, targeting a Parisian indifference to this neighbourhood: ‘la ville lumi re a toujours brill  par son indiff rence   ce qui se jouait sur ce territoire d laiss ’ (37). He criticizes the imbalance in standpoints – ‘Les Bosquets ont toujours regard  Paris de loin, alors que Paris, avec ses minist res et ses monuments, les regardait de haut’ (37) – a statement he reiterates through its embedding into an image of a young man looking out towards Paris from Les Bosquets in his photobook (38).

Barraud is attentive to the impacts of and tensions between representation and reality. He argues that ‘Le danger est toujours ce qu’on ne connait pas et l’ennemi celui qu’on ne rencontre jamais’ (114). He shares conversations that he has had with elders in the

neighbourhood, who argue that the *representation* of Les Bosquets preceded the reality: ‘Beaucoup d’anciens me parlent de cette génération *mise à distance avant* même de souffrir, *mise en terre avant* de mourir’ (65, my emphasis). One elder woman in particular describes ‘des jeunes magnifiques mais qui se sont laissé enfoncer, *enterrer par l’étiquette collée sur leur front* parce qu’ils étaient des Bosquets’ (65, my emphasis). Barraud charts a history of the damaging media representations of Les Bosquets, including those from the 1960s when already ‘l’image de ces zones est catastrophique’ (12), the 1980s when ‘Montfermeil devient célèbre dans les journaux télévisés pour la ghettoisation et la délinquance des Bosquets’ (113), and the 1990s when there were television interviews with locals complaining about the presence of too many immigrants. He underscores that this is the context for the riots in 2005 where ‘c’est vers les Bosquets que les regards et les objectifs des médias du monde entier se sont tournés. Et pour exister à leurs yeux il a fallu que la jeunesse allume de grands feux’ (137). Barraud explores the notion that public existence in the *banlieues* is dependent on being seen and argues that the media and public interest in Les Bosquets has always been dependent on violence, crime and fire. Barraud notes the lack of political engagement with inhabitants resultant from this perception problem: ‘les copropriétaires n’ont jamais été considérés comme des partenaires légitimes pour les prises de décision ou même des consultations, mais plutôt comme la source des problèmes’ (191). It is from this awareness of the impact of representation on reality that Barraud seeks to ‘reconstruire’ by taking notice, paying homage and representing Les Bosquets in a way that is not dependent on violence or crime, but that honours those who lived there, despite the destruction they have been subject to in both reality and representation: ‘j’écris ce texte en hommage à tous les lieux où se jouent nos existences, où se logent nos souvenirs, à ceux qu’on oublie et ceux qui finiront détruits’ (85).

Thus, both Madji and Barraud highlight the importance of representation in their works for the material impacts that these have had on the *banlieues*. Through their remapping and revisioning efforts, they offer new ways of depicting and engaging with the *banlieues* that showcase both the spaces and those that live there.

Trend 2: Positionality and authenticity

In the pursuit of their activist missions, both creators highlight their own connection to the *banlieues*. This common thread underscores the importance of positionality to the creators and also reflects the desire of inhabitants of the *banlieues* to be represented by those with lived experiences of life there, indicating the perception that mainstream “outside-in” representations have proven incapable of faithfully depicting the *banlieues*.

On Ma Petite Banlieue’s website, Madji highlights how she was born in the *banlieues* and has remained there throughout her life: ‘Sandrine, trentenaire, habitante de Banlieue depuis toujours’.³⁸ In one post, she outlines her origins, ‘J’ai grandi en partie en foyer social, en HLM dans le privé avec les prix exorbitants que cela implique, et de nouveau en HLM aujourd’hui’.³⁹ For these creative practitioners, the drive to provide such details reflects a sense of obligation to indicate the connection to space and the importance of lived experience of the *banlieues*. In recent months, following the birth of her first child, Madji moved from Palaiseau to Thiais and dedicated five Instagram posts to explaining the motivations behind the move, which further demonstrates the importance of place and belonging within Madji’s positioning.

