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Scenes and Communities in the City

Marta Klekotko

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To Terry N. Clark, my master and friend

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Introduction

Sociology grew out of the crisis, and with it were born concepts that sought to describe the social order, its mechanisms and foundations. One such concept is that of community, which has become synonymous with order, human solidarity, cooperation and loyalty, social permanence and continuity, in a word—synonymous with all that we long for in times of crisis. It has become an expression of nostalgia for a peaceful, happy, orderly life. A concept that, as Zygmunt Bauman claimed, carries not only meaning but also emotion. "Whatever the notion of community means, it is good to have a community, to be in a community. […]. Society may be bad, but not community. Community, we feel, is always something good" (Bauman, 2000: 1). Growing out of the disillusionment with (and criticism of) modernity, the concept of community harbours both a longing for a lost past and a dream of a better future (cf. Amit, 2002: 3; Ennew, 1980: 1). Therefore, from the beginning it has served social utopias and projects of "social repair": returning to a better past or building a better future (cf. Delanty, 2003; Warburton, 1998: 18). Not surprisingly, the concept of community finds its way into public discourse and becomes the heart of public policies (cf. Blackshaw, 2010; Klekotko, 2012). It can be found, among others, in projects of revitalisation and socio-spatial regeneration, in programmes of crime prevention, support for the elderly and fight against poverty or in development strategies of cities, regions and whole societies. Local communities are supposed to support empowerment and well-being of individuals, revival of citizenship, building social

and cultural capital, balancing individualistic and disorganising tendencies, mitigating negative effects of modernisation and globalisation, fighting climate change. But do communities still exist at all in today's globalised, hypermobile and anonymous big cities? Where to look for them and how to use their potential? In this little book I provide answers to these questions: rejecting the positions of classical sociology towards the community question, I propose a new perspective on urban communal processes based on the analysis of social practices in urban cultural scenes, I discuss examples of communal practices and explain their mechanisms, point to their significance for urban public policies, while making some recommendations.

The book consists of three chapters. In the first chapter, I provide an overview of the classical debates on community question. The chapter serves two main objectives: first of all the presentation of the main assumptions of the main theoretical trends in community studies allows me to point to their shortcomings and limitations which I then will address. Secondly, I will use these concepts in building my approach and will refer to them in the analysis. My intention is not to replace the classical concepts of community, but to build on their developments and findings in order to enrich community studies with new insights about community life in contemporary cities. Apart from these two objectives, I also hope that this chapter will serve my students looking for a short summary of the main classical concepts and approaches. In the second chapter, I introduce my praxeological, relational and cultural approach to analysis of communal phenomena in contemporary cities. I start with the presentation of two theories which I make two pillars of my approach: the theory of scenes developed by the new Chicago school (Silver & Clark, 2016) and the social practice theory (in particular social ontology and model of practice developed by Theodor Schatzki [1996, 2002a]). I then develop a concept of urban community as a nexus of cultural and aesthetic practices embedded in the scene, elaborate the concept of socio-cultural opportunity structures and propose a typology of community practices. The last chapter is based on extensive fieldwork carried out in three Polish cities and serves as an exemplification of the application of the proposed approach to the study of community phenomena in contemporary cities. I start with a discussion on challenges in investigating social practices. Then I provide the details of the applied methodology. Finally, selected case studies are presented and discussed in order to illustrate how urban space and cultural consumption practices interact, leading to development

of different kinds of communities, or rather community practices. In the conclusion, I foster a scenes-based approach to community building in contemporary cities. I hope this little book concisely summarising the big project will serve various groups of readers: students, academics and practitioners and will inspire them in their studies, research or practice.

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CHAPTER 1

Community Question: Classical Debates

Abstract The chapter provides an overview of the classical debates on community question. It discusses various approaches to community, comprehended as a neighbourhood, a network or a sense of belonging. In the introduction to the chapter, an overview of the concept of community as opposed to city is presented and the nature of the community question is explained. The introduction is followed by the presentation of the concepts supporting the "community saved" hypothesis and provides the details on the classical approach to the urban community as a neighbourhood as well as discusses contemporary approaches to community comprehended as a place-based social ties. Next, the chapter provides details on the "community liberated" hypothesis and discusses a variety of concepts of community comprehended as a network and a sense of belonging. The chapter concludes with the statement that there is a conceptual gap in the community studies that reflects the "agency vs structure" division. It presents some attempts to overcome them, paying particular attention to Talia Blokland's concept of community as urban practice, and points to the need for the development of a new approach that would overcome the shortcomings of the current approaches to community and would allow for exploration of the phenomena that have remained so far out of view of community studies.

Keywords Community question · Community saved · Community liberated · Neighbourhood · Network · Personal community · Sense of belonging · Community as practice

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In classical sociology, the large, heterogeneous and anonymous city is the antithesis of the small, homogeneous, close-knit rural community (Durkheim, 1893; Redfield, 1947; Simmel, 1950 [1903]; cf. Tönnies, 2011 [1887]; Wirth, 1938). The growth of the urban population, together with its demographic, social, and economic diversification led to the development of an "urban lifestyle" (Wirth, 1938), which is marked by anonymity and diversity of forms of social life. The city offers a particularly broad spectrum of available forms of socialisation, but at the same time weakens primary ties and thus exposes individuals to psychological stress (Simmel, 1950 [1903]). Primary contacts are replaced by secondary contacts, bonds of kinship are weakened, the significance of family declines, neighbourhood disappear, and the traditional basis of social solidarity is undermined (Wirth, 1938: 76). It is therefore argued that the processes accompanying urbanisation and industrialisation have undermined the traditional foundations of community and thus confronted sociology with the so-called Community Question (Wellman, 1979; Wellman & Leighton, 1979), i.e. the question of what happens to communities under the conditions of a large, heterogeneous and anonymous city. Sociology has provided three different answers, known as the community lost, community saved and community liberated hypotheses (Wellman, 1979). The proponents of the community lost hypothesis proclaimed the decline and final collapse of the community, thus heralding the end of community studies, and considered the continued use of the concept of community as theoretically sterile and analytically unsuitable (cf. Day, 2006; Stein, 1960). On the other hand, the hypotheses of the community saved, and the community liberated maintained the sense and meaning of community studies but set different directions for the analysis of phenomena within the field of interest of these studies, for which the concept of community was only a common umbrella (cf. Block, 2008). Thus, in urban community studies, we can distinguish two main trends in defining community: as a place (ecological approach) and as social ties or sense of belonging (network and psychosocial approaches) (Bell & Newby, 1971; Blackshaw, 2010; Crow, 2002; Crow & Allan, 1994; Delanty, 2003; Klekotko, 2012) (Fig. 1.1).

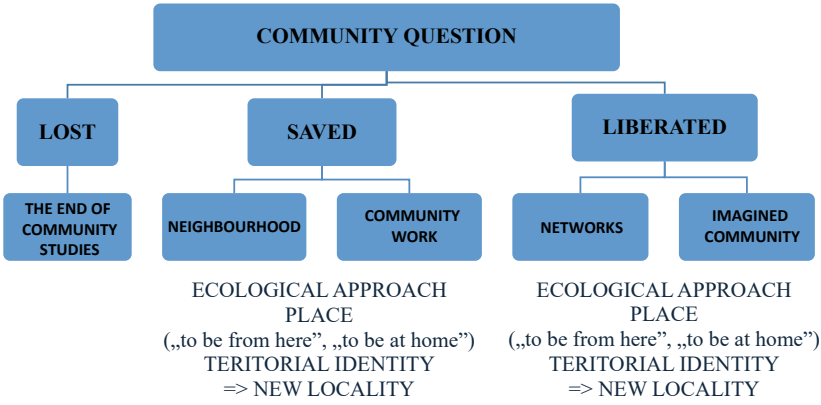

Fig. 1.1 Classical debates on community question

Community Saved: Community as Place (Neighbourhood)

The community as place perspective sees territory and spatial proximity as the basis for the formation of networks of local interests and community identifications. It is the conjunction of these three elements, i.e. shared territory (spatial aspect), interests or otherwise objective ties (social aspect) and sense of community, i.e. subjective ties (psychological aspect), that constitutes the designation of the term 'local community' (Bell & Newby, 1971; Crow & Allan, 1994; Hillery, 1955; Lee & Newby, 1983; Poplin, 1972; Willmott, 1986). In the metropolitan context, community understood in this way has usually been identified with neighbourhood, which is considered independent entity with individual characteristics and as such the most primary unit for development of social ties, solidarity and cohesion (cf. Chaskin: 523). Thus, community saved hypothesis arguments for the survival of local communities in the form of the original neighbourhood groups and the informal ties that characterise them—neighbourhoods are places within cities in which—despite the heterogeneity and size of the city—community-based social relations can be identified (Mooney & Neal, 2009: 13). It is argued that close ties in cities are likely to persist, despite disintegrating social and spatial mobility, and are especially observed in disadvantaged neighbourhoods

experiencing economic and social marginalization, inhabited by disadvantaged groups that must work together to defend themselves against severe structural changes and an unfavourable external environment (Allan & Phillipson, 2008; Gans, 1968; Suttles, 1968; cf. Wellman, 1979; Whyte, 1943). Community studies become neighbourhood studies and it is on individuals and neighbourhood relations that researchers focus their attention.

Conceptualising urban community as neighbourhood origins from the works of the Chicago School, which have had a great influence on community studies in an urban context. According to Robert E. Park, a father of the Chicago School, "proximity and neighborly contact are the basis for the simplest and most elementary form of association with which we have to do in the organization of city life. Local interests and associations breed local sentiment, and, under a system which makes residence the basis for participation in the government, the neighborhood becomes the basis of political control. In the social and political organization of the city it is the smallest local unit" (Park, 1915: 580).

The ideas of the Chicago School scholars were inspired by the observation of the transformation and development of the great cities of America under the influence of the intensified processes of urbanisation and industrialisation, accompanied by a great wave of immigration from the old world: the question was how, through what mechanisms, the structure and organisation of urban space are produced. The search for answers to these questions drew on the achievements of the natural sciences (Darwin's theory of the evolution of species) and the humanities (Dewey's American pragmatism). This is how social ecology was born (Park, 1936). Transferring Darwin's concepts of ecological processes to the analysis of urban processes, researchers of the Chicago school considered the city as an ecosystem and the community as the "essence of the mechanism of adaptation" of people to the environment (cf. Hawley, 1950: 31). This adaptation occurs through the coordination and organisation of individual activities into the form of a single collective unit (ibid.). The local community thus becomes a territorial system of organising action and is intended to serve the needs of subsistence.

The basic unit of a city's spatial structure is the natural area—the smallest homogeneous territorial unit, formed naturally, characterised by social and cultural cohesion, its own traditions, customs, standards and values. Natural areas are formed through natural processes of competition for space in a "struggle for existence" (Park, 1973: 33). As a result of this

competition between various social groups for access to resources "Personal tastes and convenience, vocational and economic interests, infallibly tend to segregate and thus to classify the populations of great cities. In this way, the city acquires an organization and distribution of population which is neither designed nor controlled. In the course of time every section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants (Park, 1925: 5)". Statistical homogeneity, mutual interdependence and common forms of life of population living in the natural area favour development of primary ties of kinship, local identity and solidarity, and thus lead to social cohesion and cultural integration, as result of which a neighbourhood come into being, "a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of Its own" (Park, 1925: 6). Neighbourhoods are therefore a result of processes of spatial segregation, "sifting and sorting" mechanisms that "establish moral distances which make the city a mosaic of little worlds" (Park, 1925: 40). They are a combination of "geographical boundaries, ethnic or cultural characteristics of the inhabitants, [and] psychological unity among people who feel that they belong together" (Hallman, 1984: 15). In other words, the neighbourhood community is a combination of territory, objective bonds and subjective bonds.

The reference point for the conceptualisation of the neighbourhood as a community was the traditional "folk community" (cf. Redfield, 1947): small, isolated, homogeneous, self-sufficient, close-knitted and cohesive, with a strong sense of group solidarity and intimate primary ties of kinship. Perceiving an urban community in such terms must have raised concerns about its decline. Hence, one of the main concerns of the ecological approach is the problems of social isolation, alienation and disorganisation of urban communities. Ecological deterministes claimed that these processes are inevitable as the population of cities become more numerous, dense and heterogeneous, which creates a sense of detachment and diminish social ties (Wirth, 1938). In other words, with increasing urbanisation, the diversity of the population is growing, thus making social ties based on similarity lose their foundation. This claim has been questioned by rich empirical evidence delivered by the compositional theoreticians who were proving that there are no inherent negative consequences of residing in dense urban environments, as social bonds continue to function effectively although their strength may vary by demographic, social and cultural composition of the neighbourhood (e.g. Fischer et al., 1977; Gans, 1962; Howell, 1973; Keller, 1968; Suttles,

1968; Whyte, 1943). Herbert Gans (1962: 65–66) suggests that urban population still "consists mainly of relatively homogeneous groups, with social and cultural moorings that shield it fairly effectively from the suggested consequences of number, density, and heterogeneity". Such homogenous groups can be observed particularly in immigrant, ethnic or class neighbourhoods. In such communities, ethnic and class antagonisms and interests strengthen a sense of solidarity and where ethnicity and class overlap, social ties and group solidarity are intensified. This has been widely investigated and demonstrated also in British studies on working-class community which contributed greatly to the development of community studies, particularly to the popularity of conceptualisation of community as a neighbourhood (eg. Bulmer, 1975a, 1975b; Hoggart, 1957; Jackson, 1968; Jackson & Marsden, 1962; Lockwood, 1966; Mogey, 1956; Parkin, 1971; Roberts, 1971, 1978; Willmott, 1963; Willmott & Young, 1986, etc.).

Compositional ecologists paid particular attention to various marginalised neighbourhoods which were attributed to social disorganisation and anomy. Studies of Gans (1962) on "urban villagers" in East End of Boston, Whyte's (1943) studies on "street corner" community in Italian-American neighbourhood or Suttles's (1968) studies on social order of the ghetto in Chicago's New West Side challenged negative perceptions of these neighbourhoods and demonstrated that far from their reputation, they were not chaotic lawless places, but instead possessed their own social structure, norms and rules that governed interactions among residents and provided social order. They appeared to be organised and cohesive communities with a strong sense of belonging and vibrant community life based on solid kinship ties, group solidarity and informal self-help networks of support taking various forms of mutual assistance. Residents developed adaptive strategies to navigate and survive within their challenging circumstances, like forming social networks, engaging in informal economies, or creating alternative systems of governance. This evidence therefore provided arguments that were perfectly in line with the Chicago School's conceptualisation of community as a system of adaptation of people to their environment and supported the community-saved hypothesis.

Another thread that developed within the community-as-neighbourhood approach in the context of community decline was linked to the problem of the rise of an "underclass" and social pathology in neighbourhoods of high poverty. It is assumed that the problem of

pathology in these neighbourhoods is due to the spatial concentration of social characteristics of individuals—ethnicity, age, unemployment, etc.; thus creating a culture of poverty. The lack of social diversity is linked to the absence of desirable social role models (working, successful people). The neighbourhood is in decline and attracts new residents who are not coping, in turn, the traditional residents move out, there are more and more ethnic groups who remain disintegrated, and the problem of disintegration is also responsible for the rest. The lack of a middle class and better off lower class (social buffer) causes institutions to disappear from the neighbourhood. Therefore, the main focus of urban policies has been the social diversification of problematic residential neighbourhoods, through investments in housing infrastructure, building renovations and better landscaping and attracting middle-class representatives. Since mixed neighbourhoods are believed to make neighbourhoods safer, healthier and more vibrant (both economically and socially), they are particularly desired social forms in urban planning. Such positive effect of the mixed neighbourhood is supposed to be based on social contact between individuals of different socio-economic status which in turn is believed to favour positive role modelling, stronger collective control over disorder, reduced exposure to violence, lower incidences of deviant behaviour, better employment prospects, improved access to higher quality services and institutions, and elimination of geographic stigma (Galster, 2012, 2015). However, empirical evidence suggests that unprivileged populations do not significantly benefit from the mixed neighbourhood strategies, and in some cases, their situation gets even worse (cf. Levy et al., 2013: 20). According to Galster (2015: 8), "the reasons for this failure can be excessive social distance (Arthurson, 2012), social distinction (Davidson, 2012; Paton, 2012), spatial separation of (tenure) groups (Bailey et al., 2006), or different everyday time schedules (Fraser et al., 2012)" which prevent social contact.

Building on the achievements of the Chicago School and its pragmatism, the "community saved" approach in community studies is fundamentally oriented towards practice, intervention and social engineering. Since the city is believed to be entirely a product of human activity and may be fashioned freely by human will, social problems can be managed through appropriate urban planning (Delanty, 2003: 52–53). "Community saved" approach thus abounds with concepts and ideas for city repair: from programmes in city planning like New Urbanism (cf. Grant, 2006), ecological urbanism (cf. Ruano, 1998; Sharifi, 2016),

placemaking (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995) and programmes of revitalisation and regeneration of neighbourhoods (Bassett, 1993), to community work concepts like Community Development or Community Capacity Building (cf. Barr & Hashagen, 2000; Bush et al., 2002; Chaskin et al., 2000; Kretzman & McKnight, 1996), to new localism and communitarian ideas of responsive or inclusive communities (Etzioni, 1983, 1996; Giddens, 1998; Tam, 1998), all of them consider (re)building and supporting communities a key for solving social problems, achieving objectives of social policy and building better future.

The importance of urban planning for social relationships in neighbourhoods has been recognised, among others, by Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte whose studies and concepts were a critical response to the problems spawned by programme of so-called "urban renewal", also known as urban redevelopment or urban regeneration. The programme was aimed to fight the economic and social decline of the inner city inhabited by a disadvantaged low-income population, whose poor housing conditions were believed to favour social disorder, concentration of social problems and pathologies, and eventual transformation of the neighbourhood into a slum. The programme was intended to confront urban decay by cleaning the inner city of "slums" and replacing them with high-rent apartments and business facilities. "Problematic" slum dwellers were relocated to new affordable public housing. The relocation was intended to improve the quality of life of those displaced and reform them economically and morally, while restoring the economic value of land in the inner city. However, the idea turned out to be erroneous: new public housing multiplied social problems instead of solving them.

Jane Jacobs, like William H. Whyte, criticised urban renewal programmes primarily for their insensitivity to human nature and the needs of city dwellers. The authors, like Gans (1969), argued for the fallacy of the thesis of the social disorder of the inner city, pointing to various social resources of traditional neighbourhood that provided social support and ordered local structure. In her celebrated, the almost iconic book, "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" (1961), Jacobs argues that in a traditional inner-city neighbourhood, where social life takes place on the street, the order is policed by the residents themselves, whose "eyes on the street" keep both themselves and strangers safe. The author points to the advantages of the mixed primary uses of urban space, which promotes walkability and the fact that more time is spent in the neighbourhood, which in turn leads to people recognising

each other, which help them to look after each other and control the order. As she notices "When there are people present in a public space such as city streets, it strengthens the space and inspires social cohesion" (1961). On the basis of frequent interactions caused by "bumping into" the same people, a social capital is created that is not found in single-use, large-scale housing developments. Similarly, Whyte (1980, 1988) draws attention to the fact that, as a result of urban renewal, American cities have lost what the author calls "human scale" and are thus becoming the hotbed of numerous social problems. Restoring cities to this "human scale" is the only solution to these problems.

The works of Jacobs and Whyte and the activities of the movements inspired by them led to the birth of a new paradigm in urban planning: new urbanism. The new paradigm started from a critique of America's post-war city planning doctrine, marked by urban sprawl, functional zoning and car traffic-dependence. Instead of development of the urban fabric through spatial expansion of single-use, low-density residential neighbourhoods and segregated commercial centres, it proposes development of multifunctional spaces with high density of population. Such urban design is believed to favour social cohesion and community building. As Grant (2006: 15) put it: "New urbanism seeks to create opportunities for positive social interactions in space. It represents an effort to create local spaces for socialising: places to shop, educate, play, and work near home. New urban approaches typically envision bustling streets, with people hopping on streetcars, calling "hello" to the greengrocer on their way home. Nostalgic views of intensely interactive small communities of times past animate the vision" The New Urbanism is based on 10 principles: walkability, connectivity, mixed use and diversity, mixed housing, quality architecture and urban design, traditional neighbourhood structure, increased density, green transportation, sustainability and quality of life. The ideal city should consist of relatively self-sufficient, interconnected neighbourhoods based on a traditional concentric structure. These neighbourhoods should secure all the basic needs of the inhabitants and all necessary amenities should be within a 15-minute walking distance, so that moving by car is not necessary for daily functioning. Functional zoning should be avoided, as mixed use and diversity of functions promote more time spent on the street and more frequent contact between residents in diverse contexts, thereby thickening social relationships, improving residents' sense of security, embedding them emotionally in a place and increasing psychological comfort, while

reducing existential stress. It is important that such neighbourhoods offer a mixed housing, accessible to diverse social groups. Great importance was attached to the appropriate architecture of buildings and the planning of urban spaces, so that they are not only pleasing to the eye and provide an aesthetic experience (after all, in new urbanism it is important to live beautifully), but also foster social relations and build a sense of locality. In other words, new urbanism expresses the idea of living locally, in harmony with the environment and human nature, in a beautiful way. Urban planning should be thus focused on the creation of interconnected sustainable "urban villages". Such an idea has gained much public attention in recent years and is known as "15-minute neighbourhood" or "20-minute city" and every time gains more supporters.

The idea of mixed primary use is implicitly linked to the belief in the importance of the public spaces for social life. Where there is no public space, there is no social life and structure, and order are replaced by chaos and disorganisation. It is therefore important to build public spaces, and this is facilitated by the concept of mixed primary use, among which amenities such as grocery shops, coffee shops, hair salons or bookstores play a particularly important role. The importance of these spaces was perfectly described by Ray Oldenburg (1989), who calls them third places. Third places are places where people spend time between home ("first" place) and work ("second" place): as White (2018: 6) put it: "your third place is where you relax in public, where you encounter familiar faces and make new acquaintances". According to Oldenburg, the author of the concept, third places are inclusively sociable places that facilitate and foster broader interaction, they are "anchors" of community life that favour establishing a sense of place. As such they play an important role in development of the civil society and civic engagement and thus democracy. For urban space to become a "third place", it must meet several requisites. According to Oldenburg, people who frequent third places have the freedom to come and go as they please, without any obligations tying them to the location financially, politically, legally, or otherwise. In third places, individuals' social or economic status is not significant, fostering a sense of commonality among the occupants. The main activity in these places is conversation, which is often light-hearted, playful and filled with humour. Third places must be easily accessible to all, accommodating the needs and desires of their occupants. Regular visitors to third places contribute to the atmosphere and help newcomers feel welcome. Third places have a modest and homely environment, lacking pretentiousness

or extravagance, and they embrace individuals from diverse backgrounds. The atmosphere in third places is characterised by a playful nature, free from tension or hostility. For those who frequent them, third places evoke a sense of warmth, belonging, and a feeling of being at home, offering a spiritual renewal.

The idea of third places as well as the ideas of new urbanism can be found in the extremely popular (especially in the USA) concept of placemaking, and its latest variant, creative placemaking. The concept of placemaking is based on the idea of building communities around places. Good places are characterised by accessibility, rich activities, sociability, and comfort. They are visible, easy to get to and around, full of diverse activities that foster social interactions, nurture and define sense of community, and promote sense of safety and comfort. They also build and support the local economy, as well as promote health and sustainable habits. The placemaking is about transforming public spaces into such places: "it is a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public spaces. Put simply, it involves looking at, listening to, and asking questions of the people who live, work and play in a particular space, to discover their needs and aspirations. This information is then used to create a common vision for that place. The vision can evolve quickly into an implementation strategy, beginning with small-scale, doable improvements that can immediately bring benefits to public spaces and the people who use them" (PPS & MPC, 2008: 5). The concept of placemaking is based on the "power of 10 + " rule. It is believed that a great place needs to have at least 10 things to do in it or 10 + reasons to be there, great destination needs 10 + such places and great city or region needs at least 10 great destinations. It is not about huge investments and large-scale urban planning, though—the placemaker starts with petunias: light, quick and cheap projects (the "LQC" rule) that bring immediate change to the space with minimal effort and as such build a sense of agency among the community. The key is that placemaking is not only about the outcome—building a vital public destination—it is also about the process, which is participatory, collaborative, empowering and inclusive. As Lynda Schneekloth and Robert Shibley put it, placemaking "is not just about the relationship of people to the places; it also creates relationships among people in places" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995: xii; cf. Fleming, 2007). Through the process of making places, the community is built: "With community-based participation at its center, an effective placemaking process capitalizes on a local community's assets, inspiration,

and potential, and it results in the creation of quality public spaces that contribute to people's health, happiness, and wellbeing" (PPS).