Madji uses ‘je’ in each of her outputs, as would be expected in an Instagram account but less so in a guidebook. In her guide to the southern *banlieues* accessible on the RER B, *Ma Petite ligne B*, Madji uses the first-person pronoun to demonstrate her own connection to and personal experience of the places and activities that she recommends. For the final

recommendation in the guide, a walk from Saint-Rémy-les-Chèvreuse, it reads, ‘J’en garde un excellent souvenir car les paysages et villes traversées étaient magnifiques. Nous avons l’impression d’être partie loin, alors que, nous étions bel et bien en Île de France.’⁴⁰ This emphasis on belonging and authenticity in her works extends beyond her recommendations to her collaborations. One can consider her creation of a small collection of clothing and tote bags which she emphasizes as being ‘le fruit de collaboration avec plusieurs Banlieusardes’. Not content to describe their status as ‘Banlieusardes’ without more nuanced individualization, Madji provides the particular ‘département’ or town of each collaborator, for example, ‘Emeline Hamon, une banlieusarde venue de Seine-et-Marne’.⁴¹ Similarly, her guidebook, *Ma Petite ligne B*, celebrates the work of her collaborators, including graphic designer Oummi M., a ‘nanterrienne’⁴². For Madji, empowering her local spaces requires collaboration exclusively with local people and personalization as markers of authenticity and reliability that are unfamiliar in the outside-in depictions of mainstream medias.

Barraud describes the decision to work on Les Bosquets as being partly instigated by the advice of a friend to ‘regarde[r] d’où tu viens’ (7). However, unlike Madji, Barraud does not focus in particular on his own *banlieue* but rather relates his own experiences in HLMs in Vaux-Germains and in Massy to what he documents and learns in Les Bosquets. Although he has not lived in Les Bosquets, Barraud asserts that his own encounters are comparable:

Il y a une forme du vécu. [...] j’avais des souvenirs qui remontaient, j’avais des épisodes de ma vie qui revenaient. J’avais l’impression de régler des choses avec mon passé, avec le passé de mes amis. La destruction a marqué mon enfance. [...] J’ai grandi avec cette vision, cet horizon, ces destructions.⁴³

Barraud is keen to highlight his own claim to lived experiences of a comparable life in the *banlieues*, reflective of the fact that without this he and his works are unlikely to be accepted by those he wishes to represent and to whom he wishes to pay homage. Indeed, he describes the slow process of building trust with each individual he photographs, and shares that some of the inhabitants he met would never give permission to be photographed despite his efforts. However, Barraud also clarifies that he is aware that the experiences of those living in Les Bosquets are likely worse than his own: ‘l’intensité de ce qu’a connu ce territoire est presque sans équivalent en France, dans la difficulté, dans la pauvreté et l’oubli. Tout cela m’est inconnu et je suis attentif à ne jamais oublier’ (50). In this way, Barraud emphasizes his status as a *banlieusard*, subject to disregard, marginalization and destruction in the *banlieues*, but remains open about his difference as a white former professional rugby player visiting a building that has primarily housed non-white inhabitants of West African origin or descent. Oxmo Puccino, who authored the preface, asserts this same point: ‘Aristide vient de Massy, il n’a pas habité aux Bosquets mais il y a vécu deux ans et demi. Ce qu’il n’a pas eu l’occasion d’offrir à son quartier d’enfance, il va le rencontrer à Montfermeil et témoigner d’une authenticité’.⁴⁴ Despite this tension between his similarity and distance, Barraud’s works of photo-portraiture and poetry that covered the mid-demolition Bâtiment 5 building and the Les Bosquets neighbourhood more widely manage to create representations that connect the inhabitants to their experiences; a report by France24 describes ‘des attroupements d’habitants émus aux larmes devant les collages photographiques, dont le plus haut fait 32m. “Ils ont réalisé que si c’était important pour un mec qui n’était pas d’ici, ça l’était aussi pour eux”, constate l’artiste’.⁴⁵

Barraud describes the necessity of ensuring that the art that he created in B5 would be primarily for those who lived there and would become co-creative. By creating photo-portraits and poems in this space of destruction, Barraud sought to build a ‘lieu d’exposition’

that would serve ‘à des gens de mon âge qui ont grandi loin des galeries et des musées’ (101). Barraud’s drive to create forms of art and writing that are ‘Les plus accessibles, les plus populaires, les plus universelles possibles’ reflects this desire.⁴⁶ As such, Barraud did not invite anyone other than locals to view his art in B5, creating instead secretive visits after sundown once the builders had left. Not only of and for the B5 inhabitants and locals, Barraud invited their participation in the creation of the eventual exhibition-style rooms. The inhabitants joined in the artistic process, adding quotations and descriptions, ‘Pinceau en main, eux aussi y couchent leurs derniers témoignages.’⁴⁷ Thus, Barraud shows his awareness and understanding of his difference from those who had lived in Les Bosquets, but also seeks to navigate this by actively involving them in the artistic process.