While placemaking is about transforming public spaces into vital places, creative placemaking is about transforming them around the arts. The term "creative placemaking" was introduced by Ann Markusen together with Anna Gadwa (2010) in their study prepared for city mayors, architects and urban planners and commissioned by the National Endowment for the Arts, an independent agency of the US federal government tasked with supporting the development of the arts, their dissemination to American citizens and cultural education. In the words of the authors of the study "In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired" (ibid.: 3). Thus, what would distinguish primary "placemaking" from "creative placemaking" is precisely the factor of creation—the use of artists, arts and cultural-artistic activities in placemaking strategies. Creative placemaking is aimed at building vibrant, distinctive, diverse, and sustainable communities and economies. It is believed that the use of arts and creativity allows to overcome social, economic and cultural differences and divisions in the community in pursuing this goal. In his description of the placemaking process Tom Borrup (2016: 1; cf. Fleming, 2007) notes that "It builds on local human, physical, and cultural assets to enhance the social and civic fabric. It builds on distinctive local character and story. It is a long-term, partnership-based strategy that results from a commitment to social equity and a meaningful life for its residents as well as an interesting experience for visitors and a stronger economic base for the area. A key thread through the creative placemaking process is building on the identity and historical trajectory of the place—with all the gifts and baggage that history carries. Ultimately, creative placemaking attempts to strengthen relationships between and among people, and between people and place, building a community where stewardship of one another and of place is central".

The assumption about urban planning as a tool for solving social problems has also given rise to the development and professionalisation of community work, which was eventually recognised as a third method (next to individual and group one) of the social work in 1962.

The concept of community work originates from the settlements movement that began in the late nineteenth century in the UK and later spread to Europe and the United States. The movement aimed to assist marginalised neighbourhoods by creating settlements where middle-class activists would live and collaborate with the local community. The objective was to foster community development through positive role modelling, inspiring individual aspirations, and empowering residents to engage in public and political activities. A particularly significant role in development of the community work was played by the Hull House settlement created by Jane Adams in Chicago in 1889, which became a research laboratory for community work. Together with scholars from the Chicago School, Hull House laid the foundations not only for community work, but also for broader community and urban studies. Over time, the idea of community work evolved, accommodating a variety of concepts and approaches, including community organisation, community development (Christenson, 1989; Fear et al., 1989; Littrell & Hobbs, 1989; Midgley, 1986; Morris, 1970), community capacity building or asset-based community development (ABCD) (Alinsky, 1969; Arole et al., 2004; Bush et al., 2002; Chaskin et al., 2000; Frank & Smith, 1999; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1996; McGinty, 2002; Skinner, 2006). All these approaches emphasise local participation and believe that local community is best suited to address social issues, respond to insufficiency of the welfare state and drive development. Therefore, they advocate for organising local communities as the basis for development strategies, programmes, and social policies. They promote self-sufficiency, self-help, and self-reliance, which are based on the belief that people, by working together, can improve their own circumstances, solve problems, and enhance their social and economic well-being, and through this collaboration foster a stronger sense of community. Since community development can only occur when local residents actively contribute their resources, development efforts should mobilise internal resources and mechanisms within the community, relying on informal social networks and formal local institutions. The objective is to enhance the skills and capacities of individuals, local groups and organisations to take effective action and lead community development by enabling them to define and achieve goals, actively participate in planning and management processes, and foster local partnerships. Social cohesion and social capital are crucial aspects of this process, as they help overcome challenges through collective decision-making, cooperation and problem-solving.

Interest in locally embedded communities is growing in the face of increasing globalisation and its negative effects on the social fabric, such as increased inequalities and social divisions, exclusion and alienation, displacement, social disruption, economic exploitation, or environmental degradation, among others. The answers to these problems are sought in local communities as an alternative to the global order. They can be found, among others, in the concepts of localism and communitarianism (Etzioni, 1993, 1996; Nisbet, 1973; Sites, 1998; Tam, 1998; Walzer, 1983 [1996]). Both concepts place the local community at the centre as a primary unit of social organisation and advocate for relative autonomy and empowerment of communities within a wider socio-spatial and political system. They emphasise concentrating social and economic life in local communities and giving them primacy over the broader socio-spatial arrangement. Local communities are viewed as essential for addressing the social, political, and economic well-being of individuals, mitigating the divisions caused by economic globalisation, tackling unemployment issues, reviving citizenship, and addressing unmet human needs that the state and market fail to address (Nisbet, 1973; Taylor et al., 2000). This idea gained traction in the 1970s as a response to the crisis of centralised state, which, as Daniel Bell aptly put it was becoming too small to solve big problems and too big to solve small problems (Bell, 1988), and has seen a resurgence in the face of intensified globalisation and failed modernisation projects.

In their quest for community, localism and communitarianism point to a new type of community (Etzioni, 1993, 2001; Giddens, 1999; Tam, 1998). These kinds of communities tend to function in the sphere of potential and temporary integration, with the integrating factor being the problem or goal facing the collective. New types of local communities are emerging and operating within public spaces. They are not defined by traditions or neighbourhood ties but by collective actions and shared goals that benefit the entire community. While traditional communities existed in both public and private spheres, the new type of local community is exclusively focused on the public sphere and is based on civic activity of its members. Spatial proximity no longer plays a central role in constituting these communities; instead, functional proximity takes precedence. The formation of the new type of local community is less about familiarity with neighbours and more about interdependence and cooperation with others at a given time. The nature of ties within these communities is also changing. Original neighbourhood and family ties are

being replaced by instrumentalised ties, shaped by collaborative efforts towards shared goals. While cooperation may lead to lasting camaraderie, it is not the sole determinant of community formation. Unlike traditional communities that exerted control over various aspects of individuals' lives, the new type of local community does not claim authority over personal or private spheres. It is limited to the realm of citizenship and civic engagement. Individuals choose to become members based on their own subjective decision, in contrast to being automatically part of a community by birth. The inclusivity of public space extends to the inclusivity of membership in these communities, which remain open to external cultural values. This openness and diversity provide a significant margin of freedom in terms of social control.

In the communitarian view, communities of a new type should also have specific moral characteristics to foster social cohesion and guide individual behaviour. Indeed, the main concern of this approach is the contradiction between the ever-increasing rights of individuals and their disproportionately low social obligations and responsibilities. According to communitarians, both a social order founded on extreme individualism and an order that disregards individual interests ultimately result in the destruction of society. Therefore, they postulate to find a balance between social order and individual autonomy within a unified social structure, such as a local community in which individual rights are balanced with social obligations and responsibilities (Etzioni, 1996). According to communitarians, there should be agreement within the community on a core set of values, such as respect for others, empathy, or social justice (Giddens, 1999). The achievement of these values is fostered by a coherent socialisation system. Communitarianism recognises the role of social institutions, such as families, schools, and civic organizations in shaping individuals and fostering social cohesion. These institutions provide the moral and cultural foundations that contribute to the well-being of individuals and society. The concept of community that accommodates these propositions has been proposed by Amitai Etzioni (1993). The author proposes the term "responsive community" which he describes as a community where its members share a sense of responsibility and actively engage with one another. In his view, individuals have a duty to contribute to the well-being and common good of their communities. The author emphasises the significance of mutual support, cooperation, and a willingness to address the needs and concerns of others within the community. In a responsive community, individuals

play an active role in the decision-making processes that impact their lives and work together to find solutions to common problems. This includes a commitment to social justice, inclusivity, and the well-being of all community members. A responsive community values public dialogue and deliberation as means to reach consensus and make collective decisions. It emphasises the importance of involving diverse perspectives and engaging in a democratic process to address societal challenges and shape communal policies. Etzioni argues that a responsive community fosters a strong sense of belonging, trust and social cohesion, which in turn contributes to the overall quality of life and resilience of the community.

The concepts of inclusive and responsive local communities of a new type that are based on reintegration in public space are being recognised, applied and adapted by a variety of programmes for social repair and development in various contexts around the world (cf. Dominelli, 2007; Etzioni, 1995; Hopper, 2003; Klekotko, 2012; Mayo, 1994, 2002; Nisbet, 1953; Rubin & Rubin, 2001; Warburton 1998). The aim of these programmes and public policies is to build identification with place, strengthen local ties and social support networks, and enhance local agency and participation, thus rebuilding the community by creating a so-called new locality in which "place" and "locality" are central categories (cf. Gorlach & Klekotko, 2012; Klekotko, 2012; Klekotko & Gorlach, 2011). By building strong, open, civic local communities, general social goals and tasks of social and welfare policy of the state are realised. In other words, the "new localism", as well as communitarian proposals, serve to solve social problems and build development and repair programmes around resilient communities.

The community-as-place approach has played and continues to play an extremely important role in community studies, orienting research, policies and practice. However, there are some shortcomings of the approach that limit our understanding of communal phenomena in cities. The main criticism refers to the spatial determinism of the approach which identifies community with neighbourhood, making the two terms the "Siam's twins" of the community studies (Blokland, 2003). The main limitation of the approach is thus that "the identification of a neighbourhood as a container for communal ties assumes the a priori organizing power of space" (Wellman & Leighton, 1979: 366). As Barry Wellman aptly points out, even if we recognise that space does indeed organise some relationships, we cannot assume that absolutely all community ties are enclosed in solidary neighbourhood communities. In fact, communities also exist and

persist beyond neighbourhood boundaries; moreover, neighbourhood in itself does not predicate the emergence of a solidary community. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that communities are formed at the place of residence and confined to its boundaries. According to Wellman, at least several factors determine that this is not the case: the separation of residence from workplace, high residential mobility, cheap and effective transportation and communication, scale, density, and diversity of the city and the nation-state, as well as the spatial dispersion of primary ties and the heterogeneity of the city (1979: 1206). The aforementioned factors decide upon weakening solidary attachments within the neighbourhood, while favouring establishing new ties outside it.

Neighbourhood is thus not equal to community and the two terms must not be used interchangeably. Local social ties should be considered the result of the choice of active individuals who use the resources of the neighbourhood to satisfy their rational and emotional needs. Depending on their social and demographic characteristics, individuals are guided in their actions by different needs and goals, establishing and maintaining ties with partners appropriate to these goals and needs. In this way, the "'neighbourhood" becomes terrain of many different local communities with different socio-demographic composition, different functions and goals, and different forms of sociability. Participation in a variety of communities depends on the stage of the life cycle in which the acting individuals currently find themselves. The strongest ties to the local community (neighbourhood) are maintained by its youngest and oldest residents, although the strength of this connection will be modified by other characteristics of the individuals' life situation, especially their socio-economic status and gender. Nevertheless, it is in the case of the youngest and oldest residents that the various circles in which they participate tend to have the greatest tendency to "overlap" with each other, including often the circle of the immediate "neighbourhood" itself. In traditional communities, pre-school and early school-age children revolve around the same people—the same friends participate in backyard games as in kindergarten. The same is true for older residents who, having completed their working lives, cease to function outside the context of the neighbourhood and it is in the immediate neighbourhood that their daily activities are confined.

Since the approach primarily focuses on the spatial and structural aspects of communities, such as physical proximity and neighbourhood characteristics, it tends to reduce complex social phenomena to simplistic

explanations, overlooking other factors that shape community, including among others social, cultural, and historical processes or individual agency. The approach tends to oversimplify and homogenise communities by treating them as uniform entities with shared characteristics, while, in reality, communities are often diverse, composed of individuals with different interests, values, and identities. Neither are communities as stable and static entities as the ecological approach wants to see them. Therefore, other approaches enter into the game in order to explain phenomena that escape from the view of the ecological approach.

Community Liberated: Community as Networks

The community-liberated hypothesis in community studies strips away the nature of the substrate of bonding and community identification, thus opening the door to interpretations other than merely territorial. By liberating community from territory, it liberates sociology from the Community Question (cf. Wellman, 1979). Originally, the community-liberated hypothesis was formulated by Barry Wellman in his great essay on community question as an argument for conceptualising communities as networks. The community liberated hypothesis is thus referred to as network approach. However, new developments in community studies gave place to cultural turn that led to new conceptualisations of community as liberated from territorial basis. Therefore, I propose to identify two trends in the community liberated hypothesis: on the one hand, there is a network perspective that focuses on "personal networks" of individuals connected to each other by direct primary ties, which do not necessarily have collective self-awareness and which never go beyond inter-individual direct contacts. On the other hand, there is the psychosocial trend (community as sense of belonging) that focuses on the psychosocial layer of the phenomenon, i.e. the sense of belonging and collective cultural consciousness (cf. Klekotko, 2012; Klekotko & Gorlach, 2011). Both approaches invalidate space as an indispensable substrate of community and in this sense, they "liberate" the community from spatial determinism of the community saved approach.

Conceptualisation of the community as the network has been introduced by Barry Wellman. The author states that "The Libereted argument contends that primary ties now tend to form sparsely knit, spatially dispersed, ramifying structures instead of being bound up within a single densely knit solidarity (…). While such ties may have lever strands in

the relationships than those in which kinship, residence, and work are combined, they are prevalent and important sources of sociability and support" (Wellman, 1979: 1207). Wellman builds on reach evidence from various studies on primary ties in urban context (Breiger, 1974; Fischer, 1976; Granovetter, 1973; Laumann, 1973; Schulman, 1976; Shorter, 1975; Walker, 1977) that indicate that urban residents establish relationships and ties independent of their place of residence, within contexts other than neighbourhood. One of particularly influential evidence was provided by Claude Fischer's concept of subcultural urbanism. Although Fischer represents the ecological school, and his concept of subcultural urbanism combines two currents of this school, namely the deterministic current represented by Wright (1938), according to which the city produces diversity which diminishes social bonds, and the compositional current, represented by Oscar Lewis or Herbert Gans (1962), in which cities are mosaics of communities linked by ties based on demographic and socio-economic similarity, has inspired to move away from conceptualising community as neighbourhood and to replace it with the notion of networks. Fischer examines the role of subcultures in shaping urban communities and identities. The author argues that cities are characterised by coexistence of diverse subcultures based on distinct norms, values, and lifestyles. These subcultures emerge as a response to the diversity of urban life and are independent of residence, stretching out of the neighbourhoods. Wellman suggests thus to analyse social networks instead of neighbourhoods, claiming that "Social network analysis provides a useful way to study community without presuming that it is confined to a local area" (Wellman, 2001: 15). Indeed, the network analysis allows to capture social relations and their structures "wherever they may be located and whoever they may be with" (ibid.). In other words "the network approach allows analysts to go looking for ties that transcend groups or localities" (ibid.: 16). Thus, for Wellman communities became "networks of inter personal ties that provide sociability, support, information, a sense of belonging, and social identity" (2001: 1).

The social network analysis approach avoids socio-psychological individualism—the researcher is not interested in the solidary sentiments, collective perceptions and normative attitudes of individuals, but only in their actual contacts with other individuals. Social network analysis takes on external observer perspective and "starts with a set of network members (sometimes called nodes) and a set of ties that connect some or all nodes" (Wellman, 2001: 15). It then "trace the relationships of the

persons they are studying, wherever these relationships go and whoever they are with". As such, network analysis "provides a new way to study community that is based on the community relationships that people actually have rather than on the places where they live or the solidary sentiments they have" (ibid.: 17). Community is no longer perceived as a bounded unit, but as a "loosely linked relations among people and institutions, where ties often cut across boundaries" (Wellman, 1996: 29). For this reason, "formal boundaries become important analytic variables rather than a priori analytic constraints" (Wellman, 2001: 16).

Wellman proposes a concept of personal (or ego-centred) networks which he defines from the standpoint of focal persons understood as "a sample of individuals at the centers of their own networks" (2001: 19). In other words, personal communities are those connected to the individuals at their centres—"networks centre on the individual in a way that communities do not; they radiate outwards from actors, tracing the connections of their various social relationships" (Day, 2006: 217). Family, friends, neighbours, acquaintances, co-workers are personal community members, and are often connected to each other. As Wellman puts it: "All persons with whom one is directly connected are indirectly linked to each other through oneself. Each individual is a member of the unique personal networks of all of the people with whom he or she is linked, and membership in these networks serves to connect a number of social circles" (Wellman, 1979: 1226).

Personal networks provide individuals with social support and access to resources. They encompass a range of relationships, of which intimate relations are only a part. According to Wellman "contemporary Western communities are rarely tightly bounded, densely knit groups of broadly based ties. They are usually loosely bounded, sparsely knit, ramifying networks of specialized ties" (2001: 18). Yet still they may be considered community, and they play a significant role in people's lives. The distinction between weak and strong ties has been introduced by Granovetter. The distinction is based on the intensity (length and frequency) of contacts and so strong ties are found among family and friends, while weak ties are observed between neighbours and work colleagues. Granovetter introduces also the concept of "absent ties" which he refers to relationships with no substantial significance, like with people we recognise from living on the same street or doing shopping in the same shop. In his celebrated work 'The strength of weak ties', based on the research on how people found their jobs in the early 1970s, Granovetter

notes that although we traditionally value weak ties less than strong ties, they tend to provide indirect access to a greater diversity of resources than do stronger, more socially homogeneous ties.

The weakness of classical network analysis, however, is that it does not allow to gather qualitative information about the meaning and nature of the relationships linking individuals. After all, a family may meet regularly but remain strangers to each other, just as the reverse may be true—close ties are not accompanied by frequent contact. Ray Pahl (Pahl & Spencer, 2004; Spencer & Pahl, 2006) decided to overcome this weakness in his research on friendship. He asked his respondents to write the names of persons with whom they have relationships on sticky labels and then, depending on the intimacy and closeness of the relationship with a given person, to place her/him in the corresponding circle drawn around the respondent. The personal networks observed in this way reflected people's "micro-social worlds". They constituted 'personal communities' understood as a "specific subset of people's informal social relationships—those who are important to them at the time, rather than all the people they know no matter how tenuous the connection. Consequently, personal communities represent people's significant personal relationships and include bonds which give both structure and meaning to their lives. As such, personal communities provide a kind of continuity through shared memories and help to develop a person's sense of identity and belonging" (2006: 40).

According to Pahl "People nowadays can be bound together in many different ways and the concept of a personal community enables us to identify and describe these different linkages" (2006: 209). Pahl identified five such basic types of personal communities: friend-based, family-based, neighbour-based, partner-based and professional-based. They differ in the composition of given and chosen ties, roles played to the focal person and the breadth of their supportive base. The author observes that in contemporary society the role of friendship-based communities is growing. According to Pahl, "friend-based personal communities are very much chosen communities where people are mainly included because of the intrinsic quality of the relationships, rather than for normative or cultural reasons. (…) These communities are characterized by the wide range of roles played by friends, and friends provide the mainstay of social support". Such friend-based communities slowly displace family-based communities (Pahl, 2000). On the one hand, this has a functional rationale: we are increasingly living away from our immediate family and

friends located locally seem to replace the family, providing the support that the family traditionally provided. On the other hand, however, it is indicative of the growing importance of chosen ties and autonomy in individuals' construction of their own identity, which is achieved rather than ascribed.

Claude Fischer (1982), who views urban community as based on friendship and kinship networks, would agree with the thesis of the importance of friendship in describing social relations in contemporary cities. Both authors also agree on the wider significance of intimate personal networks for social life. They not only connect individuals to each other, but also provide a foundation for social cohesion. They are not only a source of support for individuals, but also define their values and attitudes. They provide identity and sense of belonging. They contribute to social integration through a set of cross-cutting allegiances. They are the source of moral connections and commitment, fostering some form of collective being: "Personal communities may be personal and individual, but they are not necessarily individualistic. Indeed, our research has demonstrated that far from being isolated, anomic or narcissistically self-focused, people may still feel connected and committed to others, through their personal communities, in a significant and meaningful way" (Spencer & Pahl, 2006: 209).

Contemporary personal ties are, as Wellman argued, spatially dispersed. Spatial disintegration of the community and its liberation from territoriality was forced by the accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation that induced separation of work from dwelling space. On the other hand, however, what allowed communities to persist despite their spatial dispersion was the development of the means of communication technology, especially the development of new media. As Gerard Delanty notes, "In the past, technology was seen as undermining community, but today in the age of 'soft' technologies, community has been given new possibilities for its expression. This necessitates a new approach to community" (2003: 167). It is therefore not surprising that the focus of many community researchers has shifted to this new direction, namely to virtual, cyber or network communities—communities based on new communication technologies (eg. Calhoun, 1992; Castels, 2001; Castels, Rheingold, 1993; Holmes, 1997). The term "virtual community" has been introduced by Rheinhold, who defines it as "social aggregation that emerge from the [Internet] when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of

personal relationships in cyberspace" (1993: 5). Such communities are highly individualised and personalised, based on the exchange of information, sharing of interests and mutual social support. They are not based on territory or demographic or socio-economic similarity. Relations between users are described as third-degree connections in which sociability is privatised. They are also characterised by anonymity and experimentation with identity. Mark Smith (1992) describes such communities as apospatial (they are not limited geographically), asynchronous (they do not need to take place in real time), disembodied (text is paramount), astigmatic (they are free from stigma) and anonymous. These features pertain to virtual community only and cannot be found in reality. According to Gerard Delanty "technologically mediated communities (…) are bringing about new kinds of social groups, which are polymorphous, highly personalized and often expressive, but they can also take more traditional forms, reconstituting families and rural areas and even political movements. In these communities, which are often acted out in the global context, belonging has reshaped radically, leading many to question the very possibility of belonging as it disappears into the flow of communication. The result is that place, locality and symbolic ties are being drained of any content, and in their place are more fluid and temporary forms of social relations sustained only by process of communication outside of which they have no reality" (ibid.: 168).

The positions of community studies around virtual communities are nevertheless divergent and at least several axes of disagreement can be identified. The first is the very idea of virtual reality and its opposition to real communities. For Reinhold, for example, the virtual community is a distinct entity from real communities. The author perceives the Internet as an alternative reality to the "actual" reality of everyday social life. What is more, the Internet and internet-based virtual community is also a better reality to which enslaved individuals can "escape" from the oppressive structure of the real social world. This need to escape from the oppressive reality is, according to Reinhold, the fundamental reason for development of the virtual communities (1993: 62). In Rheingold's work, then, the real world and the virtual world constitute an opposition. Castells sees it differently. According to the author of the "Internet Galaxy", a virtual community is only "an extension of life as it is, in all its dimensions, and with all its modalities. (…) Even in role-playing and informal chat rooms, real lives (including real lives on-line) seem to shape the interaction on-line" (Castells, 2001: 118). The

second area of disagreement is the question of the primary or secondary nature of virtual communities versus the 'real' ones. Reinhold sees virtual communities as primary ones, which may sometimes move to the real world. He argues that virtual communities would never exist without the internet. It is entirely thanks to the internet and communication technologies that the emergence of these communities has become possible. For Castells (2001) and Calhoun (1992), on the other hand, virtual communities rather supplement or support already existing relations than create new ones. Basing on profound desk research on virtual communities, Castells claims that Internet plays important role in maintaining both weak ties "which otherwise would be lost in the trade-off between the effort to engage in physical interaction (including telephone interaction) and the value of the communication" (2001: 129) and strong ties at a distance, making it "easier to mark a presence without engaging in a deeper interaction for which the emotional energy is not available every day" (ibid.: 130). Finally, there are different assessments of the impact of virtual communities on various processes in the real world. To Reinhold alternative virtual reality has the capacity to transform "real" social life as well as to create new social relations that otherwise do not exist. According to Rheingold, virtual communities being an escape from the real everyday life, increase human psychological well-being and as such benefit society at large. The author also points to the healing nature of virtual belonging. Castells's position is different: "In contrast to claims purporting the Internet to be either a source of renewed community or a cause of alienation from the real world, social interaction on the Internet does not seem to have a direct effect on the patterning of everyday life, generally speaking, except for adding on-line interaction to existing social relationships" (Castells, 2001: 119). On the other hand, however, Castells notices the empowering effect of virtual communities, which in his view are more democratic than other forms of communication, allow for social inclusion of marginalised groups and foster democratisation. This last statement is controversial, taking into account the problem of digital exclusion—according to data from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) in 2020, around 53% of the global population did not have access to the Internet.

Many believe that networks become the dominant form of social organisation and that any explanation of the contemporary fluid world is not possible without the concept of a network (Lash & Urry, 1994; Wellman, 2001). This view appears to be gaining adherents as technology

and globalisation advance. Manuel Castells even proclaims the advent of the network society: "a society whose social structure is made up of networks powered by micro-electronics-based information and communications technologies" (2004: 3; cf. Castells 1996). However, while the network approach in community studies has gained prominence, it is not without its critics. The approach is criticised first of all for being reductionist, as it tends to reduce complex social phenomena to networks and ignores other important factors such as culture, history, power dynamics and individual agency. By focusing primarily on network structures and connections, it may oversimplify the multifaceted nature of communities. The network approach pays no attention to social context, seeing networks as abstract entities disconnected from the larger social systems, which can limit the understanding of how external factors shape and influence them. It also underestimates the importance of institutions and institutionalisation and ignores the role of consciousness and collective imagination in the constitution of a community. The approach emphasises the structural aspects of social ties while overlooking their cultural dimension such as shared values, meanings and norms. Ignoring these elements leads to an incomplete understanding of the community process. Communities cannot be reduced to personal networks. As Blokland (2017: 65) puts it they "consist of more than just interpersonal ties. At the same time, not all our personal ties may be thought of as community". While the approach offers valuable insights into social relationships and connectivity, it should be complemented with other theoretical frameworks and approaches to provide a more comprehensive understanding of communities.

Community Liberated: Community as Sense of Belonging

The community-as-sense-of belonging approach in community studies may be considered a fruit of the cultural turn in social theory that emphasises the significance of culture, meaning, symbols, language and discourse in shaping social life. As a result of the cultural turn, the community-as-sense-of-belonging approach focuses on the cultural and psychosocial layer of the phenomenon, namely on collective cultural consciousness and sense of belonging, disregarding spatial or structural aspects of community formation. Three works significantly contributed to the cultural turn in community studies, completely changing the way we view the

essence of community. These are Victor Turner's seminal work "The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure" (Turner, 1969), Benedict Anderson's book "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism" (Anderson, 1983), and Anthony Cohen's essay "The Symbolic Construction of Community" (Cohen, 1985).

Victor Turner introduces the concept of liminality, which he borrows from Arnold Van Gennep's anthropological work on rites of passage (van Gennep, 1960 [1908]). Liminality refers to the moments "betwixt and between" the pre- and post-ritual status of the individuals when they experience ambiguity and disorientation of the indefinable social and spiritual location (being "no longer" and simultaneously also "not yet", neither here nor there), and at the same time a particular communion with other participants of the rite. Transferred to everyday life, the concept of liminality may be used to define a particular state of spiritual celebration that accompanies all kinds of rituals, carnivals, pilgrimages, but also various forms of leisure and participation in mass cultural events such as concerts, etc. According to Turner, it is in these liminal moments, separated from familiar and habitual, described by him as "in and out of time," that the essence of community comes alive. A particular form of collective consciousness is then produced, a community spirit, which Turner terms communitas. Communitas is the essence of society, the purest form of community, which is found in all societies in its deepest layers of socialisation. It offers "a blend of loveliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship" (Turner, 1969: 96). Communitas resists structure, and its essence is anti-structure, so it is only the anti-structurality of liminal moments that allows communitas to manifest itself. All social hierarchies as well as social order are suspended in these moments, and people become one. Channels of unmediated communication between participants are opened and cultural domains that transcend the limitations of class, gender, race, nationality, politics, religion or even geography are created (Blackshaw, 2010: 91). People become "united through some ostensibly higher power that is profoundly revelatory of the egalitarian/community spirit which feels something like the true essence of human condition" (Blackshaw, 2010: 90). Liminality is thus for Turner an expression of pure communitas. (Turner, 1969: 112). Turner identifies 3 types of communitas: spontaneous communitas is "a direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities" in which individuals "become totally absorbed into a single, synchronized, fluid event"; ideological communitas refers to utopian models of societies where spontaneous

communitas is considered the organising rule; and normative communitas is "a perduring social system, a subculture or group which attempts to foster and maintain relationships of spontaneous communitas on a more or less permanent basis" (Turner, 1974: 79–80).

Another important concept that played a significant role in the development of the culturalist approach is the idea of imagined community, which we owe to Benedict Anderson. The author uses this concept to explain the process of the formation of nationalism and its impact on the emergence of the nation-state. He points out that this process was made possible by a number of factors, one of the most important of which was the development of the media and mass communication, including in particular the development of printing and the literacy of the population. He argues that with the rise of remote communication and the increasing mobility of individuals, the role of face-to-face relationships in the constitution of community is being replaced by the imaginary. For Anderson, then, the nation is a socially constructed imaginary community: the members of this community do not know each other and do not interact with each other face-to-face, yet they feel connected to each other because they are united by an imagined community and a sense of belonging to it—a "deep, horizontal comradeship" (1983: 16), based on a belief in a shared history, culture and purpose. Imagined community, then, is a form of collective consciousness produced through communication technologies, through which individuals learn about each other and build in their minds a mental image of their affinity. Such a community is thus nothing more than a collective state of mind. It is not only the nation that is this type of community. People identify with various imagined communities with which they share a belief in common values, aspirations or similarity of experiences. Thus, Anderson proposes a notion of community that does not arise on the basis of actual social relations, actual interactions, but is a mental construct, created in the minds of individuals based on tacitly accepted beliefs about a commonality of history, experience, culture and values or aspirations and interests.

Similarly for Anthony Cohen, community is a felt imagery reality rather than a realistically existing historical entity or institutional arrangements. According to this author, these are the certain feelings and experiences of individuals that constitute community: "The reality of community lies in its members' perception of the vitality of its culture. People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of

meaning, and a referent to their identity" (Cohen, 1985: 118). Community is created through the symbolic construction of boundaries: defining through symbolic practices "we" and "they", identifying with some and distancing from others, stipulating who belongs and who falls outside. Cohen thus understands community in a relational way: it is always defined by reference to others. The symbolic defining of a community takes place through the attribution of significance to certain values, traits and attributes, and is enacted by participation in various rituals that confirm membership in the community. While the boundaries between us and them can be very subtle and imperceptible to an outside observer, they are perfectly recognised by practising community members. Community is thus a special kind of awareness that a group has about itself in relation to other groups. As Day puts it, for Cohen "community is a particular kind of group, consisting of all those who affiliate themselves to, and make use of, a distinctive framework of symbols. Through doing so, they set limits to their variation, and generate a form of collective being" (Day, 2006: 161). This collective being is created through the complex practices of everyday life, whose symbolic meanings allow individuals to recognise each other as "we" and at the same time distinguish themselves from "they." Those who form this collective being, the "we," are able to "identify themselves with the symbols, show that they understand them, and thereby exclude others who lack the same awareness" (Day, 2006: 160). A community is thus "a cluster of symbolic and ideological map references with which the individual is socially oriented" (Cohen, 1985: 57). Since symbols require interpretation, a community is not a closed or rigid structure, but an open and fluid system of cultural codification (Delanty, 2003: 47). Different individuals, in different situations, may attribute different meanings to the same symbols. A community is therefore not necessarily based on unity and similarity, "It is a commonality of forms (ways of behaving) whose content (meaning) may vary considerably among its members" (Cohen, 1985: 20, after Delanty, 2003: 47).

The cultural turn, thus, gave place to the development of the psychosocial or community-as-sense-of-belonging approach, which attributes decisive importance to the psychological, psychosocial and cultural dimensions that constitute a community, such as sense of belonging, shared identity and collective self-awareness. It is argued that with the rise of remote communication and the increasing mobility of individuals, the role of face-to-face relationships in the constitution of community is being replaced by the imaginary (Anderson, 1983). Thus, as Vered Amit

observes, community now seen as an imaginary or a form of socialisation becomes "much more than a locality, it can mean virtually any form of collective cultural self-consciousness". (Amit, 2002: 6). Such an approach includes all the manifestations of communities based on a shared cultural identity, often anonymous and mediated, taking only the form of an imagined community. They function in cultural consciousness and are reduced by researchers to their cultural nature. In all these cases, participation in the community is an individual choice of the individual and is based on an individual sense of belonging. They are all manifestations of the "new communality" (cf. Klekotko, 2012; Klekotko & Gorlach, 2011), that is, a "private" community, chosen by individuals seeking cultural identities or social support. The permanence of the community is sustained by the individual's cultural identity, and the individual remains a member of the community as long as the values of the community are part of their identity. The psychosocial perspective by seeing community as an imaginary or collective cultural self-consciousness, encompasses a great variety of concepts and studies of phenomena, including, among others, neo-tribes (Maffesoli, 1996), communities of taste (Lash, 1994) or lifestyle communities (Day, 2006; Shields, 1992). All these approaches define community as based on a more or less (usually less than more) durable and conscious sense of belonging that is detached from territorial grounding, spatially dispersed or occupying so-called spaces-in-between or non-places (non-places; Augé, 1995). Such communities are characterised by individualism and the "privatisation" of community. They are symbolically constructed (Cohen, 1985), "nomadic, highly mobile, emotional and communicative, (…) sustained by mass culture or aesthetic sensibilities and practices" (Delanty, 2003: 132; Lash, 1994; cf. Maffesoli, 1996).

An example of an approach that sees the essence of community in aesthetic sensibilities and practices is the celebrated concept of neo-tribalism by French sociologist Michel Maffesoli. The author starts with a critique of the thesis of a mass society whose order is determined by individualism and in which there is no place for community ties. According to the author, the process of disembeddement accompanying the individualisation of the modern era inevitably leads to re-embeddement, i.e. deindividuation and the formation of new forms of socialisation and social bonds. This new form of socialisation is to be, above all, neo-tribes: affective communities, based on intersubjective, collectively experienced sentiment. As Maffesoli writes in the preface to the third edition of the book "Time of the tribes": "we are just experiencing anew, in all areas,

a passion for community. (…) there is a pull that pushes us towards the other" (2008: 14). Maffesoli names this process a "tribalization of masses". According to the author, the principles of individuation and separation, which were the foundation of the rational era, give way in the mass society to a lack of differentiation and the "loss" in a collective subject (1996: 11).

Maffesoli, referring to the classics of sociology, bases his considerations on the distinction between two types of social relations constituting the social and the sociality. The social is characteristic of modern societies, operating on a mechanical structure dominated by economic and political organisations, in which individuals occupy positions and perform functions that define their identity, and any groupings are of a contractual nature. The sociality, on the other hand, typical for postmodernity in which the masses dominate, is characterised by organic structure and an increase in the importance of the roles played by the personas (persons) in the affectual tribes: "Here we can recognize the idea of the persona, the changeable mask which blends into a variety of scenes and situations whose only value resides in the fact that they are played out by the many (..) Whereas the individualist logic is founded on a separate and self-contained identity, the person (persona) can only find fulfilment in his relations with others (…) No longer is my personal history based on a contractual arrangement with other rational individuals; rather it is a myth in which I am an active participant" (1996: 10). The transition from modernity to postmodernity involves a shift from social to sociality, from mechanic to organic, from functions to roles, from individuals to persons, from contractual groupings to fellow feelings, from rational to empathetic and from orientation towards future to orientation towards presence. As the author puts it: "Briefly, and taking the terms in their most accepted sense, we can say that we are witnessing the tendency for a rationalized 'social' to be replaced by an empathetic 'sociality', which is expressed by a succession of ambiences, feelings and emotions". The new form of sociality is reminiscent of the Weberian "Gemeinde", whose characteristics are "their ephemeral aspect; 'changeable composition'; 'ill-defined nature'; local flavour; their 'lack of organization' and routinization" (1996: 12). It is this form of socialisation that Maffesoli believes will be "the dominant value in the coming decades" (2008: 3).

Neo-tribes are characterised by an aesthetic aura (aisthetikos) that is based on the collective sensibility—being a member of a neo-tribe is about experiencing this aura collectively. Explaining the meaning of aura,

Maffesoli refers to German Romanticism and the concept of atmosphere (Stimmung), an emotional ambience, which describes a state of emotional loss in a collective subject and reveals "the holistic climate underlying the resurgence of solidarity and the organicity of all things" (ibid.: 14). The aesthetic aura unites personas, providing them with sources of identity as members of a group united by common feelings, emotions and aesthetic impressions. The aesthetic aura leads to ethical experience—a kind of "different morality", as Maffesoli calls it, which sustains the community and guarantees the maintenance of basic conformism by its members. Despite its unstable, open form and its tendency to fall into anomie, it adopts a certain order and is guided by certain principles that remain legible to the members of the community precisely because of their shared aesthetic sensibility. As the author puts it: There is a "law of the milieu" that is difficult to escape (ibid.: 15). Neo-tribes are held together by symbolic rituals, which reinforce the sense of belonging and identity within a group and thus sustain the community. The rituals can be mundane or everyday activities, such as leisure pursuits, fashion trends, music festivals, or subcultural practices. Through these rituals, individuals within neo-tribes affirm their belongingness and establish a sense of identity. In summary, Maffesoli's concept of the neo-tribe highlights the rise of new forms of social groupings based on affective bonds, shared affinities and symbolic rituals. It emphasises the importance of emotional connection, sense of belongingness, feeling of familiarity and proximity, experience of group solidarity and the pursuit of pleasure and meaning.

Graham Day (2006), in the chapter of his book "Community and Everyday Life" on "New Directions for Community", points to lifestyle groupings as one of the potential varieties of contemporary communities and thus research directions in community studies. As he notes: "Lifestyle groupings (…) are capable of unifying many social networks within a set of shared cultural codes and preferences, and can be marked as well by other trappings of community, such as an association with particular spaces or locales, distinctive markers of identification, and occasional social gatherings" (2006: 219). According to Day, lifestyle communities are much more than an act of consumption, they "imply design for living, possibly even a way of conducting oneself across a lifetime" (ibid.). Adopted consumption and lifestyle patterns define an individual's identity, who they want to be and how they want to be perceived by others. "People are likely to have some sense of belonging to a given lifestyle, and through it can identify themselves with others who are like-minded.

Lifestyle provides a point of reference against which to stabilize a sense of self, and find the security which might have been supplied previously by membership of a community" (ibid.: 220). It is common for individuals to feel a sense of connection and kinship with a particular way of living, which allows them to relate to others who share similar values and beliefs. Lifestyle serves as a framework for individuals to establish and maintain a sense of identity, as well as a source of comfort and validation that may have been previously provided by community ties. The author draws attention to the shared identity that emerges from the practice of a similar lifestyle and the boundary work that inevitably accompanies this practice: "Those who share a similar lifestyle can be assumed to have comparable attitudes and values, to make similar comparisons between themselves and others, and probably show a propensity to come into contact from time to time. The dynamics of group affiliation produce differentiation and distance between such groupings; approval for a particular lifestyle often denotes disapproval for others. Thus lifestyle groupings can take on a collective identity, and it is not unusual to hear them referred to as 'communities'".

In a similar vein, Scott Lash (1994) develops his concept of community of taste. For Lash community of taste is a product of reflexive modernity and can be understood in regard to Pierre Bourdieu's notions of the "field" and "habitus". The author claims that modernity, with its emphasis on rationality and scientific knowledge, has made it challenging to find meaning in life. However, Lash suggests that the aesthetic realm may provide hints as to how meaning can still exist in modern society (1993: 162). By aesthetic experiences, individuals can connect with emotions that go beyond the rational and scientific and can find a sense of purpose and meaning through these connections. Therefore, as societies become more diverse and fragmented, people are less likely to rely on traditional forms of social identification like class, religion, or ethnicity. Instead, they turn to more fluid and flexible forms of identity that are based on individual aesthetic choices and cultural preferences including taste in music, fashion, art, and other forms of expression. The community of taste is a way for individuals to construct their identities in a world where traditional forms of identity are no longer sufficient. By sharing aesthetic experiences individuals are able to connect with others and develop a sense of belonging. Lash defines the cultural "we" of communities of taste as "collectives of shared background practices, shared meanings, shared routine activities involved in the achievement of

meaning" (ibid.: 147). Communities of taste are thus not about shared interests or proprieties but about shared meanings and "routine background practices". The author stresses that "to be in a taste community, which takes on the facticity of community, entails shared meanings, practices and obligations" (ibid.: 161). According to Lash, reflexivity plays a crucial role in formation of community of taste, claiming that communities of taste "are reflexive in that: first, one is not born or 'thrown', but 'throws oneself' into them; second, they may be widely stretched over 'abstract' space, and also perhaps over time; third, they consciously pose themselves the problem of their own creation, and constant re-invention far more than do traditional communities; fourth, their 'tools' and products tend to be not material ones but abstract and cultural" (ibid.: 161). Thus, the concept developed by Lash provides inspiring insights into the role of shared cultural preferences and aesthetic tastes in shaping people's sense of belonging and identity in reflexive modernity.

Cultural groupings are also of interest to Rob Shields who uses the concept of lifestyle community pointing to the community-forming aspects of lifestyle shopping. In his work on lifestyle shopping, Shields refers to Simmel's notion of "sociality", arguing that contemporary shopping centres provide the substrate for its development. He starts with the assumption that in the postmodern era, consumption is changing its role, taking on symbolic value and "commodities become valued for their aura of symbolic meanings and values rather than their use or exchange value" (ibid.: 99). He refers to this change under the term "new regime of value", locating its origins, following Harvey, in the development of capitalism, particularly emergence of global production and the rise of "consumption spaces" in cities. He views consumption spaces as "key sites of symbolic consumption as well as of new social movements and groupings whose mixing appears to defy the accepted logic of social classes based on relations to means of production" (ibid.: 101). The author notes that although these spaces are usually owned by private capital, this does not prevent them from being perceived by people as public spaces and appropriated by communities as "theirs".

Nowadays, shopping is a practice of leisure, "a social practice of exploration and sightseeing akin to tourism" (102). We go shopping not only to buy products we need, but above all for entertainment, seeking to satisfy not only functional, but above all aesthetic needs. Shields places the community-building forces of lifestyle shopping in the shopping centre considered as a meeting point that provides social centrality. Shields points

to the latent function of shopping that is social in nature, as it turns the shopping space into a place for meeting, communication and social exchange, just like traditional marketplaces, fairs and nineteenth-century rural post office in Canada did. Even if today's shopping spaces do not resemble the marketplaces of the past and the chances of meeting acquaintances are incomparably smaller, even the slight possibility of bumping into someone familiar, or even the mere fact of being among others, observing and gathering information about others, fulfils a traditional latent social function of shopping. Shields uses Lefebrian (1981) notion of social centrality for capturing the essence of latent social function of shopping, that describes "gathering-together-ness of the act of dwelling in the face of the diffuseness of the world (…): a wilful concentration which creates a node in a wider landscape of continual dispersion" (ibid.: 103). It is then about the sociality that accompanies the practices of shopping in the shopping mall. As Shields put it: "Consumption (…) takes on more and more social functions as a form of sociality. This serves in the reconstruction and realignment community around the tactility of the crowd practices and "tribal" ethos of the new urban spaces of consumption" (ibid.: 110). In his reflections on the community dimension of lifestyle shopping, Shields goes further: he assumes that "The crowd practice of social centrality is supported by two factors. First (…) the public nature of a site crowded with other people is inescapable and undeniable. (…) Second, the crowd practice of social centrality crosses social divisions" (ibid.: 103). As such, lifestyle shopping becomes "a communal activity, even a form of solidarity" (ibid.: 110). Shopping malls are not only consumption spaces of social centrality but provide experience of sociality: "the glutinum mundi and connecting tissues of everyday interaction and cooperation" (ibid.: 105). The essence of this experience is, in Shields' terms, "the power of collective, the sense of being together, the urge to get by and the injunction to get along together" (ibid.: 106). According to Shields, while modernity banished sociality into the realm of private life, postmodernity restores it to its place in the public spaces and consumption spaces of social centrality, where, shoppers granted their unique identities as personas ("a new cultural form of the subject in the postmodern public sphere [that] names the changeable nature of personal identity which defies formal rationalism and describes the decline of the modernist individual" (ibid.: 110), orient themselves to each other and mutually adjust, constituting together an affectual community. There is no denying to Shields that contemporary shopping malls aspire to play

such a role—to be an important place on the map of the local community, a place for meetings, important events, the flourishing of local culture and a source of local identification. As Shields aptly notes, by taking over the functions of many traditional urban institutions, "Shopping malls have become de facto community centres".

The cultural approach represents an important breakthrough in community studies providing valuable insights about the role of culture and aesthetics in shaping community. However, the approach is not free from limitations. Conceptualising community as any form of collective cultural self-consciousness, the approach may be accused of being too vague and thus theoretically vacuous. On the other hand, as it focuses entirely on cultural factors in conceptualising community, the approach fosters cultural reductionism. It places excessive emphasis on symbolic meanings, symbols and rituals, while neglecting material conditions and material inequalities that significantly impact communities. It also abstracts from the structural-spatial context and, as a consequence, fails to recognise the role of space in establishing social bonds. The approach also overemphasises individual agency in community-building processes. By considering the community as a free choice of individuals looking for meaning, it liberates actors from structural pressures and tensions that also shape community experiences and outcomes. Finally, the approach tends to essentialise communities by assuming a fixed, homogeneous set of cultural practices and values that are shared by community members and shape their identities. This overlooks the internal diversity and complexities within communities and can lead to stereotypes or oversimplifications. All these shortcomings can result in an incomplete understanding of community dynamics.

Between Agency and Structure: Towards Praxeological Turn

None of the answers given by sociology to the community question seems complete or satisfactory (cf. Klekotko, 2018a, 2018b). The ecological trend, which sees communities in neighbourhoods based on common territory and spatial proximity, on the basis of which networks of functional-structural dependencies and interests, as well as a sense of bonding and belonging, are formed, ignores the fact of the extraordinary mobility of inhabitants of modern cities (both long-term and daily routines) and the related fluidity and interchangeability of populations,

which make it impossible to create permanent functional-affective structures in neighbourhood spaces (cf. Blokland, 2003; Nawratek, 2011, 2012). On the other hand, the network and psychosocial trend, which—"liberating" the community from its territorial base—bases it exclusively on the individual's ties and sense of belonging, thus extending its meanings to "practically every form of collective cultural self-consciousness" (cf. Amit, 2002, p. 6), wrongly invalidates the significance of space for the processes of forming bonds, social networks and imaginations. None of the presented currents in community studies allows us to accurately describe a significant range of phenomena that we observe in contemporary, postmodern cities, such as the so-called pop-up city, urban guerrillas, numerous grassroots and ephemeral ludic initiatives and community leisure practices, identification and placemaking by so-called contemporary nomads, etc. The first current views community too statically in the form of a permanent local structure, based on the dependencies of spatial proximity, and exhibits environmental determinism. This approach negates the fluid and mobile nature of modern cities and the communities that inhabit them (Nawratek, 2011, 2012). Moreover, it wrongly equates neighbourhood with community, although these concepts do not describe identical phenomena and should be treated separately (Blokland, 2003). It also fails to recognize non-territorial aspects of the cultural formation of communities, paying too much attention to specific spatial forms of community, and too little to the processes of establishing, maintaining and reconstructing ties as such (cf. Wellman, 1979). The second trend, on the other hand, abstracts from the structural-spatial context and, as a consequence, fails to see the manifestations of localisation of bond-creating processes, or the importance of place as a resource space or intermediary in establishing supra-local bonds while presenting an excessive cultural reductionism, which reduces community to a collective cultural image. To some extent, the differences between these two approaches reflect the conflict between structure and agency, that is, structural pressures and the subjectivity of actors. The former approach places too much emphasis on the whole and its permanence and fails to recognise the importance of individual cultural practices in the emergence and reproduction of local communities. The latter, on the other hand, overemphasises individual free choice and the individualistic nature of personal communities and frees individuals from the structural pressures and tensions of the spatial context. Therefore, there is a gap in classical debates on community questions that need to be addressed.

There are some attempts in recent community studies to overcome the aforementioned gap. One particularly promising example of such an approach is the one proposed by Talia Blokland, who adopts a relational perspective in her excellent works entitled "Urban Bonds" (2003) and "Community as Urban Practice" (2017). The author argues that, when analysing community, one should take into consideration only those relations, which are social in the Weberian sense, namely those meaningfully oriented towards the practices of others. She points out that the "other" can be both an acquaintance and a stranger, and that relationships themselves can be an "imagined" experience of bonding with others we do not know personally (ibid.: 65). The author draws attention to two kinds of social relations that seem to be a form of social ties, but neither neighbourhood nor network approach is able to capture them: durable engagements and fluid encounters. Durable engagements come into existence when people are engaged in doing something as a part of group of people doing something together, usually within some institution (2017: 67). Blokland gives an example of parents of toddlers waiting together to pick their kids from the kindergarten and points that "their durable engagements generated social capital and possibly a sense of shared identities that were at least situationally bound to being parents of toddlers" (ibid.). Fluid encounters, on the other hand, "include all interactions that are unplanned and happen as a result of people's doing something else, by virtue of the simple fact that the world is a busy place. They may be completely accidental, superficial and very brief (…). They may also occur repeatedly and more regularly (…) (2017: 70).

The author bases her position on the achievements of the cultural turn, recognising community as a cultural phenomenon. She pays particular attention to the processes of symbolic boundary-making and the development of a sense of belonging. However, she rejects individualistic approaches to community: in her view, community is not an individual experience and self-identification, but occurs between individuals in everyday social relations. The author advocates a praxeological approach to community, although she does not develop it consequently, claiming that community manifests itself through everyday practices in urban space. As she writes, "Community consists of practices in which we convey a shared positioning, develop shared experiences, or construct a shared narrative of belonging. This means that we also draw boundaries to delineate whom we do not share with" (2017: 88). In her conception of the community as practice, the author refers to Weber's notion of social

action, which she defines, following Weber, as one with which an individual associates some subjective meaning and in which he or she takes into account the behaviour of others and orientates his or her actions to the actions of others. Blokland uses the Weberian typology of actions and bases her matrix of community ties and relations within the neighbourhood on it. The division between rational and irrational actions (affective and traditional) marks the first dimension of this matrix. At one pole of it are rational ties, resulting from the conscious decisions of individuals, and at the other pole are irrational ties. The second axis of the matrix is the division between purpose-rational and value-rational actions. The former, determined by expectations of achieving specific goals, mark instrumental ties, while the latter, oriented towards the value of action itself, mark the extremity of sociability, which the author seems to define as non-instrumental, voluntary action based on affinity and affectivity (ibid.: 67), where "affinity relies on the recognition of similar values or ideas" and affectivity "appeals to feelings" (2017: 73–74).