These assertions of belonging to the *banlieues* by both Madji and Barraud and their acute awareness of the importance of their position highlights the significant role that the notion of ‘authenticity’ and lived personal experience play in the representation of the *banlieues* in light of a history of damaging misrepresentation.

Trend 3: Nuancing the representation of the *banlieues*

Ma Petite Banlieue pursues a more nuanced vision of the *banlieues*. Moving away from press and cinema images of HLM, violence and refuse for which the *banlieues* are known, her various outputs instead contain photographic and illustrated images of restaurant meals, peaceful streets, walks, local artworks and places of interest and beauty to visit. These depictions contradict the established media image of a singularized *banlieue* and produce a new portrait of thriving cultural hubs instead. Indeed, whether in her guidebook, on her website or Instagram, Madji categorizes information into detailed sections for each ‘département’, and for each she highlights the diversity of possible experiences there; ‘Sceaux est une ville aux multiples visages. [...] Un centre ville [...] des monuments

historiques [...] ville familiale et étudiante'⁴⁸ Through this individualization of each of the *banlieues*, Madji resists the unitary depiction of *la banlieue* and counters a damaging imaginary through positive images and recommendations.

While diversifying the depiction of the *banlieues*, Madji's work applies an unfamiliar feminizing lens. This is evident from the front cover of her guide *Ma Petite ligne B* and the individual maps found within. The mapped elements of the cover (which are also viewable on her website⁴⁹) are in colours that are considered feminine within stereotypical and strict conceptions of gender: pastel shades of pink, blue, purple, and yellow. The centre of the image focuses on a female figure with make-up and dressed in pink with a handbag and shopping bag who is eating an array of foods including the influencer trope of smashed avocado on toast. Other images in the guidebook employ this feminizing lens, including the new artistic maps of the *banlieues* that Madji offers for each of the fifteen towns in her guide (for example, Palaiseau on p. 20. Some examples of these maps can be viewed on Madji's graphic designer collaborator Oummi M's online portfolio⁵⁰). These images use the same colour scheme as the cover and feature a variety of female figures. In their shapes, colour and content, these representations are antithetical to the black and white, hard, hypermasculine depiction of the *banlieues* in *La Haine*. As a result, the image of the *banlieues* is softened and presented as commercially attractive. The overarching name of the initiative, *Ma Petite banlieue*, exemplifies this softening of the image of the *banlieues* in its focus on personalized ownership [*ma*] of the diminutized and localized *banlieue* [*ma petite banlieue*]. By doing this, the *banlieues* are reinterpreted as more accessible unthreatening spaces to draw Parisians and *banlieusards* alike to visit and explore. Madji has been explicit in her desire to take a feminised approach to the *banlieues* in an attempt to move away from unrelatable, intimidating and hypermasculine tropes: 'J'avais vraiment envie de faire un site et un concept un peu *girly*, un truc qui me ressemble vraiment'.⁵¹

Madji sells multiple Ma Petite Banlieue products, including her own line of t-shirts with the word ‘Banlieusarde’ embroidered on the chest, with a heart surrounding it. Through this feminized and playful rebranding, she invites other real, individual *banlieuesardes* to wear this t-shirt as a way to display the *banlieues* as a place of proud belonging, contrary to popular opinion. No longer a term detrimentally used by the press, the feminized ‘banlieusarde’ is sold as a badge of honour. Madji’s work therefore plays into stereotypes relating to gender in rebranding the image of the *banlieues*. However, as these gendered stereotypes are not those traditionally associated with the male-dominated space of the *banlieues* they, despite their clichéd nature, prove subversive. Through this desire to create a new feminine vision of the *banlieues*, we again witness the importance of a representation that is reflective of those who actually live there but also observe the influence of a capitalistic marketization in Madji’s repackaging of the *banlieues*.