Constructed in this way, the matrix allows her to delineate four types of ideal social ties: transactions, interdependence, attachment and bonds. Transactions are a type of rational-instrumental ties, linking roles rather than specific individuals. Individuals consciously establish relationships with others in order to achieve specific, non-social goals. The socio-rational nature of actions, on the other hand, is defined by attachment. In this case, individuals establish relationships with others based on their affinity. Bonds are the non-rational-social variety of ties, i.e. a form of bonding that is established in an unplanned, spontaneous and affective manner, and its essence is experienced. Finally, the last form distinguished by the Author is interdependence, by which she seems to mean relations with abstract "others" established involuntarily by individuals in the socio-institutional setting in which these individuals operate. They all do community.

Blokland advocates a relational approach to community and belonging and proposes to treat all the forms of ties she proposes as "relational settings of belonging". "Community as an urban practice depends on the relational settings in which our social ties are embedded (…) These relational settings move along two dimensions: the continuum of privacy and continuum of access" (2017: 89). The continuum of privacy refers to control over the information others have about us and extends from intimacy with very little control to anonymity with maximum control. The continuum of access expresses the control of access to space, where one

end of this continuum is formed by the private sphere and the other by the public sphere. In the middle of these dimensions, between private and public on one hand, and anonymous and intimate on the other, there is a space of public familiarity, which is "a social space constructed in physical space through interactions that we take part in and that we observe" (2017: 132). As Blokland puts it: "Public familiarity characterizes a social fabric of the city where, due to repeated fluid encounters and durable engagement, individuals are able to socially place others, to recognize them, and even to expect to see them" (2017: 126). It "makes it possible to experience an urban space as a place where we belong or at least as a comfort zone" (ibid.: 94, cf. Blokland & Nast, 2014). As the author notes, even in the most anonymous relational settings dominated by interdependencies and transactions, individuals still can develop narratives of belonging, if only they achieve a level of comfort: "As we go about adapting to what we learn as situational normality, we create and express a form of belonging" (ibid.: 114). With the concept of public familiarity Blokland tries to "move away from Simmel's conception of the city as an anonymous setting where a blasé attitude prevails, as well as from the representation of the city as a place with urban villages" (ibid.: 131). She claims that "in urban everyday practices fluid encounters and durable engagements may constitute a performance of community that is neither public nor private, neither intimate nor anonymous, but that covers a broad range of possibilities in between" (ibid.).

The relational approach developed by Talia Blokland provides valuable insights about community life in contemporary cities, while some of her praxeological attempts in defining community as practice open the door to further developments in the field of community studies. However, the author does not provide any conceptual framework for analysis of practices and her understanding of the term itself is taken for granted. Moreover, focusing in fact on the relational approach, the author does not sufficiently recognize the significant role of space in community practices nor of the social and material context within which social relations are established and developed. These limit our understanding of mechanisms of community practice in an urban context. The interrelations between space and community practices are still not well explored. The concept of community developed by Blokland exposes the shortcomings of the relational approach and thus points to the need to turn to other theoretical approaches, such as the theory of social practice. In other words, in order

to better understand urban community as practice, new advances in social theory, known as praxeological turn, must be taken into consideration.

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CHAPTER 2

Urban Scenes as Community Practices

Abstract In this chapter, a new praxeological, relational and cultural approach to the analysis of communal phenomena in contemporary cities is developed and discussed. The chapter begins with a presentation of theories which are two pillars of the approach: the theory of scenes developed by the new Chicago school (Silver and Clark, Scenescapes, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2016) and the social practice theory (in particular social ontology and model of practice developed by Theodor Schatzki [1996, 2002]). Then, a concept of urban community as a nexus of cultural and aesthetic practices embedded in the scene as well as a concept of socio-cultural opportunity structure is developed, providing an explanation of the scene mechanisms in community building processes. The chapter provides also a typology of communal practices.

Keywords Theory of social practice · Theory of scenes · Socio-cultural opportunity structure · Community practice · Scene · Practices of identity · Practices of sociability · Practices of cooperation · Practices of collective action

As has been presented in the last section of the previous chapter, the reality of contemporary cities does not fit into a black-and-white scheme. The variety of urban forms of sociability and grassroots processes of city-making reveal an important deficiency in community studies that

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requires (re)integration of territorial and psychosocial aspects of community (locality and communality) as well as overcoming the agency–structure divide. In other words, in order to describe the nature of the processes of social becoming of postmodern urban communities, it is necessary to study both the communal production of the new locality and the territorial embeddedness of the new communality. Therefore, both the holism and environmental determinism of the "new locality" and the individualism and cultural reductionism of the "new communality" limit our capabilities for description of contemporary forms of urban communities. The city is a space for diverse communities that transcend, on the one hand, neighbourhoods and ties resulting from spatial proximity and functional interdependence, and, on the other, nonlocal personal networks and imagined cultural communities detached from their spatial context. Both the nature of these communities and the mechanisms of their (re)production require investigation. What is needed, therefore, is a new approach to the analysis of urban local communities that would take into account the subjectivity of urban actors and the structural pressures of the space in which they are located on the one hand, and the cultural and spatial aspects of integration processes in the city on the other.

Therefore, instead of neighbourhoods, networks or collective cultural consciousness, I propose to study community practices embedded in urban spaces. I assume that community-forming processes take place in the sphere of collective cultural consciousness and are realised through the community cultural practices in which individuals participate embedded in a given territory and that urban space is an important element and facilitator of these practices. I thus propose to make urban cultural spaces and the various community practices taking place in them the object of community studies. To this end, I draw on scene theory, which allows us to reconnect the spatial and imaginative dimensions of community, and social practice theory (TSP), which, by breaking down the traditional oppositions of sociology, makes it possible to grasp the field of phenomena that escape the previously presented strands of community studies in the urban environment. Therefore, the perspective of practice theory, together with the notion of the urban scene enable the exploration of phenomena and processes of urban commonality that have been largely unexplored so far. Above all, however, they contribute to a better understanding of the dual, spatial-cultural character of contemporary urban communities and thus significantly enrich sociology's response to the Community Question with strands that have not been given due

attention so far. The use of the proposed perspectives in the study of urban commonality not only makes it possible to explore the nature of the spatial-cultural processes of formation and reproduction of urban community practices, but also provides answers to questions about the effectiveness of various kinds of tools of urban cultural policies and cultural space planning, especially in the field of creative placemaking or revitalisation and regeneration, and thus indicates the desired directions of their development.

Theory of Scenes

Particularly useful and attractive relational, cultural and practice-based comprehension and operationalisation of urban space (and its community-forming potential) that allows to reintegrate the territorial and cultural aspects of community and link locality with communality may be provided by the Theory of Scenes which I make a first pillar of my approach. Scene theory was initiated and developed by Terry N. Clark and Daniel A. Silver within the so-called New Chicago School (cf. Clark, 1998, 2011) in response to the cultural turn in social theory, which also resonated in urban studies, contributing to the development of a new strand known as cultural urban studies (eg. Borer, 2006; Clark, 2003; Florida, 2002; Glaeser et al., 2001; Landry, 2002, 2006; Lloyd, 2007; Zukin, 1995, 1998; etc.). The cultural turn consists in treating culture as an autonomous (and not—as until now—only derivative) sphere of social reality and noticing its complex influence on the other spheres of social life (cf. e.g. Alexander & Smith, 2001, 2018; Ray & Sayer, 1999). Culture is no longer just a context of social processes—it becomes an important centre of action in society at large and becomes so for social scientists and policymakers. The new Chicago school, which is fully part of the cultural urban studies, retains the classical assumptions of its founders about the ecological processes of structuring urban space but combines them with the achievements of cultural studies and instead of natural areas understood as culturally and socially homogeneous spatial units, whose socio-cultural character is derived from the categorical characteristics of the inhabitants, such as the so-called "classical explanatory variables", i.e. class or ethnicity, it proposes the notion of scene, understood, as I will show further on, in terms of aesthetic practices that give space its specific character. The authors of the approach explain how they understand the scene in this illustrative way: "Scene has several meanings. One

usage emphasizes shared interest in a specific activity: the 'jazz scene', the 'mountain climbing scene', an the 'beauty pageant scene'. Another highlights the character of specific places, typically neighbourhoods or cities: the 'Haight-Ashbury scene', the 'Wicker Park scene' and the 'Nashville scene'. Our approach to 'scene' extends these first two meanings, seeking a more general level of analysis. As a first step on this analytical ladder, think about a neighbourhood as a film director, painter, or poet might. There are people doing many things, sitting in a cafe, entering and exiting the grocery, milling about after a church service, cheering the home team. Then ask what style of life, spirit, meaning, mood, is expressed in all of this. Is it dangerous or exotic, familial or avant-garde? How could others share in that spirit, experience and embrace its meaning sympathetically, or reject it? What, in other words, is the character of this particular place that links to a broader and more universal themes? (…) This third meaning—the aesthetic meaning of a place—is our focus" (2016: 1–2).

It should be noted that this is not a theory from the point of view of classical scientific standards, however, the authors attribute the qualities of a theory to their approach, as, in their opinion, the set of concepts and analytical categories they propose, together with the developed methodology, not only allow an accurate description of the social reality of contemporary cities, but also make it possible to explain various phenomena occurring in the city space. Thus, "scene theory" fulfils—in their view—the tasks of theory. The authors have, in fact, conducted extensive research in recent decades on the impact of scenes on various social phenomena in different cultural contexts and have gathered around them a wide range of researchers from all over the world representing different disciplines. These studies have proved that the scenes components inform many important phenomena, including population change by age cohorts (Wu, 2013), creative class migration (Navarro et al., 2012b), economic growth (Navarro & Rodriguez Garcia, 2014; Silver, 2012; Silver et al., 2011), functioning of real estate markets like rent levels and changes (Wu, 2013), neighbourhood change and gentrification processes (Navarro, 2013; Navarro et al. 2012a), sustainable transportation like the use of public transit, bicycles, and more (Jeong, 2018), types of civic organisations (Knudsen et al., 2015), residents' voting preferences (Silver & Clark, 2016; Silver & Miller, 2014), cultural practices (Navarro & Rodriguez Garcia, 2014), healthy lifestyles (Zapata-Moya et al., 2020), and many others. I will show that the theory of scenes

can also benefit community studies in explaining community practices in contemporary cities (Klekotko, 2018a, 2018b, 2019b, 2020).

Drawing on the achievements of the cultural turn in urban studies and the ecological heritage of the Chicago School, the authors argue that culture structures urban space and shapes the processes within it. At the heart of the concept of cultural scenes is the belief that in contemporary post-industrial societies, it is the consumption of culture in the broadest sense, rather than residence or production that determines the character of a city and at the same time constitutes the primary factor in its growth. Consumption takes on various social forms that shape the space of the city and determine the dynamics of its development. A scene is defined as a dynamic system of several elements: (1) place (physical environment) and its aesthetics (architecture, greenery, etc.), (2) people, along with their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, (3) practices of cultural consumption carried out by these people in the place (sitting in a park, getting tattooed, having a coffee in a coffee shop, etc.), (4) values / symbolic meanings that underlie these practices (Silver & Clark, 2016; Silver et al., 2007; Silver et al., 2011). Each scene can be described as a specific combination of symbolic and cultural values that underlie the cultural consumption practices undertaken in them and thus make them socially meaningful. There are three cultural dimensions of urban scenes that can be used to describe them: legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity.

The dimension of legitimacy describes values and motives that guide and legitimise cultural consumption practices. It determines the right and desirable lifestyles, determines which ways of conduct are right and which are wrong, determines the patterns of social consumption and shapes the beliefs and intentions of the actors. Actors in scenes take pleasure in a shared sense of being "normal", while rejecting those who do not conform to the scene-specific norms of consumption. The pleasure and the will to do what one believes to be right, signify precisely "legitimacy". The following values may be the source of legitimacy of cultural consumption practices: tradition, charisma, self-expression, egalitarianism or utilitarianism.

The tradition dimension refers to those consumption practices whose undertaking is justified by tradition or custom and which express respect for history, heritage, or traditional and historical role models such as heroes and historical figures. An example of a traditional activity might be attending mass at church. Similarly, wedding dress salons provide goods

that allow wedding traditions to be cultivated. Museums, historical buildings, ancient architecture or antique shops also represent the valuing of the past and tradition.

Charisma, on the other hand, refers to authorities, exceptional personalities, famous individuals and thus the value of being around them or consuming the goods they create. Specific consumption practices are based on a kind of "cult" of the individual: an outstanding artist, a TV star, a recognisable chef or an acclaimed journalist. What is valued is that which is signed by these individuals. An example would be author restaurants, where one comes not just to eat, but to be in a place with the reputation that the name of a great chef brings. Another kind of example of consumption practices legitimised by charisma are the boutiques of recognised and established designers. The customers of these boutiques certainly do not come there just to get dressed, as they could do so by spending much smaller sums of money, but also (and perhaps above all) to purchase a piece of the aura of an exceptional individual, which increases the value of the purchased product.

Utilitarianism denotes the legitimacy of consumption practices that appeals to principles of productivity, efficiency and utility and is based on a rational calculation of benefits and losses. Consumption practices are considered legitimate if the outcome of this calculation is beneficial, whereby the basis for assessing the benefits of a practice is the effect itself, never the experience as such. The utilitarian individual will therefore choose a fast-food outlet rather than an authentic restaurant, because what is important is to eat in an efficient way, both in terms of saving time and money, and not to pay for the added value of the fame of the chef who prepared the meal.

Self-expression is based on the belief in everyone's right to express themselves and enjoy unique experiences. It attributes a unique meaning to creativity, whether one's own or that of others. If we were to evoke again the example of a restaurant, it would be one offering "creative" or "experimental" cuisine, where amateurs of creative food came to savour the refined flavours, textures and forms of the dishes and contemplate them like works of art. Other examples of expressions are avant-garde museums, jazz clubs or drawing lessons. They all express the values of creation and expression that these consumption practices legitimise.

Finally, egalitarianism expresses belief that all human beings are treated equally, regardless of their background, the pursuit of self-interest is seen as corrupting, and creative expression is a dangerous luxury. In the

contemporary culture of post-industrial societies, egalitarian legitimacy is based on ideals of social equality, regardless of social origin, gender, race or age, universal justice, seeing others always as an end, never as a means of action, and always as members of an all-human community. Consumption practices legitimised by the values of egalitarianism value open access and equality of experience. Examples of venues offering such practices include public libraries, parks, human rights organisations, food banks or open readings. The opposite of these values are facilities that limit access to the goods and services they offer and create a distance between the individuals who consume these goods and services and those who do not have access to them, such as private golf clubs or art collectors' shops, which are only accessible to the rich and are oriented towards distinction and hierarchy-building.

Whatever the sources of their legitimacy, cultural practices take the form of certain roles played by the inhabitants in front of other participants of the scene. This play creates a dimension of theatricality, the importance of which in social life was first pointed out by Goffman (1959) and Fried (1980). Scenes provide opportunities to see and be seen, thus shaping the behaviour and modes of conduct of their members. Participants may derive social pleasure from acting out their role or watching others do so. This pleasure of performing determines how we show ourselves to others and how we perceive the image of others. There are five dimensions of theatricality, that is, roles and the ways in which individuals play them when undertaking specific practices of consumption. These are transgression, exhibitionism, neighbourliness, glamour and formalism.

Formalism describes those consumption practices whose essential element is the observance of strict rules and principles or etiquette and codes of conduct. Examples of such practices include attending the premiere of an opera at the National Theatre or a charity ball, which involves a series of injunctions and prohibitions relating to desirable patterns of behaviour, including dress code, as well as a visit to an office, which informal rules about the desired course of interaction are often reinforced by appropriate regulations. It is therefore both a matter of formal regulations in the form of various types of rules and regulations, and—above all—informal standards set by what we used to call "good manners" or etiquette, and which required from the participant in these practices a certain cultural refinement allowing him or her to move freely in the given scene.

Neighbourliness is the opposite of formalism and denotes the kind of theatricality that is based on close, warm, familiar and intimate direct relations and allows a sense of closeness and community to develop. Examples of venues that offer consumption practices based on such relationships can be community centres, small local bakeries, beer bars, local bars, children's playgrounds or food markets where we always get our vegetables from the same vendor.

Transgression consists in the deliberate breaking of existing patterns of behaviour, whether defined as formalism, the norms of domestic relations or any generally accepted norms and patterns. Transgressive theatricality involves transgressing generally accepted norms, "shocking" others and feeling a sense of community with those who are also shocking, like Baudelaire's dandies, who shocked with their commonly perceived scandalous behaviour, but were themselves never shocked by the scandalous behaviour of others. An equally important element of transgression is a kind of ostentation of opposition to binding values. Examples of transgressive consumption practices can be squats, punk concerts, tattoo and piercing parlours, cafés with revolutionary magazines, strip clubs, prostitution or drug consumption.

Exhibitionism describes such practices of consumption, the essence of which is the pleasure of being watched and watching others. "Showing up" and "being admired" are key aspects of these practices. The weightlifters at Venice Beach in California are not doing it to get in shape, but to show off their trained and oiled-up muscles to others. Some clubs and discos are not just for the purpose of unleashing layers of self-expression through dancing, but also to relish the stares of others and reciprocate them. Examples of exhibitionist theatricality can also be found in nightclubs, bars organising wet t-shirt competitions, glazed fitness clubs, gay parades or cosmetic surgery surgeries. The aim of all these practices (whether conscious or not, overt or covert, main or side) is to expose oneself and one's body to the view of other people and to collect admiration from them.

Glamour, that is close to exhibitionism, is a type of theatricality that involves playing the role of a trendsetter, imposing trends on others and being seen as "fashionable", "stylish" and worthy of imitation. Chicness is a reminder that life is theatre and costume plays a decisive role in it. The essence of glamour is "glitz", which is perfectly illustrated by celebrities walking the red carpet in the glare of the spotlight at a film festival. Examples of glamour consumption practices include designer boutiques,

fashionable cafés, jewellery studios or furriers, as well as beauty salons, design schools, fashion shows, clubs with VIP rooms, private trainers, etc.

Every practice, including consumption, is at the same time an expression of a certain identity and leads to the self-realisation of the individual. Those aspects of consumption that allow acting actors to enjoy the pleasure of "being themselves" are referred to as authenticity. Individuals feel the need to be authentic and, at the same time, reject behaviour that lacks authenticity. The dimension of authenticity makes it possible to determine the extent to which different scenes reinforce a sense of rootedness and identification, confirming or transforming the individual identity of the members. An actor acting on a given scene may construct his or her identity on the basis of values of localism, ethnicity, corporatism, statehood or rationalism.

Localism expresses the idea of 'home', being brought up in a particular locality defines identity regardless of the direction in which it later develops. Regardless of who we currently are and what we do, we cannot pretend to come from somewhere other than where we actually are. However, it is not necessary to identify with a particular localness to value the idea of it as such. The local authenticity of consumption practices is based on a preference for what is local (or regional), what grows out of local and regional traditions and culture, the nature of which is marked by this localness, local or regional origin, and which brings a sense of being "at home". In other words, the authenticity of certain consumption practices is brought about by their local origin. Examples of such practices include museums dedicated to the history and culture of a particular city or region, restaurants offering local cuisine, markets selling food from local farmers, shops selling T-shirts with "local" prints, and "local" bars frequented by a local clientele.

Ethnicity, like locality, shapes our identity at a pre-reflective level—it is imposed on us at birth and shapes our identity before we become aware of it. Consumption practices of ethnic authenticity are based on the belief that ethnicity is at the core of who we are, and that ethnicity gives these practices authenticity. Patients are more likely to trust acupuncture practitioners if they are Chinese. Sushi restaurants served by Japanese are more likely to be visited. As with localism, one does not have to belong to a particular ethnic group to recognise the value of ethnic cultures and traditions and to value ethnically based authenticity in consumption practices. Examples of facilities offering goods and services characterised by

ethnic authenticity could be sushi bars, Indian shops, feng shui services, restaurants offering ethnic cuisine (e.g. Asian cuisine).

Corporate authenticity, on the other hand, is based on global standardisation and universalisation, impersonal relationships, the principle of profit maximisation and efficient procedures. While individuals seeking ethnic authenticity will be attracted to a sushi bar run by Japanese people, those brought up with corporate culture will be attracted to a restaurant whose originality is confirmed by its affiliation to a branded chain, such as Pizza Hut or MacDonalds, Their standardised offer will not surprise us even when we travel to distant continents: we always know what we are going to get, we know that it will always be the same, that the service will not disappoint us, that we will be served quickly and efficiently according to objective standards, that we will not have to chat with the waiters. Other examples of venues characterised by this type of authenticity are the corporations themselves, business services, chain cafés and restaurants, chain shops and global brands such as iSpot or Starbucks.

Rational authenticity is based on the belief that individual identity is formed through the autonomous decisions of individuals who decide for themselves who they want to be. Regardless of ethnicity or upbringing, human beings are first and foremost thinking beings and this is a fundamental characteristic of them, ahead of any formative experience. Rational authenticity values reason and rational cognition above all else and expresses the conviction that life should be guided by reason and not by spiritual raptures. Consumption practices based on rational authenticity will emphasise the power of reason in shaping the world and self-reflective choices. Examples of such practices include research institutes, universities, academic bookshops, science museums, community organisations and social movements.

Statehood undoubtedly plays a fundamental role in modern societies in shaping the identity of individuals. Regardless of ascribed characteristics and achieved statuses, individuals are citizens, which makes them equal members of the state community, able to co-determine its fate. Consumption practices of state authenticity are based on the values of civic participation, patriotism and obedience to state authority. To be authentic is to be proud of one's state and citizenship and to place one's status as a citizen above other identifications. Examples of amenities fostering state authenticity can be all kinds of public offices and institutions, administrative bodies, the military and the police, embassies

and consulates, but also state museums, flag shops, political parties and patriotic organisations.

Each scene is characterised by a different set of amenities, a different combination of the subdimensions of legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity and attracts different categories of agents, constituting a space for specific values and attitudes. We can distinguish multiple types of cultural scenes, such as Disney Heaven, LaLa Land, Renoir's Loge, Baudelaire's River Styx or Brook's Bobos, Cool Cosmopolitanism and many others. The Disney Heaven scene, aimed at middle-class families with children, is characterised by high neighbourliness and low transgression and exhibitionism. The combination of traditionalism and neighbourliness could characterise the communitarian scene, which is a place where conventional lifestyles are practised, and tradition-based values and identities prevail. Brook's Bobos, as a neo-Bohemian scene would in turn be characterised by a combination of transgression and self-expression with traditionalism, neighbourliness and localism (Lloyd, 2002; Silver et al., 2010). Baudelaire's River Styx unconventional scene, on the other hand, would be a manifestation—as the name suggests—of unconventional lifestyles in which transgression and exhibitionism would be of particular value. Another kind of unconventional scene could be the LaLa Land scene. In this type of scene, there is a high intensity of amenities related to distinction, artistic creation on the one hand and entertainment on the other. The list is not exhaustive and, based on the collected data, one can generate the most diverse types of scenes, as long as the listed values (sub-dimensions) form a logical pattern.

The scene is thus a socially and culturally meaningful space, it is a place (Tuan, 1974) whose symbolic meanings are constructed by practices of cultural consumption. By providing particular opportunities for meaningful practices of cultural consumption, scenes attract individuals who share similar tastes and cultural values, allowing them to practice their lifestyles and identities and thus community. Different individuals, with different identities, are driven by different motives and play different roles, so they will be attracted by different scenes. Therefore, scenes may be considered spatial platforms for the integration of various communities. In scenes imagined communities based on shared aesthetic tastes and cultural identities like neo-tribes, lifestyle or taste communities or new social movements can take on real form through the spatial embedding of cultural practices that (re)produce these communities. In this way, a concept of the scene provides a link between territory, networks

and culture and between locality and imagined communality. However, claiming that scene is a space of/for lifestyle communities is a shortcut. It needs to be explained how and why these imagined communities based on common cultural consciousness come into being in a given urban space and how cultural dimensions of space shape the ways in which they are practised. The theory of scenes does not provide detailed theoretical accounts on practices and in fact, in the empirical research practices of cultural consumption are operationalised as and reduced to amenities (cf. Klekotko, 2019a, 2021; Silver & Clark, 2016). All we know is that practices that create scenes (and thus communities) are widely comprehended practices of cultural consumption. We also know that these practices are socially meaningful, that is, possess meanings that make them attractive or unattractive to different actors and define the nature of legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity of practices in which these actors involve or do not involve. All these propositions, in general terms, remain coherent with and may be tailored to the conceptual framework of the social practice theory, which I am to present next. I believe that by providing solid ontology, the social practice theory may contribute to a better understanding of scenes as platforms for the development of urban communities and that combining the theory of scenes with social practice theory is a promising direction in conceptualising community processes in contemporary cities.

Theory of Social Practice

The theory of social practices (TSP) is a theoretical perspective that breaks through the traditional oppositions of social theory and as such is particularly helpful in addressing the limitations of contemporary community studies. First of all, the TPS liberates itself from the determinism of social structures and systems, as well as from individualism, which sees individual actions as the substrate of social phenomena. Therefore, the TSP transcends the structure-agency opposition in explaining the social (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2001, 2002; Shove, 2010; Shove et al., 2012). It also overcomes other dualisms of social theory, like social-material, cultural-material, body-mind, and theory-action. As noticed by Nicolini (2012: 3–4), “the enhanced explanatory power of the practice approach, and its capacity to dissolve (rather than resolve) such enduring dualisms, stems from the fact that adopting such a theoretical stance produces a radical shift in our understanding of social”.

Andreas Reckwitz (2002) describes the social practice theory as a particular type of cultural theory of action. In contrast to the purpose-oriented theory of action of homo economicus tradition in social theory for which social order is a product of the combination of individual subjective interests as well as to norm-oriented theory of action of homo sociologicus tradition for which social order is guaranteed by a normative consensus, the cultural theories of actions are oriented towards symbolic structures of meaning: they explain and understand actions by "reconstructing the symbolic structures of knowledge which enable and constrain agents to interpret the world according to certain forms, and to behave in corresponding ways" (Reckwitz, 2002: 245–246). As such, social order is then "embedded in collective cognitive and symbolic structures, in a 'shared knowledge' which enables a socially shared way of ascribing meaning to the world" (ibid.: 246). Focusing on shared, collective symbolic structures of knowledge allows to link individual actions with social order and as such overcome traditional gaps in social theory. Social practice theory, however, differs from other cultural theories in situating the "social": the place for social in theories of social practice is not in a human mind or mental structures (as in cultural mentalism of Levi-Strauss, Saussure, Husserl or Schutz), not in discourses (as in culturalist textualism of Geertz, Foucault or Luhmann) and not in interactions (as in culturalist intersubjectivism of Habermas), but in practices.

Therefore, for the TSP, practices become the basic building blocks of the social world and thus the object of sociological inquiry. Society appears as a field of practices. All social phenomena take place within and are aspects or components of this field (Schatzki, 1996: 11, Schatzki, 2011: 6, 2016: 28–29, 2018: 153). Social practices are, in the most general terms, arrays of human activities, whereas a field of practices is a nexus of interconnected human practices. Social ordering occurs within this field, through the interplay between constitutive elements of practices and their arrangements. Practices form blocks of interconnected elements and cannot be reduced to any of its building elements. According to Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012), practices are sets of materials, competences and meanings, Warde (2005) lists understandings, procedures and engagements, while Reckwitz proposes to analyse practices as "routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding,

know how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002). Although various authors of the TPS propose different catalogues of elements of practices, there are several basic agreements regarding fundamental components that organise practice, determining the "routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood" (Reckwitz, 2002: 250).

A key concept of the TPS is the notion of embodied cognitive capacities: know-how, practical skills, practical understandings, tacit knowledge and dispositions. All TPS theorists agree that human action depends on practical skills and understandings and that the maintenance of practices and therefore the persistence and change of social life requires the effective instilling of practical knowledge. The notion of embodiment means that "the forms of human action are intertwined with the character of the human body" (Schatzki, 2001: 11). Both actions and bodies are "constituted" within practices. The human body connects the individual to the social: in the body, mind meets action and individual meets social (Reckwitz, 2012). Because practical understanding is embodied, it is stretched between two poles: the body on the one hand and the social world on the other. Although representatives of TPS argue about the causality of practical knowledge, they usually remain united towards the view that it exists only in an embodied form in the individual. The individual possesses practical knowledge, however, only as a participant in social practices. Practical knowledge is thus a set of bodily skills that are the result of participation in practices and make that participation possible.

Some TSP theorists, like Schatzki (1996, 2002, 2010, 2015, 2016), argue that apart from practical knowledge, explicit rules should also be included in the analytical framework. This is a troublesome issue, as TSP in principle opposes the view that individuals' behaviour is guided by explicit rules and does not accept that the concept of practical reasoning is used to defend the thesis of the ubiquity of rules, which can be "deduced" from observations of behaviour based on it. It is believed that practical understanding cannot be verbalised and described by verbally formulated principles. Neither the researchers observing the actions nor the acting actors themselves are able to do so. This position does not mean, however, that the existence of explicit rules in human action is completely denied. TSP merely draws attention to two things: (1) the primacy of understanding and practical skills—these are ubiquitous in the action of individuals, and the ability to formulate principles of action is based on

the ability to use and understand them; (2) the commonality of these skills and understandings—they are the same in different individuals (Schatzki, 2001).

Most of the accounts of the TSP share the standpoint on the role of telic and affective dimensions as constitutive and indispensable elements of practice, claiming that motives, goals and emotions should also be taken into account. The TSP argues that "Practices are always oriented and organised around a telic dimension" (Nicolini, 2012: 21) and "Every social practice (…) implies a use of senses and their perceptive qualities (…) typically accompanied by certain emotions" (Reckwitz, 2012: 249). Both telos and affectivity are building elements of practice that are independent of individual agents. As noticed by Nicolini (2012: 21), "an object and telos are carried by the practice, not by individuals. Individuals may have their personal motives but once they join a practice they also tune into the object, telos and sense that is associated with the practice. Social practices thus populate our world with sense and meaning so that a practice unfolds on a moment-by-moment basis around something we care about and which interests us". The same is true in case of emotions: "Affects are always embedded in practices which are, in turn, embedded in tacit schemes of interpretation. (…) Affects/emotions are neither an inner possession of individuals nor are they mere outward signs, "expressive" gestures made in public. They are bodily reactions and they are enabled/restricted by interpretative schemes at the same time" (Reckwitz, 2012: 251). In other words, when an individual undertakes a given practice, embrace the goals and affects ascribed to it.

The TPS addresses also the problem of "materiality" or "material" arrangements and their participation in practices, emphasising the constitutive role of things and materials in everyday life. Practices as arrays of human action are assumed to be materially mediated: they are enacted through things and materials: tools, technologies, and other physical objects and artefacts people use to carry out practices. Thus, "practices are intrinsically connected to and interwoven with objects" (Schatzki, 2002: 106). Shove (2016: 156) indicates three kinds of things and materials that play different roles in practice: infrastructures denotes things that are necessary for the conduct of a practice, but are not engaged with directly, devices refer to things that are directly mobilised and actively manipulated and resources understood as "things which are used up or radically transformed in the course of practice". Since materials interact with other elements of configuration of practice which mutually shape each other,

the material environment in which social practices occur can influence how they are performed, and also how they change over time (cf. Shove, 2016; Shove et al., 2012). It can also constrain or enable certain practices. Therefore, materiality is an essential aspect of social practices, as it helps to understand how people interact with their physical surroundings and how these interactions shape practices, and thus social life. As Schatzki put it "understanding specific practices always involves apprehending material configurations" (Schatzki et al., 2001: 3).

Practice is realised through performances. The TPS proposes for analytical purposes to distinguish between two understandings of practice: as an entity, and as performance. Practice-as-entity is understood as a pattern of configuration of constitutive elements of a practice, while practice-as-performance is an enactment of the practice-as-entity in time and space, a moment of configuration (Shove et al., 2012) which actualizes and sustains practice-as-entity (Schatzki, 1996: 90). Practices are therefore "enduring entities reproduced through recurrent performance" (Shove et al., 2012: 8). Practice-as-entity exists insofar as it is reproduced in practice-as-performances. As explained by Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012: 7): "It is through performance, thorough immediacy of doing, that the 'pattern' provided by the practice-as-entity is filled out and reproduced. It is only through successive moments of performance that the interdependencies between elements which constitute the practice as entity are sustained over time. (…) the [practice-as-entity] only exists and endures because of countless recurrent enactments, each reproducing the interdependencies of which the practice is comprised" (Shove 2012: 7). Modifications in the performances, introducing changes in the configuration of elements, thus lead to a transformation of practice-as-entity, thus constituting a potential for social change. Shove and her team emphasise that "Stability and routinization are not end points of a linear process of normalization. Rather, they should be understood as ongoing accomplishments in which similar elements are repeatedly linked together in similar ways" (ibid.: 24).

The TSP develops a particular standpoint on the status of individuals. Understandings, know-how, meanings, tasks, purposes, etc. are elements and/or features of practices, not attributes of the individuals. In TSP individual is a product of practices. Individual traits are rooted in social practices—people become people as they are through participation in practices, just as the forms of individual actions depend on the practices in which these individuals participate. People's status as actors and subjects is

thus derived from practices. As Reckwitz (2002: 256) put it: "In practice theory, agents are body/minds who 'carry' and 'carry out' social practices. Thus, the social world is first and foremost populated by diverse social practices which are carried by agents. Agents, so to speak, 'consist in' the performance of practice (…). As carriers of a practice, they are neither autonomous not the judgmental dopes who conform to norms: They understand the world and themselves, and use know-how and motivational knowledge, according to the particular practice". The human mind is also shaped through participation in practices—"the contents and properties that constitute and define the mind depend causally and ontologically on participation in social practices" (Schatzki, 2001: 20). Since in TSP social practices are bodily and mental routines, "mental activities do not appear as individual, but as socially routinized; the 'individual' consists in the unique crossing of different mental and bodily routines 'in' one mind/body and in the interpretative treatment of this constellation of 'crossing'" (Reckwitz, 2002: 257). Practices thus replace the notion of mind, being the only source and carrier of meanings, language, norms and values. Norms, values, meanings and language are generated, sustained and transformed by practices, not by individuals themselves. Individuals are incorporated into the typical ways of doing things in existing practices, and it is through them that norms, values, meanings and language are maintained or are changed and transformed (Schatzki, 2001).

The greatest contribution to the development of TSP as outlined above is due to the philosophical work of Theodor Schatzki. This author develops his ontology of the social comprehended as nexus of interconnected practices in the most complete and remarkably consistent way (Schatzki, 1996, 2002), arguing that "social life, that is human coexistence, inherently transpires as part of nexuses of practices and material arrangements" (2010: 129) and that all social phenomena "are either aspects of, constellations of, or rooted in nexuses of practices" (2018: 153). In my approach to urban communities, which I will present in the following section, I mainly use the model of practice proposed by this author. Schatzki (1996, 2002) defines social practices as embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activities, organized around a common practical understanding. Practices are nexuses of human activity, temporally evolving, open-ended sets of doings and sayings organised, linked and driven by (1) practical understandings, (2) explicit rules and principles, (3) teleoaffective structures, and (4) general understandings (Schatzki, 2002: 87, 2009, 2010, 2015, 2016). Practical understanding

is the bodily ability to perform a practice, for example, the ability to ride a bicycle. The concept refers to the way people engage in practices by using bodily know-how and implicit knowledge to make sense of and enact these practices in a meaningful way (Schatzki, 2007, 2009). It denotes the ability to seamlessly navigate the various elements involved in a practice, as well as to extend and modify practices over time through innovation and adaptation. Explicit rules determine the expected and desired way to perform an activity—for example, how a bicycle should be ridden, where it should be ridden, and where it should be parked. They form instructions to what and how to do. Unlike practical understanding, explicit rules lend themselves to verbalisation, so we are able to articulate them verbally as principles of proceeding. Teleoaffective structures refer to the complex of bodily and mental capacities that enable individuals to carry out practices with purpose and emotion. These structures combine two key elements: teleology, which refers to the overarching goal or purpose of a practice, and affectivity, which encompasses the emotional investments and meaning-making processes that are involved in practice. Teleoaffective structures include the "goals, plans, tasks, intentions, beliefs, emotions and moods" (Schatzki, 1997: 89) of actors that motivate them to undertake a given activity—they determine why I choose a bicycle as a mean of transport and for what purpose I use it. General understanding expresses collective beliefs about a given activity and the conditions under which it occurs, for example, what people think and know about bicycles and cycling. It refers to the shared knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions that exist within a particular social group or community, including convictions on what is right and appropriate. These general understandings are often taken for granted, but they provide the basis for the way people within that group engage in various practices. General understandings can include language, cultural norms, values, and beliefs about the world, all of which shape how people perceive and act in the world. Practice, therefore, includes the observable physical behaviour of an individual and their understanding of the situation, their knowledge of "how" a given situation or action should take place, as well as their desires and motivations.

Practices always take place in some time and some space and are carried out with the help of certain objects, in the presence or with the participation of other people. Other people, things, as well as artefacts and organisms used or participating in practices make up the "arrangements" of practices and together with practices form a kind

of inseparable "bundles"—"practice-arrangements bundles" (Schatzki, 2002). These "bundles of practices and arrangements provide the material out of which social phenomena, large and small, consist" (Schatzki, 2011: 6). The term "bundle" highlights the inseparable and interconnected nature of practices and arrangements. Practices and arrangements are intertwined and mutually constituted, with each shaping and influencing the other (Schatzki, 2016: 32). The practice-arrangement bundle emphasises that practices are not independent of the material and social contexts in which they occur. They are dynamically shaped and sustained through the arrangements that support them (ibid.).

Similarly, space, by providing arrangements, is an intrinsic attribute of practice and as such (along with other elements) determines its essence. Schatzki (2009) builds his concept of spatiality on Heidegger differentiation between objective and relational understating of space. Space understood objectively refers to measurable physical dimensions and denotes geographic location, a real existing area, independent of human existence, which we can render on a map and mark individual locations on it. In contrast, space understood relationally is shaped by the specific activities it encompasses and is the result of the reciprocal relationship between the actor and the external world, determining its relevance to and involvement in human activities. Schatzki fosters relational comprehension of space: in his understanding, space is always a place to carry out particular activities and is relative to the particular practice-arrangement bundle: it makes these activities possible and meaningful (Schatzki, 1991, 2009). According to Schatzki, space is not simply a backdrop for social practices but is instead an integral part of them. He argues that spaces are created through the practices that take place within them, and they are constantly being reconfigured as these practices change. Schatzki's approach emphasises importance of examining the interplay between materiality, embodiment, and meaning-making in shaping spatial arrangements. He suggests that spaces are not static but are constantly being constructed, transformed, and contested through ongoing practices. Space is linked to time, which is also comprehended relationally, as a moment for carrying out a particular practice. Similarly to space, time is a constitutive element that shapes and is shaped by social practices. Schatzki (2009) proposes the term "timespace" to denote inseparable and interconnected nature of time and space which are intricately intertwined and mutually constitutive. Different practices are assigned different timespaces or different timespaces encompasses different practices. I will show

next how these timespaces may be conceptualised and operationalised as scenes and thus linked to practices of cultural consumption, which—by adding aesthetic and affective dimension to the relational comprehension of space—help to better conceptualise urban community as spatially embedded cultural practices.

Urban Scene as a Nexus of Community Practices

The dimensions of scenes proposed by scene theory correspond to the elements of the organisation of practices described in TSP, defining what, how, why and for what purpose should or should not be done in a given place. They define and describe the space of the city by means of the practices of cultural consumption undertaken in that space (encompassing in its meaning de facto all practices), thus emphasising—albeit unintentionally—the inseparability of practices and spaces, as packages of practices and their material arrangements. I thus propose to conceptualise the space of practices as a scene, as the notion of a scene makes it perfectly possible to capture the spatiality and relational nature of practices, or "bundles of practices and their arrangements". The two presented theories bring important insights into our understanding of community life in cities. On the one hand, the TSP allows to overcome the agency–structure divide. On the other hand, the theory of scenes is a perfect link between place, networks and culture or (new) locality and (new) communality that allows to avoid both ecological determinism and cultural reductionism of other approaches to community. Combined, the two theories double their descriptive and explanatory potential: the TSP benefits from the theory of scenes in conceptualization and operationalisation of the cultural dimensions of urban space as made of socially meaningful practices of cultural consumption and the theory of scenes gains from the TSP solid ontology. In order to make theory of scenes and TSP work together for a better understanding of communal phenomena in urban settings, the building elements of scene need to be praxeologised, namely, they require further theoretical conceptualisation within the framework offered by the TSP. I believe that the TSP provides vocabulary as well as some empirical evidence that help to shed new light to our understanding of urban scenes as dynamic arrangements of space, people, practices and values/meanings and their role for community practices. My approach is not orthodox. I treat the TPS vocabulary and its grammar as a sensitising heuristic device (cf. Reckwitz, 2002: 257) which is to help me to

reach to the phenomena of urban communality that has not been reached by the traditional approaches (cf. Nicolini, 2012, 2017). In doing so, I make use of different concepts and approaches developed within the TPS, constructing a kind of collage of ideas, thoughts, insights and findings of different authors. Although I build my approach on the classical philosophical works of Schatzki, I also include cultural perspective of Reckwitz, performative approach of Nicolini, praxeological insights about consumption of Warde and developments on materiality and change of Shove. In other words, my point of departure in conceptualising community as nexus of practices is the definition provided by Schatzki, however, I will fill it with insights from other authors.

I propose to conceptualize urban community as a nexus of shared cultural and aesthetic practices and their spatial arrangements. In doing so, I emphasise two dimensions of such comprehended community: locality and communality or territory (spatiality) and culture. Urban communities (community practices) emerge through daily cultural and aesthetic practices, and these are, in turn, defined by the cultural meanings of territory in which these practices take place, shaping the cultural meanings of territory (spatial arrangements). I conceptualize spatial arrangements as a scene. The scene is built up of embodied and materially mediated practices of cultural consumption carried by agents oriented towards particular teleoaffectives. As a relationally comprehended space, scene is a place for definite practices. The same objective space may be different scenes depending on the time of day, a week or even a year, thus may be a relational space for different practices thus providing opportunities for the development of different community practices. As a product of practices scene has performative, processual and dynamic character (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 1996, 2002; Shove et al., 2012; Silver & Clark, 2016). If practices are not performed, scenes disappear. Their performative dimension is decisive here. Scene must be performed in order to exist, if there are no agents performing the practice, the scene resembles a stage abandoned by the actors. As co-constituted by meanings and teleoafectives prescribed by practices of cultural consumption, the scene has a strong aesthetic and affective dimension (Reckwitz, 2007, 2012; Silver & Clark, 2016) that contributes to the development of individual and collective cultural identity and forms a foundation for a sense of belonging and community. Therefore, I propose a praxeological, relational and cultural approach to urban community. Scenes are created by aesthetic practices of cultural consumption which are a medium for

the development of individual and collective identities which are in turn foundation for the development of the lifestyle communities. Therefore, scenes are sites for doing community (Fig. 2.1).

"Doing community", similarly to "doing class" or "doing gender" is a nexus of practices that combine and coordinate different practices, allowing them to work together as a larger whole and more complex ways of life (Schatzki, 1996). Therefore, we cannot study "doing community" directly—we can only study them through other practices of a more "concrete", limited and focused nature. I propose to call such kinds of practices emerging from the others metapractices. Metapractices are nexuses of practices and do not need to be realised (and often are not) by the actors, but they are firmly rooted in and reveal themselves in the rules and teleoafectives of doing any other practice with clearly focused purposes. For example, class is not 'done' directly, but through all sorts of everyday practices undertaken by the individual: how they eat, how they communicate, what sports they play, what films they choose at the cinema. In other words, class (meta)practices manifest themselves in the "modalities" of social practices such as rules or teleoafectives of eating practices, communication practices or leisure practices. They determine how these particular practices are performed and how they are supposed to run properly. The same—although in minor scope—is

Fig. 2.1 The interplay of culture and territory in community practices

true of community. Only a small proportion of community practices are aimed explicitly at "doing community". However, community is continually "done" through everyday practices, and communality often underlies the rules as well as teleoaffective structures of these practices. To give an example: if I am an environmentalist and thus belong to an ecological community, I am "practicing" ecology (and my identity) through my shopping choices, waste segregation, electricity saving, vegetarianism, among others.

In delimitating practices that make up community as nexus of practices the theory of scenes would direct attention towards practices of cultural consumption. As it has been said before, scenes may be comprehended as spatial expressions of lifestyle communities which are based on shared practices of cultural consumption. In the postmodern era, individuals are still faced with the task of constructing their own identity (Giddens, 1991), and it is believed that symbolic meanings of consumption provide them with the building blocks for this (cf. Elliott & Wattanasuwan, 1998; Miles, 1996; Shields, 1992). By providing opportunities for cultural consumption, scenes allow participating individuals to develop their lifestyles, realise their values and build their individual and collective identities which are in turn foundation for development of communities. In this respect, scenes can be regarded as the spatial expression of cultural communities (lifestyle communities). It is thus essential to understand the nature and the role of consumption as a driving force of communal practices. In his praxeological research on consumption, Alan Warde (2004, 2005) provides a definition of consumption as "a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion" (Warde, 2005: 137). Thus, the approach of Warde, like the theory of scenes, breaks free from the economist conception of consumption as market exchange and allows for a shift of attention to its symbolic significance for social life in all its dimensions. As Warde rightly points out, consumption understood in this way accompanies almost all practices, as almost every practice requires an appropriation and appreciation of goods (both tangible and intangible) in order to be competently enacted. As Warde puts it: "being a competent practitioner requires appropriate consumption of goods and services. To practice, so to speak, requires that competent practitioners will avail themselves of the requisite services, possess and command the

capability to manipulate appropriate tools and devote a suitable level of attention to the conduct of the practice" (ibid.: 145). Therefore, "consumption is not itself a practice, but is, rather, a moment in almost every practice" (ibid.: 137). Consumption therefore comes from engagement in specific practices, and it is the practices that determine what should be consumed and how it should be consumed in order for the practice to be properly performed: "Items appropriated and the manner of their deployment are governed by the conventions of the practice", says Warde (ibid.: 137). In other words, practices prescribe consumption and patterns of consumption can be "explained and accounted for partly by volume of practices and commitment to practices" (2005: 144). These bring important consequences for our thinking of consumption-based mechanisms of lifestyle creation: personal lifestyles become the outcomes of multiple engagements in practices that involve consumption. As Warde puts it: "If the individual is merely the intersection point of many practices, and practices are the bedrock of consumption, then (…) new explanations of contemporary identities and the role of consumption in identity formation suggest themselves" (2005: 144). Consumption is an indispensable condition for pursuing practices that make up individual careers and trajectories of practice and define meanings and identities of practitioners. Being ecological means engaging in practices that entail different consumption patterns than, for example, being glamorous. However, being ecological is the result of a commitment to practising ecology, not the other way around—the individual, as we know from the TSP, is a product of practices and practices presuppose and prescribe identities. Thus, individual identities are not mental creations, but a result of involvement in a particular network of practices and the meanings the individuals receive through their position in the organisation of a particular practice and "career of practices". Individuals with different competences, understandings and engagements are recruited into different practices and adopt meanings ascribed to them. Through the availability of specific practices and opportunities for their enactment, the individuals can build their identities as "crossings", intersection points, trajectories and carriers of these practices.

My claim is that urban scenes, by providing opportunities for cultural consumption, create socio-cultural opportunity structures for the development of specific community practices, at the same time becoming a platform and tool for community-forming processes in the city. It is through their presence in the city that individuals can establish ties with

other residents and community practices can evolve. I borrow the concept of the socio-cultural opportunity structure from Tarrow's concept of political opportunity structure which he developed in the field of the theory of social movements in order to explain the processes of socio-political mobilisation. For Tarrow, political opportunity structures are particular arrangements of available resources, institutional settings, and past experience that shape the potential for social mobilisation. Although the word "structure" might be misleading here, as scene is not a structure in the traditional sense, the configurations of practice-arrangement bundles that build scene and thus determine opportunities for development of cultural identities and social integration resemble the very idea of the role of political opportunity structures for the political mobilisation. It is important, however, to have in mind that scenes as socio-cultural opportunity structures are more processual than structural and should be understood and analysed in praxeological manner.

Scenes are built up of embodied and materially mediated practices carried by agents oriented towards particular teleoaffectives. Scenes are kind of ready-to-use bundles of embodied capacities, rules, meanings and their arrangements in the form of objects, people, artefacts and organism. They are sites, timespaces for particular practices that enable individuals to perform and enact community. As such, they form socio-cultural opportunity structures for community practices. In my understanding, socio-cultural opportunity structures (1) determine the possibilities for the development of specific community identities, (2) enable social contact and frame the interactions between participants in the scene, leading to (3) the emergence of community self-awareness and—under certain conditions—(4) community mobilisation. In other words, the socio-cultural opportunity structures of urban scenes provide individuals with four basic community-forming resources: identity, interaction, awareness and mobilisation.