Beyond the use of this feminizing lens, Ma Petite Banlieue’s images add nuance to the portrayal of the *banlieues* through the other illustrated elements. The buildings featured on the cover of the guidebook are not HLMs but rather seemingly chic boutiques of Haussmanian-style buildings, those typically associated with the affluent districts of central Paris. The presence of means of public transport in the form of an RER and a selection of Zoov bicycles highlights Madji’s focus on accessible travel found in her guides but also emphasizes the *banlieues*’ status as points of commuting. However, in Madji’s vision, the desirable direction of travel is towards the *banlieue*, rather than away.

Barraud’s works on Bâtiment 5 also seek to nuance understandings and representations of the *banlieues*. His works have a dual focus on, firstly, revealing the number of lives and the diversity of experiences that inhabited the building, and secondly on creating individual portraits that personalize and humanize a selection of those who lived there. Underscoring the number of previous residents of Les Bosquets, Barraud notes that

9,000 people lived in B5 alone across the decades of its existence (67). As he first explores the building, he discovers layers of graffiti on the walls of the corridors. Upon seeing the peeling paint of the walls, he begins to remove layers, finding more graffiti, more ‘traces de vie’, (26) under each until he has peeled off five layers of paint. These previously hidden and repressed signs provide ‘une plongée dans les décennies passées’ (71) with each layer reflecting the generations of people who have lived there.

To emphasize this diversity and scale of experiences in B5, Barraud took images of inhabitants that he then printed and stuck onto the walls of B5 along with quotations and descriptions. These were so numerous that the walls began to disappear under the representations:

Je colle les visages d’anciens habitants que je continue de photographier [...] j’écris des textes à la peinture noire. J’écris tout ce que j’entends, tout ce que je perçois. Les mots deviennent des étincelles et rallument les flammes de vie qui disparaissent progressivement. [...] [Les salles] se noircissent de lettres et d’images (99).

According to Puccino, the walls became like a ‘musée éphémère’ to which Barraud is the ‘guide’ who can provide ‘un voyage spatiotemporal profonde donnant une idée juste et précise du chemin effectué’ in each of the rooms.⁵² Many pages of Barraud’s photobook document these rooms, and others create new collages that can include up to twenty-eight separate images and portraits of the rooms and the faces that occupied them. Similarly, his video-poem, ‘B5, les tours tombent’ moves from room to room, showing this occupation of mid-demolition space with stories, portraits and memories. His poem reads,

L'écho des familles, des larmes et des cris de joie, des fantômes d'un passé riche et court à la fois. Des rires et les voix, les odeurs de la nourriture à l'approche du repas du soir. Les pleurs du nouveau-né qui rend les voisins fous à lier, la petite du troisième qui veut devenir chanteuse, et qu'on entend depuis le palier.⁵³

As this artwork grew, more former inhabitants joined to write messages on the walls or to request their portrait to be placed into their old apartments. From these works, Barraud invites the viewers into the vastness and multiplicity of experiences lived in B5 before the completion of its demolition. Unlike the divided depictions of race and gender in mainstream *banlieue* cinema, these works create a harmonious and co-creative portrait of a community of men and women of different ethnicities and backgrounds that all were once housed together within B5.

Alongside these elements of Barraud's works that accentuate the vast plurality of the lived experiences in B5, he creates a series of detailed textual and visual portraits of former inhabitants including Yousri, Mérone, Inès, Murat, Dogukan, DMS, Moussa and La Daronne in *Bâtiment 5*. In this photobook, each portrait occupies one to two full pages. The portrait of Yousri reveals that he is one of the demolition workers who had lived in B5 before its closure and who is now having to destroy it: 'Ils sont une dizaine comme ça, à détruire le bâtiment de leur enfance, à démanteler jour après jour ce lieu peuplé de leurs souvenirs' (83). Barraud argues the trauma and human cost of having to destroy one's home, 'personne ne devrait démolir les murs qui nous voient grandir, mettre au sol le toit qui a abrité nos familles' (83). Yousri invites Barraud to visit his old apartment before its demolition, now empty and crumbling. Barraud notes that though the room is void of meaning for him, for Yousri the significance is great: 'je comprends si je ne vois que du vide, lui est assailli de milliers d'images, des ombres des membres de sa famille' (84). Barraud captures this moment on