Scene allows individuals to practice their identity (which might be understood as a particular career of practices or a significant crossing of multiple practices in which individual engages) in a threefold sense. Firstly, the scene provides resources for particular practice that makes up the individual trajectory defining the individuality of the practitioner to be performed. As already discussed, individual identity is not a mental creation but the result of practices. It has to be practised in order to exist, it draws its sources from practice and performance experiences. The potential for practice to be enacted depends, in turn, at least in part, on

the ready availability of its requisite elements (cf. Shove et al., 2012: 43). Scenes are timespaces offering such availability. They are equipped with arrangements providing materials (infrastructures, devices and resources [cf. Shove et al., 2012: 156]) and meanings (including aesthetic and affective dimensions) which allow practitioners to engage in various practices and thus enact and construct their identity. Secondly, individuals gain recognition, which is a condition of identity: by undertaking certain practices in scene, they gain meaning and identity. In Schatzki's model (2002: 19), meaning is what something is and identity—who it is. Both meaning and identity are constituted within practice arrangements and are reflections of position of agent in them and thus of relations between this agent and other elements (including other agents) of the practice arrangements. According to Schatzki "Relations, positions and meanings are bound holistically together, none enjoying priority over the others" (2002: 19). Identity is a subgenus of meaning and is determined by meaning. "Meaning" refers to the shared understanding that individuals attach to entities or agents within a social practice. On the other hand, "identity" relates to the sense of self and belonging that individuals derive from participating in a social practice. It involves the ways in which individuals define themselves and are defined by others based on their engagement in specific practices. Warde pays attention to the paradox of recognition of meanings and thus identities. "As the number of practices grows and many become more varied internally, it becomes increasingly difficult to interpret those signs and symbols supposed to communicate personal identity to others (…). It is thus important to recognize the variability in the extent to which practices are shared and understood among a broad public, for preferences are often learned within a particular sphere of practice ad their justification has localized jurisdiction" (2005: 145). Scenes as spaces dedicated to see and be seen, provide opportunities for recognition as they are intelligible to practitioners and as such may be considered such "localized jurisdiction". Thirdly, scene is an arena for learning of practice (development of competences and skills) and acquiring proficiency in performance, thereby developing individual identities and community practices. Correctly performed performance brings satisfaction to the individual, gratification both internally and externally (Warde, 2004), influencing the consolidation of identity and its better recognition by others. By practicing in scene, the practitioners train their body-minds and thus acquire and develop practical knowledge. As competence develops, the way an individual is perceived by others changes

(Shove, 2012: 70). From a beginner, one becomes an expert in a particular practice. Subsequent successful performances allow the individuals to develop their careers of practices and reinforce their meanings and identities. In the process, the practice itself can transform, for example, what determines what is, for example, ecological and how ecology should be practised. As Shove notes, practices are determined by a specific combinations of elements (materials, competences and meanings) and as such they evolve as these elements change. In this way, community identities are evolving and redefining themselves. As noted by Show et al. "Experienced practitioners define career paths that other then follow. In other settings it is novices who bring new ways of doing into being. In both cases the ways in which relations between newcomers and old-hands are structured is critical for the circulation (of not) of expertise and for how careers develop" (ibid.: 72).

Scenes as timespaces for particular practices bring practitioners together so they can enter into contact and interact. According to Nicolini (2012: 173) practices are "collectively phenomena and they make participants co-exist and come together within specific projects and horizons of intelligibility". Intelligibility refers to the way practices are understood and recognised by participants within a particular social setting (Schatzki, 2002: 33). For a practice to be intelligible, it must make sense to the agents involved. This means that they must be able to recognise the components of the practice, understand how they fit together, and see the purpose or goal of the practice. Without some level of shared understanding of what a practice entails, it is difficult for individuals to coordinate their actions with others and to know how to participate effectively and efficiently in the practice. If a practice is not intelligible, participants may struggle to understand what they are supposed to do or why they are doing it. This can lead to confusion, frustration, and inefficiency. On the other hand, when a practice is intelligible, participants can enact practice smoothly and achieve their goals more easily. The horizons of intelligibility are local and situated—they are particular to specific communities and contexts (Nicolini, 2012: 172; Schatzki, 2002: 120). Scenes are spaces of intelligibility for individuals looking to enact shared practices of cultural consumption. As composed of legibly meaningful practices they allow for smooth hanging together of agents engaged in pursuing similar meanings and identities. As a site for particular practices of consumption, scene thus attracts and selects practitioners: it attracts practitioners of a definite practice looking for a site for their performance

and select them rejecting those whose competences and meanings do not fit into the configuration of practices performed in the scene. The practices shape the way individuals interact with each other, as well as with the objects and tools they use within those practices. In other words, practices determine interaction through the complex interplay of meaning, competence, and materiality, which shape how individuals engage with and contribute to a particular practice (Nicolini, 2012: 173). Aesthetic dimensions of scenes inform about prevailing standards of a given practice—they define what a "proper" way of doing and saying is and thus provide frames for interactions, building in this way a sense of ontological security among participants, thanks to which they can enjoy hanging together.

Scenes also provide opportunities for the development of collective consciousness. Cultural collective consciousness develops through practices of cultural consumption that are shared by individuals. These practices, through their embeddedness in the scene, are transformed into community practices and lead to the development of a sense of belonging, place attachment and self-awareness of community. As Matthias Kluckmann (2016: 39) aptly points out, by performing practices individuals develop a feeling of "we-ness". This "we-ness" includes all those individuals who perform the same practices, thus characterised by "commonality", if one were to use the words of Schatzki (2002), to which Kluckmann refers. "This 'commonality', according to Schatzki, occurs when the same 'understandings, principles, goals, plans and emotions' are expressed in different human activities (Schatzki, 2002: 147). As Kluckmann (2016: 38) writes, "every feeling of we-ness develops through participation in practice, and every practice has the potential to develop a feeling of "we-ness" among its participants". Undertaking shared practices in scene is tantamount to erecting boundaries that separate the "us" from the "others", and thus builds a sense of community. The fact that cultural practices are territorially embedded in scenes favours the observability of the "we-ness" and its recognition by practitioners. This recognition of a shared social identity helps to establish a sense of belonging and leads to reification of the community of practitioners through the development of collective self-consciousness. In scenes imagined communities take on a real shape, externalising itself in the bodies and actions of the participants in the scene. Although actors are only, as Reckwitz (2002) puts it, "carriers of practices", it is only through them that practices materialise and reproduce, and participants of scenes

have the chance to transfer their identifications from ideas and values to concrete situations and individuals, thus making the imagined belonging to the community real. In other words, from observing the performances of other participants on scene the real "we-ness" is born, and the community, even if so far only imagined, takes on real shapes. The scene connects the space with the cultural identity of the actors and the new locality meets the new communality.

Finally, having achieved collective self-consciousness and identity participants of scene may develop collective agency which is a precondition for collective action (Melucci, 1989, 1996). Therefore, scenes provide resources for social mobilisation and thus may lead to collective actions. Collective agency as the capacity of a group to act as a unified entity, emerges through the coordination and alignment of individual actors engaged in shared practices (cf. Schatzki, 2002). As individuals participate in the scene performing shared practices and adhering to their understandings, rules and teleoafectives, their actions become interwoven and coordinated and a collective identity and agency begin to take shape. In other words, by enacting shared practices in a scene, agents build a sense of collective identity and purpose, which can then be used to mobilize individuals towards collective action. Scenes can facilitate collective agency and mobilisation in a number of ways. By undertaking shared practices in scenes, individuals gain the opportunity to recognise themselves as part of a collective and to align their actions with the shared goals and meanings. The recognition of a shared social identity helps to establish a sense of belonging as a basis for collective action (cf. Melucci, 1989, 1996). By providing a space for individuals to express their cultural identities publicly, scenes create a sense of visibility and legitimacy for the collective and its claims. Scenes may also contribute to the development of cultural repertoire of shared symbols, rituals, narratives, and practices that are meaningful to participants and form cultural resources that are used in the mobilisation (Melucci, 1989). Scenes facilitate collective agency also by providing opportunities for interaction, networking, ongoing communication and coordination among participants. By engaging in joint activities and mutual adjustments, individuals create a collective presence that transcends their individual capacities. Scene provides space for individuals to develop and refine their goals and ideas, which can then be disseminated to a wider audience, to share experiences, knowledge, and resources which can then be used to advance collective action,

build networks of support and solidarity, as well as to organise and coordinate collective action (Leach & Haunss, 2008). Finally, as sites for ongoing reproduction and transformation of shared practices, scenes help to sustain and reinforce collective identity and agency. As individuals continue to participate in the practice, they contribute to its continuity and evolution, shaping the collective agency over time.

Community practices form a kind of continuum, the two extremes of which are, on the one hand, community of practice, when people are connected only by an objective bond resulting from the similarity of individually performed practices, and on the other hand, practice of community, when people are connected by a subjective bond and develop a self-conscious community (cf. Kluckmann, 2016). We can call the former one a "community in itself" and the latter—"community for itself". A community of practice, being a community in itself, is based on a shared belief about what and how one is allowed, what one should do, and how one should do it. People are thus united by the similarity of practices. At the same time, they create and reproduce a community of these practices, because by undertaking a practice each time, they affirm their belonging to those who do the same and at the same time put up a boundary separating them from those who do otherwise. The practice of community, on the other hand, being a community for itself, includes practices whose essence, content and purpose is community. It is therefore no longer a question of individuals undertaking the same practices—which objectively unites them—but of them practising the community directly, undertaking practices oriented towards the community, in which all the constitutive elements of the practice constitute the community, when they do something for the community, because of the community. My understanding of communities of practice is close to the concept of 'communities of practice', which was introduced into academic circulation by two education researchers Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in their work on collective learning. The authors develop the concepts of Situated Learning and Legitimate Peripheral Participation, which explains how actors acquire proficiency in practice through participation in communities of practice that is at first peripheral but that increases gradually in engagement and complexity (1991: 95). According to Wenger, communities of practice are characterised by three basic characteristics (Wenger, 1998; Wenger et al., 2002): firstly, participants in these communities share a common domain of interest and an associated set of competencies. Secondly, participants interact with each other

on a more or less regular basis, as a result of which they help each other to develop competence and proficiency in practice. Thirdly, participants are united by the practice they develop together—a community of practice is a community of practitioners. The approach proposed in this work, although close to Wegner's conception, is somewhat broader, as it goes beyond the context of learning, although it does not negate it: the community of practice here is more than a community of collective learning of practice. However, it remains consistent with Wegner's propositions about the essence of community, namely that it is the result of practice and thus "need not be reified as such to become a community; it can enter into the experience of participants through their very engagement" (Wenger 1998: 84, after Nicollini 2012: 92). As Nicolini (2012: 93–94) puts it: "There is no need for a voluntarist notion of community, where it is understood as a self-conscious, self-proclaimed entity to sustain the connectedness bestowed by practice. On the contrary, the sense of community that has fascinated social scientists, politicians, and ideologues of all times reveals itself to be the result of specific practices. (...) Community (...) is, if anything, a form of commonality performed by the practice and not vice versa". The practice of community can evolve from community of practice. As Nicolini (2012: 92) aptly observes, 'practice produces sociality and network effects; it sustains stabilized regimes of saying and doing which constitute a resource for the discursive constitution of individual and collective identities' which are in turn foundations for communities comprehended as practices of community. Between the two extremes—the community of practice on the one hand and the practice of community on the other—stretch the most diverse manifestations of community, characterised by a certain fluidity and rather conventional boundaries. I propose to delineate four main types of these manifestations, although, to reiterate, the boundaries between them are fluid and very conventional. These are identity practices, sociability practices, collaborative practices and collective action practices. These different varieties of community practices can (but need not) co-occur and overlap, and reinforce each other, leading to the development of practices with different levels of integration and self-awareness (from community of practice to practice of community).

Practices of Identity

Identity practices are practices of broadly comprehended cultural consumption through which individuals develop their lifestyles and self-identities. By pursuing a particular lifestyle and an identity, individuals manifest their belonging to a lifestyle community. Identity practices are thus de facto community practices. They require practising and social recognition, because only social recognition legitimises identity. This means that even the most individualistic identities require the presence of a community to become legitimate, and outside the community, without mutual recognition, they do not exist (cf. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Bellah et al., 1996, 2007; Kellner, 1992). In the search for mutual identity recognition, individuals choose scenes with an appropriate audience and socio-cultural opportunity structures that provide the desired identity resources. A bar for corporate employees will not provide identity resources for the anti-globalist—on the contrary, it will undermine his identification, weakening its authenticity, while a local café with a revolutionary atmosphere, filled with anti-globalist slogans, provides such resources, which is why it is where the anti-globalist will go for lunch. Although the basic practice here is to eat lunch, the specific configuration of the elements of this practice makes it at the same time a community metapractice—a practice of anti-globalist identity.

In identity practices, individuals generally do not identify with specific communities and rarely acknowledge community affiliations. The imagined dimension of community here is limited to individual identity. The imagined self dominates—the actors realise their own individual identity. Although they may feel a bond with people similar to themselves, they do not imagine these people as members of the community. Manifesting one's identity in front of observers, however, is in fact a message about belonging to a specific community that is objectively connected by similar configurations of practices—consisting of beliefs about the desired practices, their purposeful and affective conditions and the rules of their correct course. These specific configurations testify to belonging to a community and make it possible to distinguish the "one's" from the "stranger's".

In identity practices, urban space functions as a scene in its purest form: it is a space of cultural consumption practices with specific social meanings (for example, "alternative", "ecological"), and therefore a space where we can indulge in activities that allow us to realise our lifestyles

and our identities. The artefacts, objects and organisms that make up the scene and the practices undertaken within it, just as the artefacts, objects and organisms used by the actor in a given practice, give credence to the actor's identity. Other people on the scene are treated merely as an audience (essential to the performance) who, by observing the actor's performance of the practice, sanction the actor's identity, or as part of the arrangement of the practice when interacting with or merely being in the presence of certain people on scene gives the practice the desired meaning. Actors do not establish subjective bonds, but they need each other to give their identity the qualities of authenticity. Therefore, the lack of access to appropriate scenes hinders the development of identity and can be a source of frustration, uncertainty and confusion, resulting from a sense of alienation.

Practices of Sociability

The practices of sociability, although at first sight indistinguishable from identity practices (they still have identity functions), differ from the latter in a sense that they require social simultaneity and begin to be oriented towards other people. The essence of the practice of sociability is to perform a given practice simultaneously with others, in their co-presence. "Simultaneously" does not mean "together", however: practices of sociability, like practices of identity, are undertaken individually, without the cooperation of other individuals. However, they cannot be undertaken alone in isolation, hence the requirement of simultaneity of practitioners in a given place and time. Breakfast picnics are an example of this type of practice—after all, anyone can go on a picnic at any time in any place, but the participants evidently prefer instead to come to picnics organised to picnic together with others. For the point is to do this among people and to fulfil the need for sociability—being with others. The practice is thus expanded to include "similar others": we do not need the presence of others just for mutual recognition, but for companionship. At the same time, the goal-affective structure is modified: the goal is to do something with others, to satisfy the need for sociability. Next to recognition, it is important to have pure sociability, to spend time among others and thus experience the liminal emotions of togetherness.

The community-forming mechanism in this case is the experience of liminality (Turner, 1969). It consists in the fact that individuals experience a specific satisfaction from being with strangers who share the same

practice (for example, breakfast picnics, concerts, running together). This satisfaction gives rise to an edifying sense of community "we", a "community spirit", a "moment of community", which is precisely the experience of "liminality". The experience of liminality causes that next to the imagined "I" there also appears an imagined (and at the same time real) "we": people who co-presently, in one place and time, undertake a given practice. The "I" (individual and individualistic identity) continues to dominate, but this "I" no longer requires only recognition by others, but also their simultaneous participation in practice and identity formation. In this way an idea of community develops, based on a sense of similarity (connection to others) and positive emotions from being among people who are similar in some way (what unites them is a common practice).

The socio-cultural opportunity structure of the scene provides individuals with interactional resources—it enables social contact with strangers and defines acceptable interactions between them. It allows strangers to approach each other in the sense of security guaranteed by the nature of the scene. Strangers become "familiar" in the given practice, as the practice "tames" the relations between them and allows bonds and relationships to be established. The urban scene plays the role of a safe, "familiar" meeting place and is a necessary condition for simultaneity. It can be temporary, when it serves as a one-off meeting place (such as picnics), but it can also acquire the qualities of a socially significant "place" when the practices in a given space have a recurrent character and become fixed over time, thus giving the space a relatively permanent and socially recognisable symbolic meaning.

Practices of Collaboration

Practices of collaboration going beyond individual identity and sociability practices require participants to organise and coordinate themselves. At this stage, individuals become aware of the existence of others like them and the ties or interests that connect them. They further recognise that the realisation of their chosen lifestyle and identity based on it requires cooperation. This happens, for example, when individual beekeepers decide to organise themselves to look after their bees together, or when a group of regulars in an organic bar decides to start a vegetable garden. Individuals establish rules for cooperation and patterns of behaviour that they commit to obey, although participation in the community remains voluntary and individuals join it mostly to pursue their own interests. In

other words, actors share common interests, and through an organised community they can pursue these interests and achieve their own goals.

The socio-cultural opportunity structure of scene provides individuals with consciousness resources to reify the community and to embed it spatially. The process of reification and boundary-building takes place here—"us" is being defined usually in comparison to "them". By observing the practices carried out in a scene, individuals come to the conclusion that they share a similarity of interests with others and that they form a collective being. The symbolic meanings of the practices undertaken in a given scene constitute a kind of common cultural code, which becomes a basic resource facilitating communication, organisation and coordination. Eating at McDonald's communicates very different meanings than similar practices at a vegan eco-bar. So if we wanted to start a vegetable garden, we would look for supporters among the regulars of the eco-bar rather than among burger lovers. Moreover, it will be easier to start such a garden if we know the regulars of the eco-bar by sight and interact with them in other social situations outside the bar, for example in the local organic shop.

Individual consciousness is transformed into collective consciousness: individuals construct a collective "we" and embed their own "I" in it. In collaborative practices, the "we" comes first to the "I", because the "I" can only realise itself through participation in the "we". This means that actors develop an idea of "we" and see themselves as members of a community that allows and facilitates them to realise their own interests, their "I". Since the self is defined by participation in the community, and individual interests can only be realised in cooperation with other members of the community, an image of the community is produced which acquires value for the individual and can be the object of protection, leading to conformist behaviour and the development of community obligations. Therefore, the "I" gives way to the foregrounding of the "we", although it continues to co-direct practices.

The scene as a space of practices now becomes a space of community, an important reference point in the identity of its members and its collective consciousness and is therefore "appropriated" by the community. Individuals feel a bond with the place and treat it as "theirs". At the same time, the bond with the place strengthens the bonds between individuals: the place binds individuals, it is itself produced by the practices they undertake. In this way the community becomes permanently "embedded" in the scene, which results in its immobilisation. The scene thus becomes

"local", and the regularity and repetition of practices and actors creates a sense of "locality". Individuals practising organic food integrate around a common garden, which at the same time becomes "their" place—a community of "we" is created, which becomes embedded in a "common" place.

Practices of Collective Action

Collective action practices require individuals to recognise community interests and then identify and mobilise community resources. For collective action to occur, the socio-cultural opportunity structure of scene must provide individuals with adequate resources. The totality of practices undertaken in the scene and their material arrangements inform individuals about the collective interest and identify potential participants in the action. The saturation of scene with repetitive practices with consistent symbolism and the repeated contact of practicing individuals provides the basis for framing community identity and territorial interests. In other words, from frequent contact with other individuals performing practices with similar meanings, a belief in community interest is born. In turn, symbolic practices such as spatial stickers or identity markers (for example, pinned coloured ribbons) send a message of readiness to mobilise.

In collective action practices, individuals achieve a full awareness of the "we" that becomes superior to the "I". "We in ourselves" is transformed into "we for ourselves". Individuals become aware that they are united by a communal interest and not only by a community of interests. The territory becomes a community interest: taking care of it and defending it against the actions of others. Teleoafective structures are transformed, new explicit rules are formulated and individuals develop new practices: communication, exclusion, struggle, negotiation. Repertoire of practices extend significantly.

The socio-cultural opportunity structures differ not only in the nature of resources they provide for communal practices, but also in terms of their richness, diversity, intensity and consolidation. Scenes with rich structures are those that allow for numerous practices to be enacted, while diverse ones are those that offer wider variety of practices. Rich structures are usually diverse at the same time, but one may also think of structure that is rich in practices that are not diverse. Intensity and consolidation of socio-cultural opportunity structures refers to the intelligibility of scenes and their constitutive practices. Intensity informs about the strength of

meanings embedded in practices while consolidation denotes coherence of these meanings. These parameters allow to describe socio-cultural structures of both scenes themselves as well as greater units such as a city or a neighbourhood, which may be home to more or less numerous, diverse, intense and consolidated scenes. It can be expected that different scenes, and thus different socio-cultural opportunity structures, foster different community practices. The richer and more diverse the opportunity structures, the greater the possibilities for the development of diverse community practices (and thus the formation of diverse communities in the city): different identities, different interactions, different community cultural consciousness and different collective actions. In other words, in cities where we find more scenes and they are more consolidated, intense, and richer and to a greater extent diverse, individuals have more opportunities to pursue different lifestyles, to celebrate and develop community identities or to interact with other individuals who share the same tastes and values. Community forms in these cities will therefore be more numerous. In the next chapter, I will discuss several case studies of scenes with different socio-cultural opportunity structures in order to show how they translate into different communal practices.

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CHAPTER 3

Applying the Urban Scene as Community Practice Approach in the Field

Abstract The chapter is based on extensive fieldwork carried out in three Polish cities and serves as an exemplification of the application of the approach proposed in Chapter 2 to the study of community phenomena in contemporary cities. Although based on Polish data, the research develops the universal concept of socio-cultural opportunity structures and thus allows to explain communal processes beyond national contexts. The chapter starts with a discussion on challenges in investigating social practices and provides the details of the applied methodology. Then, selected case studies of different scenes as community practices are presented and discussed in order to illustrate how urban space and cultural consumption practices interact, leading to the development of different kinds of communities, or rather community practices. From bohemian and alternative lifestyle communities, through ecologists and urban activists to local communities, the role of scene in community practices is presented and analysed.

Keywords Scenario game · Scene · Socio-cultural opportunity structure · Community practice · Practice of community · Community of practice · Practices of identity · Practices of sociability · Practices of cooperation · Practices of collective action

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The main assumption that guided the research that will be presented next was that different scenes provide different socio-cultural opportunity structures that lead to different community practices. What then and how should be investigated in order to verify this assumption? Since urban community has been conceptualised as a nexus of cultural and aesthetic practices and their arrangements embedded in scenes, the research questions should refer to practices, arrangements and scene and how these elements interplay in providing socio-cultural opportunity structure for community practices. Questions of practice are questions of what, how, why and for what is being done and said in a scene. A given configuration of these elements defines a practice, and any change of elements or in their configuration—changes the practice. Questions about arrangements are questions about people, artefacts, organisms and things that are used or present in the enactments of the practices. Changes of these elements also change practice. Finally, questions about scene are questions about place, people in it, available practices of cultural consumption, and meanings of those practices (legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity). All these questions, as can be clearly noticed, overlap, as all the elements of the approach, namely practices, arrangements and scenes, are intertwined and interplay. In this chapter, I propose and test an empirical approach to study communities as cultural practices embedded in scenes. The aim of this chapter is therefore twofold: on the one hand, it provides exemplification of empirical application of the praxeological approach developed in the previous chapter; on the other hand, it provides some insights from the field, that demonstrate how different socio-cultural opportunity structures of scenes lead to various community practices. The chapter begins by addressing the difficulties associated with investigating social practices and then proceeds to explain the methodology employed in the study. Subsequently, several distinct case studies of scenes with different socio-cultural opportunity structures are examined and analysed to showcase the interaction between urban spaces and cultural consumption practices, ultimately resulting in the emergence of diverse forms of communities or, more precisely, community practices.

Methodology

Studying practices in general and nexuses of practices in particular brings about four major epistemological and methodological challenges, namely problems of reification, dualism, denomination and delimitation. Practices are considered realities independent of the individuals who carry them, as individuals are only "carriers of practices" (cf. Reckwitz, 2002). This implies serious limitations in interpretations of individual interviews as practices must not be reduced to individual experiences and declarations. Although practices are not particular performances but rules of these performances, they can be studied only indirectly by observing individual performances, which requires cognitive processes of deduction and abstraction, which might be biased both by practicing individuals and/or researcher. In the case of nexuses of practices the particularly difficult to face are problems of denomination and delimitation of practice, namely defining what practices should be studied, as well as defining limits of these practices. As shown in the previous chapter, community practices are the nexuses of practices of everyday life, like shopping, eating and leisure. The object of observation, therefore, becomes all the practices performed in a scene, for through them individuals perform community practices. "Arranging" these practices into nexuses from which community practices emerge, or in a sense "abstracting" from these practices into community practices, is largely the role of the researcher, but is not without the voice of the respondents themselves, who are able to embed the meaningfulness and purposefulness of the practices undertaken in the individual, but also in the community. Since, as shown earlier, these kinds of practices do not necessarily need to be made aware by those performing them at a given point in time, the research process requires inducing an appropriate degree of reflexivity in the respondent, so that he or she is able to access the building elements of the practice being undertaken rather than taking it for granted. Therefore, it is important to constantly question the respondent and not settle for obvious answers. The task of the researcher is to get to the deepest implicit understandings and teleoafectives of the practice that guide respondents.