camera, creating a portrait for the room that he later also includes in the photobook (84) and on his online portfolio (bottom right portrait of image 3)⁵⁴. In the portrait, Yousri's humanizing gaze meets the viewer in this moment of nostalgia and loss. The image is tilted 90 degrees in the photobook, reflecting a sense of displacement and dislocation experienced by this group of demolition workers. Barraud adds original text which reads, 'ON BRISE NOS REVES / ET ON NIQUE NOS VIES / YOUSRI DEMANDE UNE TREVE / DETRUIT L'IMMEUBLE OU IL A GRANDI' (84). Barraud's protestatory poem uses terms of war and destruction to describe Yousri's situation and offers a glimpse into the real-world consequences of the destruction of this former living space. Other portraits by Barraud use a collage technique to further emphasize the inhabitants' connection between place and lived experience through the translucent overlapping of domestic elements such as wallpaper over the faces of those who have now been displaced.

By bringing the breadth of lives lived in B5 into contact with a selection of individual stories, Barraud presents a new vision of the building and Les Bosquets, one which is rarely seen in the media. TV5Monde reflected that Barraud 'change un peu le visage d'un quartier en pleine reconstruction'.⁵⁵ Inhabitant Dogukan describes this as a project that manages to 'rendre le sombre un peu joyeux'.⁵⁶ Reflecting back on this construction of new representations in which B5 is both host and subject, Barraud enters a period of construction of a new image, one which he argues 'met un terme à cycle de destruction, de demolition'.⁵⁷ While Madji has sought to feminize the often hypermasculine representation of the *banlieues* to render them both more accessible and commercially attractive, Barraud instead seeks to collaboratively reconstruct and pay homage to a home to thousands. Through their projects, both Madji and Barraud therefore subvert perceived ideas about the *banlieues*, presenting them instead as places of soft, familial and peaceful co-existence and community.

Trend 4: Community

A final unifying element of grassroots *banlieue* artistry is the integral role that community plays. The *banlieue* community is a source of interactivity and accountability and the artists aim to ensure that it receive the benefits. The *Ma Petite Ligne B* guidebook opens with the explanation, ‘j’ai à cœur d’échanger simplement et sans prétention avec ma communauté’.⁵⁸

This exchange takes the form of seeking the inputs and recommendations of her fellow banlieusards for her Instagram, guidebook and website. Madji includes invitations in each output to her peers, including calls for recommendations, which are then marked with a star in the guide or ‘coup de pouce’ online if ‘recommandé par la communauté de Ma Petite Banlieue’. She also facilitates broader discussions that seek the nuance of diverse experiences, such as the open question on Instagram to over 7,000 followers, ‘Pour vous, la banlieue c’est...’.⁵⁹ Madji explains the need for such community interactivity in the pursuit of her mission beyond her own most local *banlieues*,

Aujourd’hui, je m’axe principalement sur la petite couronne et les villes qui avoisinent ma ville: Palaiseau. Pourquoi? Car je n’ai pas encore le temps, d’aller plus loin. C’est pourquoi j’invite mes lecteurs, d’où ils viennent en Banlieue, à PARTAGER leurs Bonnes Adresses.⁶⁰

Thus, for an effective re-mapping of the *banlieues* that extends beyond her own line B / Palaiseau focus, this interaction and accountability is essential to Madji’s projects. However, the benefit is also intended for the community as it draws *franciliens* from both intra- and extra-muros Paris to the *banlieues*:

Ma Petite Banlieue c’est plus qu’un site internet et une page Instagram, c’est une réelle démarche qui a pour vocation d’encourager ses lecteurs à ‘consommer local’, privilégier le

commerce indépendant, de proximité, à maintenir le lien ‘humain’ et le tout en Banlieue Parisienne!⁶¹

The re-mapping that Madji undertakes is therefore reflective of a post-representational approach; in re-visioning the representation, the hope is that the territory and those living there will in turn thrive.