The research methods used in the fieldwork included in-depth interviews combined with research walks (Nóżka & Martini, 2015) and visual ethnography (Schwartz, 1989, Pink, 2007, 2008) based on photographically documented observation, as well as "scenario game", which is a method that has been developed specifically for the project during the

course of the fieldwork. In total, 112 individual interviews and 7 "scenario game" group interviews were conducted. The interviews with scenes regulars were free form in nature, with the researchers following the respondent in the interviews, but adhering to an interview guide. The guide was built around five main issues that were asked about: (1) the individual (the respondent), (2) the place, (3) the people and (4) the practices and its elements, and (5) reflection on the community. Interviews were either conducted during the walk or the walks were conducted at the end. Respondents were asked to guide the researcher around the scene. The respondent was encouraged to create their own narrative about themselves (their life/lifestyle/belonging) through the prism of the places that were visited with them. Questions about places, people and practices were repeated for each place visited. The course of the walk was recorded in an observation log. A very important element of the interview walk was the careful observation of the respondent. The observation logbook recorded not only information about the places visited, but also the respondent's emotions and non-verbal behaviour, impressions and feelings about the place, observed behaviour of other people present at the place under study, etc. In this way, the respondent's statements were embedded in the space and its meanings. The observations were then included in the transcriptions in the form of a commentary informing about the spatial context in which the statement took place and the accompanying emotions. The places visited were photographed. Any manifestations of community observed in the interview space (e.g. stickers, graffiti, specific scenes, etc.) were also photographed, in an attempt to collect as rich a visual material as possible.

In the first part of the interview, the respondents were asked to tell about themselves: where they come from, what they do, what they are like, what they like to do, where, how and with whom they spend free time, what kind of lifestyle they lead, and were then asked to show "their places". This led to the second part of the interview dedicated to the respondents' places. The respondents were asked to say something about the place, to describe what it was like, and to identify what made it special, what made it special to them, and why the respondents came here: what did they like about it, what bothered them about it, or what would bother them about it? Questions were also asked about how the respondents found the place, how they got there, and how they feel about it and how they felt when they were here for the first time. Further questions were asked about the people in the place. Respondents were asked if they

knew any other regulars in the place or if they recognised their faces, or perhaps met them in other circumstances. They were asked to try to identify who the people in the place were and what they could say about them: what they are like, what they look like, how they behave, what brings them here, what they feel and think when they come here, is there something they have in common, are they similar in anything? Finally, respondents were asked about how they feel among these people, why in this way and what makes them that way and whether they have something in common or are similar to them in something. Then respondents were asked about the practices undertaken in the place: what they do most often in a particular place, why they do it, why they do it in that particular place, why in that particular way and not in another way? Questions were also asked about what other people who come here do in the place: how do they behave, why do they behave that way, why do they do what they do and why do they come here to do it? Next question asked about the common activities of the regulars, whether it happens that people visiting the place do something together. If the respondents pointed to some community activities, they were asked about details: how did it start, when, what came first, who was behind it, who started and who joined, how did it develop, what were the stages, what were people's reactions, who came and who was against, what were the obstacles and what were the enabling circumstances, what came next, what changed, why? Finally, the respondents were asked to give advice to a person who had never been to a place but would like to get into it: what should one do here, how should one do it, how should one look, what is allowed and not allowed, who is allowed and not allowed, are there any formal or informal orders and prohibitions, how to learn them or infer them? In the last part of the interview, respondents were prompted to reflect on community. They were asked whether they shared any ties, views or lifestyles with other people, with whom and what they related, how this manifested itself, why; whether it could be said that they belonged to a community; how this community happens, how it functions on a day-to-day basis, why people feel more connected to some and not to others and how this manifests itself; how one can recognise who is "one's own" and who is not (who belongs to the same "community"/who has nothing in common with these people)?

The questions contained in the interview were filled in with content from the observations. The observation guidelines included similar elements to the interview itself. First of all, the researcher had to

observe the respondents' "tribal identifications", their appearances and behaviours, the "markers", the signals indicative of their identity and lifestyle, both in material form (e.g. clothing, accessories, general image, means of transport used, stickers on the scooter or laptop, drinks ordered, brand of laptop, etc.) and in immaterial form (way of greeting each other, way of smoking, attention to physical form, taste in music, etc.). The respondents' gestures, tone of voice, vocabulary, facial expressions, or body language in different interview situations were also an important part of the observation. The researcher also had to make observations of the scene itself: its atmosphere and aesthetics, (e.g. the genre of music in the premises, the nature of the décor, stickers, inscriptions on the walls, etc.); the people, how they look and behave, what identity markers they use; the practices with their arrangements, i.e. what people do and how they do it; and the overt and covert rules that the researcher was able to decipher in the observed situation. The observations were recorded in an observation logbook, supplemented by photographic documentation.

Since individuals tend to take practices for granted, reaching their constitutive elements might turn out to be difficult to them. In order to deal with the limits of respondents' reflexivity, a scenario game technique has been developed in the course of the research. The scenario game has the character of a projective group interview: in discussion, the group jointly works out the rules of practice and its arrangement and defines its boundaries. The interview is recorded on a voice recorder. The game involves three to five participants who are regular participants of the investigated scene. They are asked to help an acquaintance from Greenland, who has to recreate in their film a typical scene from the place they have just visited. This friend has never been to this place and has not seen it, nor has he seen the people who stay here, nor does he know what is done here and does not understand our culture. He cannot come here and see everything with his own eyes, yet he wants to shoot the scene as faithfully as possible, as if he knew the place from his own experience, as if he were here every day—so that no one would accuse him of falsity and everything would be authentic. The respondents' task is to provide as much information as possible about the three essential elements of the script: the scenery, the actors and the action itself. In the description of the scenography, respondents are asked for information about the place and time of the action (where it is, what it is, what it serves, what is said about it, what we know about it, how it functions at this time), the decorations (what

is the decoration of the place, what design, what details, what furnishings, what style prevails), sound and lighting (is it loud or quiet, what sounds the actors make, what is the light) and atmosphere (how can it be described or named, what emotions it evokes, how do the actors feel in it). When describing the actors, respondents are asked to describe their roles (who they are, how old they are, what they do, what they do here, why they come here, why they are here), their make-up and costumes (what they look like, what they wear, do they have a style), the props they use (what paraphernalia they have, what they consume, what objects they use) and their emotions (facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, body language, what they feel, how they perceive this place and what happens in it). The description of action asks for information about elements such as what the actors are doing? (what are they doing here? what activities are they performing), how they are doing it (with what tools, in what position are they standing, e.g. if they are smoking cigarettes, how are they smoking, if they are talking, what are they talking about, how are they gesticulating, what is their tone of voice; if they are working, how are they working, what tools are they using, are they consuming something, how are they consuming it, etc.), why they are doing it (what brought them here, why are they doing it here and in this way and not in another way) and for what purpose are they doing it (what effect do they intend to achieve).

The group discusses each element of the scenario. Participants are asked to justify the opinions they make and to develop them. The researcher's task is to moderate the group discussion in such a way that the participants discuss among themselves the elements of the practice and their arrangement, to make them go into more depth and detail about the different elements of the scenario, their explicit and implicit meanings and their relevance to the scene being described, and to pursue reasons and clarify possible disagreements among the participants. The jointly developed descriptions are placed on self-adhesive cards, which are then glued onto the corresponding cards—each element of the scenario has its own card. The completed cards are photographed by the researcher, who then moves on to the last element of the game: questions about possible modifications to the scenario. This element of the game helps to define the 'limits' of the observed practices, i.e. when a practice ceases to be one and the scene loses its authenticity. The researcher reads out the instructions and asks the group to think about possible modifications to each of the elements written on the sticky notes, but in such a way that they

do not compromise the authenticity of the scene. Respondents suggest possible changes and replace the sticky notes with other sticky notes containing new suggestions—the sticky notes with the new suggestions are pasted several times (until the participants' ingenuity is exhausted), each time discussing the changes they introduce. The researcher moderates the discussion in such a way as to determine the limits of the changes: which are possible and do not affect the authenticity of the scene and the correct course of action, and which change the essence of the scene and make what takes place in it inauthentic, incorrect or unlikely. The researcher also proposes changes themeselves and asks the participants how they affect the credibility of the scene. Finally, the researcher asks the participants to set limits to the modifications of the finished scene: what can be changed and what cannot be changed so that the scene remains authentic so that it is not falsified? What is most important and what is least important in the scene? The scenario game turned out to be very helpful not only in reaching deeper levels of reflexivity of respondents, but in delimitating limits of community practices as well.

Case Studies

In order to answer the research question on how socio-cultural opportunity structures of scenes translate into variety of community practices, the field research was conducted in several diverse scenes located in three Polish cities: metropolitan Warsaw (1.861,9 thousand inhabitants) being the administrative centre and capital of Poland, smaller Kraków (803,3 thousand inhabitants) being "cultural capital" of Poland, important academic centre and popular tourist destination and the smallest Katowice (280,2 thousand inhabitants) being (post)industrial city in the intense transformation process, the capital of the major industrial centre of Poland. These three cities differ in their scene's dynamics. In my comparative research of scenes in Polish cities (Klekotko & Navarro, 2015), Warsaw appeared to be the most advanced in the processes of scenes development, while Krakow and Katowice lagged behind. The differences in the development of scenes in the three cities can be observed in the accompanying figures (Figs. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). These maps were a starting point that informed where to look for scenes to analyse (such maps, however, are not mandatory for the research, as one can look for scenes by observation of the city space): the patches of white colour on the maps inform about lack of scenes. Equipped with maps of the scenes

and the support of local guides, the researchers set off to the field to have a closer look at the scenes and make a selection of cases.

Scenes are used to be measured in a quantitative way. The theory of scenes developed a sophisticated methodology called "mathematics of scenes" that allows for quantification of the defining dimensions of scenes

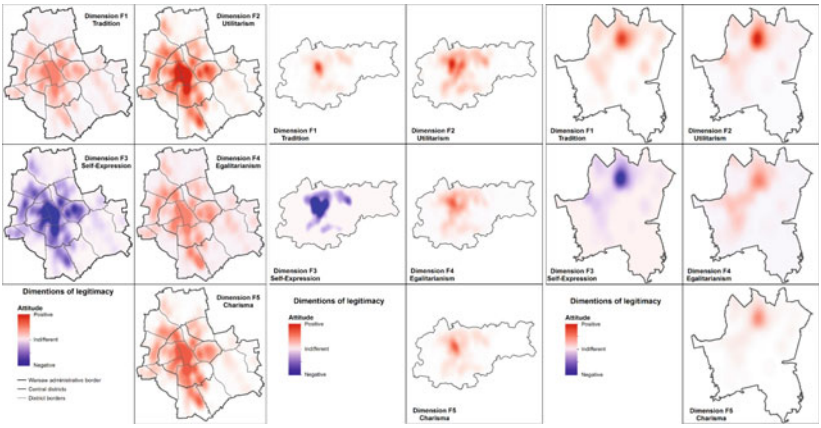

Fig. 3.1 Legitimacy dimensions in Warsaw, Cracow and Katowice

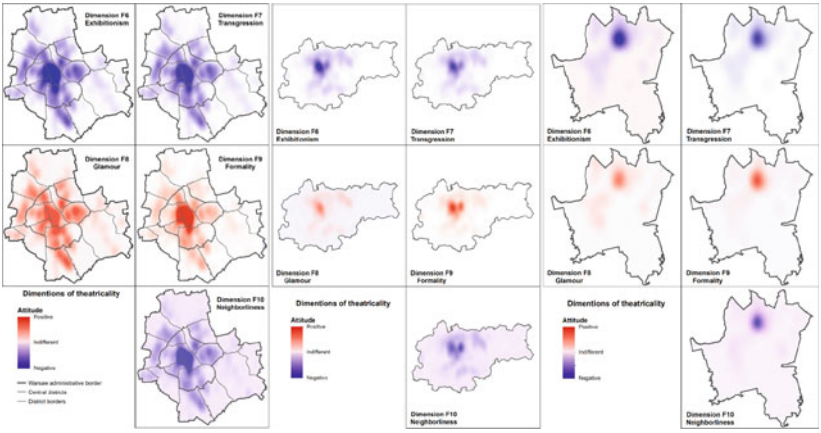

Fig. 3.2 Theatricality dimensions in Warsaw, Cracow and Katowice

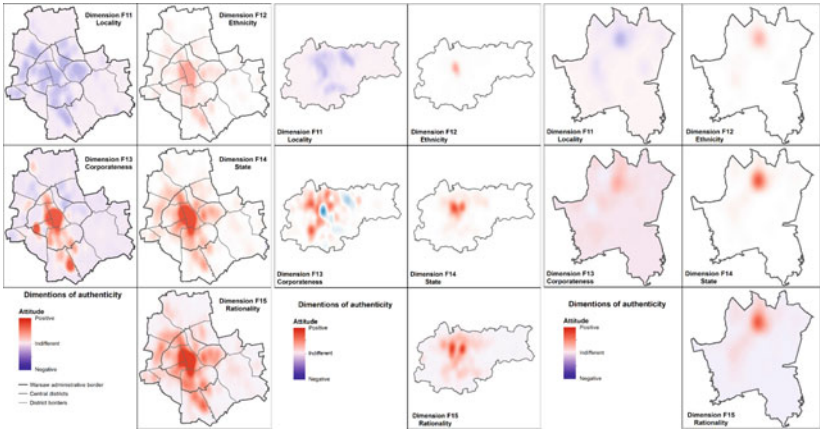

Fig. 3.3 Authenticity dimensions in Warsaw, Cracow and Katowice

in the form of scales that serve coding of practices of cultural consumption (operationalized as amenities, the data on which is collected from various databases like business registers, yelp or google maps) and calculation of various indices of dimension performance (check Klekotko 2019a and Klekotko 2021 for more on the mathematics of scenes). Such methodology is particularly useful for big-scale comparisons and impact analysis. However, scenes may be also investigated using qualitative methods such as observation. In fact, field observation is the most accurate method for identifying scenes, as it provides much more detailed information on cultural meanings of practices than unobservable and unverifiable quantitative data on amenities coming from various registers. The advantage of field observation is also that it allows one to observe more practices, as many practices of cultural consumption, such as skate boarding in the square, are not reflected in any databases or registers of urban amenities.

In order to determine character of scene, one must first observe practices of cultural consumption that compose scene and make an inventory of these practices by collecting detailed information on observed amenities and practices in writing form and photography. In the next step, one must determine cultural character of the practices observed, using the 15 cultural dimensions proposed by the theory of scenes. The researcher does not have to limit to these 15 dimensions and may add other cultural dimensions if necessary. In the case of the research presented here, the

dimension of ecology has been added, as it appeared to be particularly important in determining the cultural character of some of the scenes under investigation. In determining the cultural character of practice, the researcher must evaluate conformity of this practice to the values described by a given dimension. It can be done by answering questions like the following: Is the practice legitimized by values of tradition or opposite to tradition? To what extent? Is the theatricality of the practice based on values of neighbourliness or opposite to them? To what extent? Is the authenticity of the practice based on values of locality or opposite to locality? To what extent? Such questions are asked for every practice and every dimension. The answers ("Yes, very much", "Yes, to some extent", "No", "Opposite to some extent", "Very opposite") are then coded in order to determine which dimensions have the strongest performance in determining the cultural character of the practices and the scene.

Warsaw scenes are more numerous, they offer a greater variety of cultural consumption practices and are characterised by a higher consolidation and intensity of cultural meanings. In other words, in this city one can find relatively many scenes of a relatively distinct cultural character that reveal coherent and clear sets of values. Therefore, it was not difficult at all to find research-interesting scenes of community practices in Warsaw. It was more difficult in case of Cracow and Katowice. Cracow, although abundant with numerous amenities offering varied possibilities for cultural consumption, is dealing with massive touristification which seems to have standardisation effect on Cracovian scenes and some scenes are disappearing under these processes. The scenes of Cracow are less numerous than in Warsaw, less diverse and their consolidation is lower. The most difficult was to identify scenes in Katowice, where the offer of cultural consumption is modest, although very dynamically developing. This has its consequences in the development of scenes, which are not only the less numerous, but also characterised by the lowest degree of consolidation. The Downtown area, which is the richest in opportunities for cultural consumption, may be difficult to read unambiguously, as the exceptional density of amenities with the most varied purposes and aesthetic and cultural values introduces a kind of axionormative chaos, and the contradictory values cancel each other out. The scenes in Katowice are created rather by single points scattered in the space of the city centre or even in more distant corners of the city (sometimes forming a kind of network). For the theory of scenes, it is difficult to define individual amenities as a scene, as the notion of scene emphasises the importance

of the interaction of different amenities in a given space. In the case of Katowice, however, these individual amenities are often the nucleus of emerging scenes and, above all, of the community practices that come into being within them.

In each city, various scenes have been selected for investigation, each of them reflecting different socio-cultural opportunity structures. Due to the limited space of this book, only 5 of them will be presented, each of them providing diverse insights about community life in investigated cities: (1) LalaLand type of scene, namely self-expressive, glamorous, transgressive and exhibitionist Plac Zbawiciela in the centre of Warsaw, (2) Old Mokotów scene in Warsaw with a particular mix of neighbourliness, locality, self-expression, egalitarism and charisma, (3) Jazdow scene in Warsaw marked by communitarian and transgressive values, (4) bohemian scene of Kazimierz in Cracow and (5) KATO club on Mariacka Street in the centre of Katowice, distinguished by its transgressive self-expression.

Old Mokotów (Warsaw)

The Old Mokotow scene is located in the north-western part of the Mokotow district adjacent to the City Centre, which has one of the highest levels of attractiveness of living conditions—taking into account the needs of three social groups: families with children, singles and the elderly. Its attractiveness is mainly influenced by a highly developed service, health and educational infrastructure and access to cultural venues, as well as good transport links with other parts of the city, bicycle paths and access to green areas. No wonder the district attracts new residents. Old Mokotow has been a particularly fashionable and popular location in recent years, enjoying high prestige. Although it is still a socially and economically mixed area (which is emphasised by the interviewees as an asset of the place), there is a clear increase in the number of affluent people, especially from the creative class.

The socio-cultural opportunity structure of the Old Mokotow scene has a distinctly local/neighbourhood character, which is mainly determined by the extremely numerous small shops and service outlets (local vegetable stalls, grocery shops, industrial shops, such as the lighting shop that has been here "since time immemorial" and has not succumbed to the pressure of competition from large-scale stores, the shoemaker, etc.). In these places there is a familiar atmosphere, customers get into conversations, greet each other and "are nice" and "helpful" to each

other. The shopkeepers know their customers and their shopping habits, "remember what the husband bought in the morning" and "what may already be missing from the fridge". The local/neighbourhood character is also evident in the numerous cosy and aesthetically pleasing cafés, which are frequented by local residents who appreciate their familiar, "lazy" and egalitarian character. The ecological dimension of the local scene is also evident. One can find an ecological bazaar here, as well as shops with subscribed food "from the local farmer", plant adoption points, or such symbolic signals as pro-ecological stickers in the city space ("Mokotow free of plastic"), while cafes and restaurants offer almost exclusively vegan and vegetarian dishes. The presence of cultural institutions, such as the Nowy Teatr, the Iluzjon cinema and the grassroots neighbourhood cultural centre Mikromiasto, gives Old Mokotow a self-expressive character, while the high popularity of this part of the district among artists, especially from the theatre and film industry, including well-known actors, adds charismatic qualities.

A special place of exceptional importance for the Old Mokotow scene, emphasising its neighbourhood but also egalitarian character, is the New Theatre, or more precisely the square in front of the theatre building. It is described by interviewees as the "centre" of Old Mokotow, a "playground for young and old", a "community centre", a "place where everyone meets": people from the world of theatre and film, artists, stars of alternative arts, musicians, the fashion world, neighbours, families with children and dog-walkers. It is a vast square, off-limits to car traffic, largely concreted, but surrounded by a lot of greenery that gives the impression of being wild (interviewees point out the weeds that are deliberately planted here). There are modern, minimalist sprinklers from which a mist of water rises, in which children like to play. In the summer, the seasonal café of the Wars and Sawa bistro, which operates in the theatre building, operates by the square. The bistro attracts interviewees with its vegan/vegetarian offer and good coffee, its modern décor and "community centre" character, as well as its large open space where children like to play. As the interviewees emphasise, there is no obligation to consume in both the premises and the summer café, free water is available and one can use the available space freely. The place is also pet-friendly, and they are also offered access to water. The space of the square and the bistro is considered by the interviewees to belong to the residents and they are disturbed by the activities of the theatre—they do not like the crowds of people from all over the city during the performance.

The main users of the structure and a particularly conspicuous group which, in many opinions, defines the character of Old Mokotow or even "imposes" a certain lifestyle on it are the residents aged 30–40, educated, with high social capital, often working as professions or ngo's staff, enjoying the relatively good financial situation. As an intellectual and financial elite, they are "characterised by a certain snobbery", but "there is no nouveau riche flair". Some of them have lived in Mokotow since they were born, for generations, others moved here a few or more years ago—all of them feel connected to the district, treat living in Mokotow as an important part of their identity and none of them can imagine moving out, although some express concern about whether they will still be able to afford a flat here due to the influx of wealthy residents. Respondents often refer to the "Mokotów identity" that is supposed to characterise the users of the scene, which they define as a combination of the values of slow-life, ecology, locality and familiarity. They like to spend their leisure time in the area and do not like to move from it—if they can they work remotely, in one of Mokotow's cafes, and after work they meet and consume in the area. They value close relationships and a lack of anonymity and derive satisfaction from recognising others and being recognised by them, but at the same time they are individualists and display an aversion to pressure and control from others. They advocate to consume consciously and consume so. They try to live ecologically, they are vegetarians, and they are close to slow-life values. They like to walk or cycle around the area, carrying their favourite shopping bag and a bottle for tap water. Many of them have young children, who turn out to be an important theme in the interviews and strongly determine the consumption choices and lifestyles of this group of users of the scene, described by the interviewees as "Berlin parents". They are characterised by relatively late parenthood (first child in their 30 s), an open, "laid-back" approach to child-rearing in the spirit of proximity parenting and Montessori. They don't give up their "pre-baby" lifestyle, they combine roles and look for other "Berlin Parents" to socialise with.