Barraud describes part of his motivation for his project as stemming from ‘[s]on besoin de retrouver le sens du collectif’ (21). This desire for community and collectivity influences Barraud’s approach, seeking co-creation with local and former inhabitants and inviting only them to view the results. Part of Barraud’s mission to involve and honour this community is also documented in Barraud’s mentorship of other local artists, including Inès, a teenage photographer who now successfully works as Ines.Shoot. The B5 was eventually demolished and with it the ephemeral messages and images that Barraud and the former inhabitants created. In Barraud’s video-poem, his book and on the neighbouring walls, it is written, ‘bâtiment aux mille joies, aux mille peines, monument aux mille choix, aujourd’hui tas de pierres sur une plaine. Beaucoup d’amour, un peu de haine. Destruction rapide après courte vie pleine’ (235). In homage to these ‘mille joies’ and ‘mille peines’ felt by thousands from the Les Bosquets community, Barraud continued his work, placing his portraits and collages on neighbouring HLMs and fences. He also placed new collages of various wallpapers from B5 on the fences leading to the Grand Paris metro station, allowing former residents to find their former home's wallpaper textile or print as it interweaved with others of the B5 community (viewable on p. 235 and on Barraud’s Instagram⁶²).

Reflective of this connective interweaving, inhabitant and portrait subject Dogukan argues that the B5 building itself was only ever a visual symbol and that its demolition does not achieve the destruction of the community there:

ils nous sous-estiment parce que vivre dans un quartier, dans un même bâtiment, c'est pas rien. Penser que tu vas détruire les relations, les liens qui se sont créés c'est mal nous connaître, c'est mal connaître l'humain. On n'est pas unis que dans le côté physique. On est surtout unis dans notre vécu (191).

Dogukan's statement hints that the demolition of this building is due in part to its status as symbol for violence, rioting, poverty and crime, but argues that its destruction has not destroyed the community that it housed. Barraud's works seek to produce a representation that resonates as true to the community that lived there, inclusive of their 'mille joies', 'peines' and 'choix' as it lives on beyond the destruction of the symbolic building that housed them.

Conclusions

Madji's *Ma Petite Banlieue* and Barraud's works on *Bâtiment 5* are two projects in which the *banlieues* are no longer seen as periphery (viewed top-down, outside-in) but as centres in their own right; centres of being, centres of living, centres of creative and cultural production, where inhabitants can document their own lived experience (from the bottom up, inside-out). They reflect trends in the grassroots artworks of the *banlieues* that can equally be studied in the approaches of other artists including Linstable, Monsieur Bonheur, *Banlieusard nouveau* and Yamina Benguigui. Unlike the mainstream depictions of the *banlieues*, we see the importance of activism in their motivations to create, both seeking to re-map or re-vision the

banlieues in new ways. Their works show the plurality of these experiences, nuancing received understandings of the *banlieues* and seeking more inclusive depictions of their spaces and their inhabitants. Their positionality in relation to their works has been shown to be important to their audiences as a sign of faithfulness to real experiences, a quality unfamiliar in *banlieue* cinema. Accountability and interactivity have proven essential, as these works are meant to be *of, for* and *by* the communities they represent. Through these trends in grassroots art, their works allow us to move from seeing the *banlieues* as precarious peripheries to instead recognizing them as creative centres. It is from this new perspective that the *banlieues* can be re-considered as sites of radical possibility, the type from which there is the ‘possibility of radical perspectives from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds’.⁶³

¹ Mustafa Dikeç, ‘Immigrants, Banlieues, and Dangerous Things: Ideology as an Aesthetic Affair’, *Antipode*, 45:1 (2013), pp. 23-42 (p. 25).

² Mustafa Dikeç, ‘Space, Politics and (in)Justice’, in *Ségrégation et justice spatiale*, ed. by Sylvie Fol, Sonia Lehman-Frisch and Marianne Morange (Nanterre: Presses universitaires de Paris Nanterre, 2013), pp. 244-264, <http://books.openedition.org/pupo/2153> [accessed 26 May 2023].

³ Mustafa Dikeç, *Badlands of the Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007). Quoted in Mame-Fatou Niang, *Identités françaises: Banlieues, féminités et universalisme* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 31.

⁴ Luuk Slooter, *The Making of the Banlieue: An Ethnography of Space, Identity and Violence* (New York: Springer International Publishing, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p. 9.

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Effets de lieu’, in *La misère du monde* (Paris: Seuil, collection Points/Essais, 1993), pp. 249-50.

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Effets de lieu’.

⁷ Mame-Fatou Niang, *Identités françaises: Banlieues, féminités et universalisme* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 30.

⁸ Niang, *Identités françaises*, p. 30.

⁹ Dikeç, ‘Immigrants, Banlieues, and Dangerous Things’, p. 29.

¹⁰ Mustafa Dikeç, *Badlands of the Republic. Space, politics and urban policy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p. 101.

¹¹ See the Société du Grand Paris website: <<https://www.societedugrandparis.fr/qui-sommes-nous>> [accessed 01 April 2023]

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- ¹² Dikeç, 'Immigrants, Banlieues, and Dangerous Things', p. 28.
- ¹³ L'Institut français d'opinion publique, 'Les Français et la situation dans les banlieues', <<https://www.ifop.com/publication/les-francais-et-la-situation-dans-les-banlieues-2/>> [accessed 01 March 2023].
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ For example, Obertone's essay asserts that there has been an increase in violent crime in France, and raises the *banlieues* 26 times to mark these locations as emblematic of this alleged social problem: Laurent Obertone, *La France orange mécanique* (Paris: Ring, 2013).
- ¹⁶ All the above figures are taken from: Alixan Lavorel and Théophile Magoria, 'Infographies. Les chiffres de la délinquance en Île-de-France en 2022', (01/02/2023) <https://www.bfmtv.com/paris/infographies-les-chiffres-de-la-delinquance-en-ile-de-france-en-2022_AN-202302010751.html> [accessed 26 May 2023].
- ¹⁷ Carole Milleliri, 'Le cinéma de banlieue: un genre instable', *Mise au point*, 3 (2011) <<http://journals.openedition.org/map/1003>> [accessed 01 March 2023], para. 6.
- ¹⁸ Milleliri, 'Le cinéma de banlieue', para. 6.
- ¹⁹ Milleliri, 'Le cinéma de banlieue', para. 6.
- ²⁰ Kim Toft Hansen and Jørgen Riber Christensen, 'Northern Jutland as an Intertextual Location: Hyperrealities in Peripheral Denmark', in *Non-Place: Representing Placelessness in Literature, Media and Culture*, ed. by Mirjam Gebauer, Helle Thorsøe Nielsen, Jan Tödtloff Schlosser and Bent Sørensen (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2015), pp. 259-80 (p. 261).
- ²¹ Hansen and Christensen, 'Northern Jutland as an Intertextual Location', p. 261.
- ²² See Sébastien Caquard, 'Narrative Cartography: From Mapping Stories to the Narrative of Maps and Mapping', *The Cartographic Journal*, 51:2 (2014), pp.101-06.
- ²³ Rob Kitchin, Justin Gleeson and Martin Dodge, 'Unfolding mapping practices: a new epistemology for cartography', *Transactions* (2013), pp. 480–96 (p. 481).
- ²⁴ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra et simulation Simulacre et simulation* (Paris: Galilée, 1981), p. 10.
- ²⁵ Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins and Martin Dodge, *Rethinking Maps New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 16.
- ²⁶ Aristide Barraud, *Bâtiment 5, Courte vie pleine* (Paris: Seuil, 2022), p. 101.
- ²⁷ Sandrine Madji, 'Ma Petite Banlieue: À Propos', <<https://mapetitebanlieue.fr/ma-petite-banlieue-a-propos/>> [accessed 23 March 2023].
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ 'V1 - Présentation Sandrine', *IONISx*, online video recording, YouTube, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8tNe73yYZI&list=WL&index=49>> [accessed 20 March 2023].
- ³⁰ 'V1 - Présentation Sandrine'.
- ³¹ Sandrine Madji, 'Ma Petite Banlieue: À Propos'.
- ³² 'V1 - Présentation Sandrine'.
- ³³ 'Du rugby à l'art, la renaissance poétique d'Aristide Barraud', France 24, published online 6 October 2022 <<https://www.france24.com/fr/info-en-continu/20221006-du-rugby-à-l-art-la-renaissance-poétique-d-aristide-barraud>> [accessed 15 March 2023].

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- ³⁴ ‘Comment l’État déloge les pauvres’, *La Suite dans les idées*, Radio France, 21 January 2023 <<https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceculture/podcasts/la-suite-dans-les-idees/comment-l-etat-deloge-les-pauvres-7750086>> [accessed 4 May 2023]
- ³⁵ ‘Du rugby à l’art’.
- ³⁶ Barraud, *Courte vie pleine*, p. 101.
- ³⁷ Barraud, *Courte vie pleine*, p. 11. Subsequent page numbers in brackets all refer to references from this publication.
- ³⁸ Sandrine Madji, ‘Ma Petite Banlieue: À Propos’.
- ³⁹ Sandrine Madji, ‘Ma Petite Banlieue’, Instagram social media post, published 11 August 2022 <https://www.instagram.com/p/ChICQ_qo8EA/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFiZA> [accessed 21/02/23].
- ⁴⁰ Sandrine Madji, *Ma Petite Ligne B* (self-published, 2021) p. 80.
- ⁴¹ Sandrine Madji, ‘Ma Petite Banlieue: The Collection’ <<https://mapetitebanlieue.fr/banlieusarde-so-what-la-collection/>> [accessed 23 March 2023].
- ⁴² Sandrine Madji, *Ma Petite Ligne B*, p. 8.
- ⁴³ ‘Comment l’État déloge les pauvres’.
- ⁴⁴ Barraud, *Courte vie pleine*, preface, p. 4.
- ⁴⁵ ‘Du rugby à l’art’.
- ⁴⁶ ‘Du rugby à l’art’.
- ⁴⁷ ‘Du rugby à l’art’.
- ⁴⁸ Sandrine Madji, *Ma Petite Ligne B*, p. 24.
- ⁴⁹ Sandrine Madji, *Ma Petite Ligne B*, cover page. Online version: <https://mapetitebanlieue.fr/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/PSX_20210915_195313-2-scaled.jpg> [accessed 23 August 2023].
- ⁵⁰ Oummi M., ‘Behance’ <<https://www.behance.net/gallery/166095565/Book-design-illustrations-for-Ma-Petite-Banlieue>> [accessed 23 August 2023].
- ⁵¹ ‘Présentation Sandrine’, YouTube.
- ⁵² Barraud, *Courte vie pleine*, preface, p. 4.
- ⁵³ Barraud, ‘B5, les tours tombent’, online video recording, YouTube, 21 November 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Enw2zb_JdH4&list=TLGGPEHlsa_keJgwMTA1MjAyMw> [accessed 11 March 2023].
- ⁵⁴ Aristide Barraud, ‘Portfolio’, <<https://www.aristidebarraud.com/copie-de-negatifs>> [accessed 23 August 2023].
- ⁵⁵ TV5Monde Info, ‘Street Art : l’hommage grandiose d’Aristide Barraud aux habitants de Montfermeil’, online video recording, YouTube, 5 July 2021 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ac0L7mEUXjg>> [accessed 10 March 2023].
- ⁵⁶ TV5Monde Info, ‘Street Art’.
- ⁵⁷ TV5Monde Info, ‘Street Art’.
- ⁵⁸ Sandrine Madji, *Ma Petite Ligne B*, preface
- ⁵⁹ Sandrine Madji, ‘Ma Petite Banlieue’, Instagram social media post, published 2 April 2021, <<https://www.instagram.com/p/COMqPlkl6Fd/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFiZA==>> [accessed 21 February 2023].
- ⁶⁰ Sandrine Madji, ‘Ma Petite Banlieue: À Propos’.
- ⁶¹ Sandrine Madji, ‘Ma Petite Banlieue: À Propos’.

⁶² Aristide Barraud, ‘Aristide Barraud’ Instagram social media post, published 7 November 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CkqyixVLBag/?img_index=7> [accessed 23 August 2023].

⁶³ bell hooks, ‘Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness’, *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, 36 (1989), pp. 15-23 (p. 20).