The scene of Old Mokotów is filled with extremely rich arrays of practices that extends from identity practices through sociability and cooperation to collective action. All these practices are founded in a coherent identity narrative dominated by the values of locality, neighbourliness, ecology and slow life. The respondents practice (and thus legitimise) ecological identity by shopping at the local farmer, local

vendors and "ecological" shops, adopting plants, dining in vegan restaurants, moving by bicycle or walking, buying second-hand and interchange goods with others, avoiding plastic by carrying ecological bags, jars, wax-packs and cotton bags for food. Their love of localism and neighbourliness, on the other hand, is mainly practised by "spending time" in the neighbourhood in the company of other residents and users of the neighbourhood: shopping at local vendors or just peeking into shops or cafés to say hello, walking around the neighbourhood (alone, with dog, with children), meeting friends along the way and chatting with them, greeting "friends by sight", making small-talk with them, working remotely from one of the local cafés or spending their free time there. The neighbourhood-local dimension of identity involves practices of sociability, which are particularly observable in the square of the New Theatre. The residents come here, among other things, to work, read a book, spend time with their children, drink wine or free water, sit and watch the neighbourhood out' in the presence of other (albeit similar) people engaging in the same or similar meaningful practices. As we learn from the respondents, it is a place where one comes "just to hang out". The New Theatre Square is "an extension of the living room at home", where one "can come in a tracksuit", not caring about one's appearance, and feel safe, familiar and at home. It is not without reason that individuals come here 'in their tracksuit' to read a book—they do it precisely to be among others and to celebrate neighbourliness with them. The boundary between identity practices and sociability is particularly blurred here, as the two practices overlap and reinforce each other, thus making the meaning frames of the practices undertaken more coherent (for example, the value of "familiarity", "locality", which underpin both the chosen lifestyle and the need to be with others). The high intensity and visibility of identity and sociability practices in Old Mokotow translate into various forms of practices of cooperation, whereby practices of celebrating organic identity or neighbourliness take a more organised form. Respondents talk about organising neighbourhood picnics and street celebrations: they decorate a square or street, prepare tables, bring food and invite passers-by to join in. They also organise a joint neighbourhood Christmas party for lonely people (they organise the space, raise funds for presents for seniors, prepare food at home, prepare a festive table, pick up and drop off seniors in their own cars). They also organise themselves to develop ecological identity practices: organise a grassroots flea market and clothes exchanges ("swaps", organised for example in the premises of cafe Regeneration), as

well as set up, supply and use neighbourhood libraries. Collaboration is facilitated, among others, by the Ferajna group, which has its own Facebook profile gathering a few thousand users from Old Mokotow, through which participants can initiate and coordinate their activities and which in itself is an interesting example of practice of collaboration and a platform for mobilisation. The profile is used not only to organise joint actions (collecting things for the needy, discussing tree felling and intervening), but also to exchange resources, which is extremely popular among the participants: items (giving away unused things in exchange for seasonal fruit, avocados or wine, borrowing things such as a drill or a suitcase for a trip) and knowledge and information (about the beauty salon, where one can buy fresh parmesan cheese on Sunday evening). The most active members of the group are middle-aged people, exchanging most often in order not to buy (to reduce consumption), to share, for ethical or practical reasons or to support local places, local people—it seems that the desire to save money is only one of the motivations and not the most important. The group covers a specific area and people from outside are often sent away—some say it is the practical aspect (walking distance), to others it is a question of identity (the place of residence defines a person—those from Lower Mokotow are already a different group in a social, economic, lifestyle sense). Relationships initiated online translate into meetings, action and acquaintances "in real life". The practices of cooperation were made possible by the appropriate socio-cultural opportunities structure of the Old Mokotów scene, including above all the identity and social contact resources provided by a meaningfully coherent offer of cultural consumption. On their basis, the idea of a community of interests developed, which then triggered the need for cooperation and coordination of activities. The overlapping practices of identity, sociability and cooperation in the scene created a clear picture of community aspirations, values and territorial interests and led to the development of high self-awareness of the community and its collective identity. The collective identity in turn led to collective agency which allows for development of practices of social mobilisation. The participants of the Old Mokotów scene mobilise themselves, among others, in defence of nature and ecology in the neighbourhood. One such collective action took place in defence of the trees which were decided to be cut down because of the drought. The action took both the form of a protest in social media, the aim of which was to communicate dissent and "mobilise" the authorities to take appropriate action, community actions of watering

trees and blocking access to trees threatened with felling, as well as a collective lawsuit against Warsaw authorities (the lawsuit was prepared by a lawyer from Mokotów, prompted during a discussion on a Facebook group by the question "Is there a lawyer here?"). Another example of collective action in Old Mokotow were actions of grass sowing or hedgehogs protection. The meaningful cohesion of community practices in Old Mokotow fosters social mobilisation for collective action. In other words, individuals must have developed the conviction that others value nature just as much, that Old Mokotow is a whole (a community) for which nature is an important value and a common interest, and that it is possible to mobilise this whole using the previously developed channels of communication (Facebook, the local shop, New Theatre Square). Therefore, the socio-cultural opportunity structure of Old Mokotow allowed for development of all four forms of community practices. These practices are meaningfully coherent with each other and overlap and thus create a coherent alternative framework for local identification based on the lifestyle choices of the practitioners. Subsequent "levels" of social integration become possible thanks to the existence of the previous ones, and the previous ones are strengthened by practices from the subsequent ones. Thus in the space of Old Mokotow, through the accumulation of meaningfully coherent community practices, a more permanent local community is created.

Jazdów (Warsaw)

The Jazdów Estate is a colony of 27 wooden Finnish houses located in the beautifully wooded Ujazdowski Park, in the very centre of Warsaw, in the immediate vicinity of the parliament and embassies. The cottages were built in 1945 as part of Finnish war reparations as temporary homes for workers from the Bureau of Capital Reconstruction—a total of 90 temporary cottages were built, which, according to the plan, were to stand there for 5 years. Over time, most of the houses were demolished and replaced by the French and German embassies, among others. In 2011, the authorities of the Śródmieście district decided to finally develop the estate for commercial and public investments and ordered the demolition of the surviving houses. A campaign to evict residents from the estate and the first demolitions began. The dismantling of the estate was opposed by a group of Jazdów residents supported by urban activists and community workers who recognised the architectural and cultural value of the

estate and its unique potential. An informal group called Open Jazdów was formed, which began organising various cultural, social and educational events on the estate, thus demonstrating the estate's potential and gaining the support of Warsaw residents in the fight to preserve it. It was proposed that some of the houses, which are no longer inhabited, should be handed over to NGOs, which would carry out cultural activities there that would be open to all Warsaw residents. Eventually, as a result of public consultation, the cottage was saved. In 2017, the urban layout of the estate was included in the municipal register of historical monuments. Today, 22 organisations are active in 14 cottages on the estate; the remaining cottages remain inhabited.

Organisations operating on the estate are selected through competitions for the best cottage development projects, and their mission, as we learn on the Open Yazdov community website, is to "bring different groups together to develop public space, create a social and cultural offer accessible to everyone, test in practice alternative models of financing and monetary-free exchange, grow gardens together and simply have a good time" (https://jazdow.pl/). Groups of activists and community members with different interests gather around the individual cottages: architects, gardeners, beekeepers, artists, traditional and experimental musicians and educators. There is a passing community centre, a sort of natural centre of the estate the community garden Motyka i Słońce, whose open and publicly accessible space with its tables, benches and shelters invites you to sit there and enjoy the sun. The proximity to nature, the idyllic character of the housing estate, the open access to the houses and their space, the rich cultural offer and the unconventional values and lifestyles of the activists gathered around the houses give the space the qualities of neighbourliness and egalitarianism on the one hand and transgression and self-expression on the other.

For the respondents, the estate is above all a "green enclave in the city centre", an "oasis of peace and harmony", a "treasure", a "magical place" with unique buildings ('"the little wooden houses' are like a fairy tale") and proximity to nature, a place that "never ceases to delight", where it is easy to get lost if you don't know it. Some give it sacred qualities and supernatural powers, pointing out that the estate contains some of the oldest traces of settlement and places of worship. Visitors have a sense of participating in something unique in Europe (this is reinforced by the interest of people from around the world). They claim that living

and acting in the settlement allows them to be "outside the matrix" and "outside the system" and is a kind of "remedy for the evils of the world".

The neighbourly, self-expressive and at the same time egalitarian character of the estate attracts a special group of activists who cluster around the initiatives and organisations operating in the Finnish houses. These are generally young people, under 30, although we can also find a group of fifty-year-olds gathered around the community garden "Motyka i Słońce". They come to Jazdów through various channels, sometimes encouraged by an activist friend, sometimes attracted by an event, and sometimes completely by chance. Some of them are socially active before coming to the estate, but many become activists only in Jazdów, enchanted by the uniqueness of the estate and inspired by the actions of others. Some are active on the estate on a regular basis, and others turn up occasionally to do something together, to help organise an event or action. Sometimes they come to Jazdów just to "hang out", "recharge their batteries", "get away from the hustle and bustle of the city", take part in an event or meet their soulmates. They are a heterogeneous group in terms of occupation and life trajectories, but they are united by their strong, expressive characters, their courage to find their own path in life and resist traditional models and social expectations, and their unconventional thinking. They seek an alternative to the capitalist way of life, reject capitalist values and value the "non-systemicity" of Jazdów. They are heavily involved in the activities they carry out, they are selfless and helpful, "they will do something for you before you can ask them to", because what they value most is the relationship with another human being. Often, they are without money, and they try to exchange goods and services without money, to use existing resources. Contact with nature is important to them, which they treat therapeutically. Nature has subjectivity for them, they choose an ecological lifestyle, they don't eat meat, they don't own cars, and they cycle around the city. Some of the legitimate residents of the estate, who still live in 13 of the 27 houses, are bothered by the lifestyle, the "light-hearted" approach and the group life of the cottage activists. The visitors of the estate, on the other hand, don't always understand the actions of the "people from the houses". They describe the place as for insiders ("people in linen trousers, running around barefoot") and prefer to visit Jazdów during official events when the rules are clearer.

The estate is governed by its own rules, which are difficult for the interviewees to describe—as they emphasise, the people who come here "feel"

them naturally, "they have the same filter", which allows them to communicate with each other and find their way around the estate. At the same time—according to the regulars—you can see when someone is here for the first time, feels insecure, doesn't know how to behave and you can see when they clearly don't fit in here: "claimant people", lacking empathy, "self-centred", "someone who expects to be served", "expecting a high standard, toilets, a bar", "dressed up like for a disco", "wearing expensive brands", behaving loudly do not fit in here. The respondents treat the fact that not everyone finds their way here—more or less openly—as something precious. According to the regulars, the housing estate attracts weirdos, freaks and excluded people. They find openness and acceptance here. A homeless woman lives in an extension to a small house at the invitation of activists, and mentally ill people also turn up (perhaps because of the proximity to the psychiatric hospital).

Respondents talked enthusiastically about the wealth of practices they have the opportunity to undertake in Jazdów and, through them, realise the values close to them. These include: being in touch with nature (walking barefoot, sitting and lying on the grass, sleeping in a hammock strung between the trees, walking in the park, tending the greenery, cultivating the garden—watering, planting and transplanting plants, collecting vegetables and fruits, building birdhouses), being green (putting food leftovers on the compost heap, sorting rubbish, collecting rainwater, sharing crockery, cycling, gardening permaculturally, cooking and eating your own vegetables, collecting second-hand stuff from friends, building recycled Berlin-style DIY structures, e.g. water pumping swing), cooking and eating together (sharing and eating the harvest from the garden with gardeners and their friends, baking bread or pizza in the bread oven, bringing fruit and snacks for everyone, putting them on the communal table, sharing food in the food hall—leaving and taking food from the communal fridge and cupboard), celebrating non-systemicism (meeting participants of the climate march, preparing banners for pro-environmental marches, acting without permits, smoking cannabis, drinking moonshine), animating culture (inviting people to make music together, playing open concerts, listening to traditional music concerts while sitting on a wooden floor, building huts with children, making clay, inviting young architects or writers and jointly carrying out interventions in space), chatting (at every activity, "the day passes in conversation", discussing serious topics and trivialities, discussing politics, world views—conversations usually take place in front of the huts, but

also in any other place, over a cup of coffee, on the grass, people often touch and pat each other, the distances between them are small), but also working (often with a laptop, as in a co-working space, sometimes in a group, workshop-style over a flipchart, in the cottages, hiding a bit from others, because social meetings, conversations and the idyllic atmosphere are often not conducive) and taking part in formal community meetings (discussing on the forum the current issues and organisation of the Jazdow Estate, celebrating participative democracy, celebrating deliberation, dealing with bureaucracy).

"Wildness", "idyllic", "outside civilization", "action-oriented", "openness", "lack of schemes", "room for creativity", "freedom from matrix", "a place where one can socially and culturally express oneself" are only selected expressions of the respondents describing the essence of the Jazdów's socio-cultural opportunity structure, a structure particularly attractive to "people with activist ADHD", "anti-systemic activists", people who, discouraged by the course of civilisation's development, seek an alternative to it in a return to nature and community, "light-hearted people" and "freaks", as the uninitiated call activists. Few places so holistically allow practices whose teleoaffective structure is based on transgressive anti-capitalist, ecological and purely communal values. So strongly saturated with rich practices with an intense and legible structure of meanings and affects, the structure of socio-cultural possibilities has allowed the participants in Jazdow scene to develop all four forms of communal practices: from practising the identity of an anti-systemicist, environmentalist and activist, to practising communal sociability, to organising themselves and acting collectively in defence of the values of the community and the interests of the estate. These practices overlap, through them the identity of the Jazdów community develops, staggering loops, and the individual practices reinforce each other reciprocally. Above all, however, the Jazdów community appears as a case of a community "for itself", for most of the practices observed in Jazdów are oriented towards the community as a value in itself, as a desirable form of organisation of social life and a point of reference for individual identities. Jazdów is also the only case in which respondents speak of themselves as a community explicitly and manifest a decidedly collective consciousness finding vent in collective agency and collective action. They define themselves as members of a community of "people who don't give a damn", who fight to save Jazdów from redevelopment and who prove that living in harmony and closeness to nature is possible and desirable. Some of them are thinking of moving with their

community to the countryside and creating their own utopian settlement along the lines of Jazdów.

Zbawiciela Square (Warsaw)

Zbawiciela Square is a circular square in the city centre, intersected radially by three streets: Marszałkowska, Mokotowska and Nowowiejska-Aleja Wyzwolenia. Among regulars, it is commonly referred to as Zbawix or Zbawik—somewhat (self-)ironically, jokingly, tongue-in-cheek and provocatively, as it misrepresents the official name of the square, which is taken from the Church of the Saviour located on the square. The regulars use many informal terms to describe the square, its users and what happens in it. The square is a clearly demarcated space, the interviewees have no doubts about where its boundaries are, although what is important to them is also what is nearby, in the streets leading away from the square. The square has a star-shaped layout and is filled with amenities that are diverse in meaning: in close proximity are a church, small shops and services, ministerial buildings, places for families with children (such as a children's bookshop), expensive boutiques, a cinema, theatres, a comedy club, a record company, numerous food outlets and restaurants offering diverse cuisine, including ethnic cuisine, bars as well as independent cafes and alternative clubs. The roundabout in the square is lined with expensive cars, convertibles that crank up the music and engine as they pass by. Therefore, there is a mix of values such as localism and neighbourliness, tradition, self-expression, transgression, exhibitionism, glamour, formalism, stateness or ethnicity.

Because of the rich and varied range of cultural consumption opportunities in the square, a whole cross-section of users appears, not only residents of the immediate neighbourhood, but also those living in more distant parts of the city. In the words of the respondents, "everyone intermingles": "stand-up singers" (from the Comedy Club), "nuns and devotionals" (from the church), "the drunkest party-goers", "lancers" and "ladies", "sharp-wheelers"—"everyone fits in here". The square's regulars are very diverse in terms of family situation, occupation and lifestyle. What they have in common is that they can afford to go out. Zbawiciela Square is a place they visit very often, daily or almost daily, usually for many years. They often know each other "from the square" and recognise each other, but at the same time they emphasise that "different people come to different places": the square is an inclusive and

heterogeneous space, and different places are often exclusive and naturally "segregate" users, so that, as the respondents say, "there are fewer random people in them", which provides the regulars with a greater sense of "familiarity". The square is safe, there are never brawls, fights or even pushovers, and there are no police in sight. This socio-cultural diversity and the peaceful coexistence of different user groups is, in the eyes of the respondents, one of the main advantages of the square, which gives it its unique character. As they emphasise, "there is everything here", "there is a lot of tolerance and openness" and "even though the square is intimate, small it is very capacious in terms of meaning, hipster—and that's cool". Respondents describe the square as a "free people's square" and say that they feel "European" there. Some interviewees (especially Plan B regulars) also emphasise the political nature of the square as a kind of manifesto of European values, recalling the now defunct art installation, the "Rainbow", erected in the centre of the square, burned by nationalist circles and defended, rebuilt by left-wing circles and groups of residents. According to this group of interviewees, the rainbow was the "symbol of the square", expressing its values such as diversity, equality, freedom and tolerance.

A special place in the square often described by interviewees as its "heart" are the two venues located next to each other: Charlotte and Plan B. The first is a Parisian bistro, glamorous, aesthetic and elegant, a place to go for breakfast, coffee and wine in the evening with friends, a place that respondents say is "very trendy" and "Instagrammable". The second is "Berlin-style", with a "grunge", rebellious atmosphere—graffiti walls, creaky, dilapidated staircases, casual décor, coeducational toilets, alcohol as the main range (including cheap beer and vodka), original DJ sets, and tattooed young bartenders. It is, in the opinion of respondents, an important and distinctive place that "created the square". The regulars of these two particular venues form distinct groups that coexist in the square in interesting ways. They are contrasting places, the clientele used to dislike each other, nowadays some say they flow from one place to the other, but nevertheless, they differ (and these differences they try to name): in Charlotte, young people dressed fashionably, expensively and branded in a stylised way vs. people of all ages dressed hipster, alternative, seemingly careless, often heavily tattooed and with bold hairstyles in Plan B; the former smoke cigarettes while assuming a glamour pose, the latter smoke ostentatiously careless; the former drink wine and prosecco, the latter beer and vodka; the former choose stylised Dutch bikes,

the latter fast road bikes. As the interviewees emphasise, one place would not exist without the other in this way—for both, it is ennobling, they become expressive in comparison with those next to them—one looks down on the other. It is always very crowded in front of the venues; according to respondents, the "total mix of the city" gathers here: "from businessmen, ladies who want to get a rich husband, to various people from the Academy of Fine Arts, musicians, well, just people who come here to get high or not to get high, or to meet someone or to have a seat", "there you have an absolutely total cross-section, what happens in Warsaw, it's there", "such a bohemian scene, wonderful". Respondents note that although the Square "doesn't have any important cultural events going on at all" and there is "a bit more beer drinking" and "lounging around with a coffee", "maybe some nice breakfasts", the place serves to make contacts with "cool creative people" and brings them together. The late opening hours mean that "all roads lead to Zbawix", and especially to Plan B—"it's the only place of its kind in Warsaw, always full of people and always open for a long time, even during the week", where bohemians are drawn to "because there's nowhere else to go", where numerous post-festival "after-parties" take place and where "people flock to continue the party".—"if you don't know where to go Plan B will always accommodate you".

According to respondents, people come to the square because "there is something for everyone", "there is always something going on here" (from early morning until late at night) and "you will always meet someone familiar here". The most common practices in the square include looking for company (coming to the square often alone, when no one has been able or willing to go out, because there will always be some friends there, "when we come back from somewhere in the evening we always go under plan B, because you are sure to meet someone there", meeting friends and greeting them by shaking hands or kissing on the cheek, greeting people known by sight, interacting and talking to strangers, making new friends: "every evening when I'm here I meet at least three more people"); walking (walking aimlessly around the square, usually in a group, repeating laps and looking at the people in the square, "I like to look at these people"); sitting (usually in a group, not only in venues, by the windows to the square, but especially outside, with the face turned towards the middle of the square, at pub tables or on benches, on steps and curbs, on the steps of the church: "it's about sitting here, to have a beautiful view here, and to watch people pass by, and to contemplate

and have reflections"); chatting (respondents observe that in different premises participants chat about different topics); drinking coffee during the day and alcohol in the evening (cheap beer in Plan B, more expensive in other venues, wine in Charlotte or Heritage, less often vodka and shot in Plan B); eating (in an informal yet aesthetised atmosphere, eating in venues and on the street, often in a group, one can have Thai street food and Italian cheeses to go with the wine, expensive sushi and cheap casseroles, in each place one eats in plain sight, so in a non-accidental way, assuming one meets someone); partying (concerts, cultural events happen here, but usually the partying consists of consuming large amounts of alcohol, smoking cigarettes, standing or sitting in the square, talking);" flaunting" ("one comes a bit to show off", "it constantly revolves around such showing off", "there is a flaunting here", "these people know that others will see them here", "one comes here to look and be seen"). In Plan B, the practices of "politicking" and self-organising can also be observed—associated with the rainbow and "European values", Plan B attracts politically active people with compatible world views: participants of marches, protests, defenders of minorities, etc., who "come down here after actions to chat". Other customers join in, and the conversations sometimes lead to joint action, sometimes very spontaneous—such as preparing a banner on cardboard "on the fly" and taking it out into the street together to protest against violations of democracy. Plan B regulars also organise themselves to help others (e.g. refugees, orphans, "there are many such actions here"). Sometimes aid actions are initiated by the owners and employees of the club, sometimes by the clients themselves, very spontaneously, as respondents claim: "we are able to get together", "there is always someone who can help at a given moment", "there is a good energy here, everyone wants to help", "sometimes someone throws a slogan in a conversation and that is enough [to initiate joint action]".

The specific socio-cultural opportunity structure of the Zbawiciela Square scene defines this place primarily as a site for identity practices and sociability. The identity dimension of the observed practices takes on particular overtones here, for, as was often reiterated in the interviews, the scene of Zbawiciela Square serves to "show off", to ostentatiously demonstrate one's distinctive identity. Individual groups gather around specific locations in the square and practice their identities there, looking down on the other users of the square. This peaceful despite extreme differences co-presence of the different tribes allows the actors to enjoy experiencing an aesthetic distinction that marks their belonging and gives their practices

a unique recognisability. The unique distinctiveness of different groups in the square and their places at the same time creates excellent opportunities for contact with tribal members and fosters interaction. As an "obvious meeting place" for both friends and close in terms of lifestyle strangers, the scene creates opportunities for social integration, creating and maintaining personal bonds. At the same time, it is a place for experiencing comunitas. Although the Saviour Square scene is dominated by practices of identity and sociability and these practices are not observed to evolve into a community for oneself, the Plan B space is an interesting exception. The socio-cultural opportunity structure of the place is based on transgressive values, which, combined with the high mutual recognition of actors and their identities, both generalised and personal, seems to serve the social mobilisation of practitioners. Described by respondents as a place of "good energy", where one meets "people always ready to help others" and 'open to humanity', but also as a place marked by politicality (European and equality) and known for activism, it provides resources for collective agency and mobilisation.

Kazimierz (Cracow)

Kazimierz in Krakow is a typical example of revitalisation and gentrification, in which artists and culture have played a key role. Kazimierz, which was an independent city until the end of the eighteenth century, is part of the central Old Town district. It is a neighbourhood steeped in history and tradition, the north-eastern part of which was inhabited by Jewish people before the war, so the area is filled with synagogues and Jewish cultural monuments, giving it an ethnic and traditional character. After the war, Kazimierz declined and enjoyed a rather bad reputation, which it earned through dilapidated buildings, poverty and high crime rates. At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, numerous artists began to be attracted to Kazimierz, looking for the "equivalent of Montmartre" there, initiating revitalisation processes. As revitalisation and gentrification progressed, Kazimierz became one of the most active entertainment and leisure centres, both for Cracovians and tourists, gaining a reputation as hipster, niche and original. In a common opinion, shared by the respondents, Kazimierz attracts people who think and work differently, ready to devote themselves to their artistic or craft passion. This is why there are so many original shops, craftsmen's shops and galleries that make up the self-expressive aura of Kazimierz. The neighbourhood

abounds in various types of cafes, clubs, pubs and discos offering diverse aesthetics and attracting different clientele. Characteristic of Kazimierz is the accumulation of bars and cafes around Plac Nowy (New Square), which serves as a meeting point and catering facility for pubgoers. During the day, from Monday to Saturday, it is a marketplace—the Flea Market, on Saturday there is an antique market and on Sunday a clothes market; it is also a place where pigeon fanciers meet and trade. This single square thus fulfils many diverse functions, catering to different tastes and needs and combining various values: tradition, locality, neighbourliness, ethnicity or self-expression.

Although the extremely rich offer of Kazimierz attracts a wide variety of users, the image of Kazimierz as a bohemian district still prevails. Kazimierz's bohemia is concentrated around several establishments that have already gained an international reputation and are written about in guidebooks. Colours, Alchemy and Singer are establishments that appeared in Kazimierz along with the bohemia, right at the beginning of the district's revitalisation processes. All three are concentrated on Plac Nowy or in close proximity, creating a kind of bohemian basin. The Mleczarnia, Talking Dog or Eszeweria, also known for their artistic atmosphere and bringing together poets, writers, actors, musicians, painters and intellectuals, are also located nearby. In addition to artists, the designated venues are favoured by freelancers and the creative class (who often work in these venues during the day), intellectuals, students, especially of the humanities and social sciences, and students at the nearby elite high school. There are also a lot of tourists, with Alchemy and Singer in particular attracting crowds of tourists who come to these venues to take part in a kind of special performance and to experience the proximity of bohemia: to absorb the special bohemian aura surrounding these venues and to commune with authentic artists. As one respondent put it, Kazimierz in general, but the indicated venues in particular, is a place frequented by "artists, those who want to be artists or those who like artists".

The indicated places are recognised by the respondents as "cultural", ennobling places that are chosen by an educated and culturally oriented, independently thinking person. Despite the overload of tourists and the increasingly widespread cheap entertainment, in the perception of most respondents Kazimierz does not attract "random people", deprived of aesthetic sensitivity and insensitive to the particular authenticity of the district. Particularly the places mentioned by the respondents do not

tend to be frequented by "just anyone". The regulars are rather people looking for authenticity rather than cheap commercialism, fighting for the "right to be themselves" and "not succumbing to the pressures of cultural homogenisation". The latter are unlikely to understand the phenomenon of places like Alchemy, Colours or Singer, which is why they choose venues with a different aesthetic. There are, however, claims that with the growing popularity of Kazimierz and its increased tourism, the district is losing its unique character and is turning into a regular entertainment district that attracts everyone. This is due to growing range of cultural consumption options, increasingly including less picky tastes and needs. In such venues, which are not associated with or reputed for artistic communities and attract a less fussy clientele, tourists and "bystanders", as respondents report, it is more difficult to "recognise one's own", so the practice is to avoid such places. In the words of respondents, "one goes where there is a vibe and artists", "the place must have a vibe", "artists have their own places". Respondents refer to them as "ours", indicating that this is not their individual choice, but the choice of the whole group—by belonging to a group, places become "ours". At the same time, there is a clear awareness of one's own agency in giving meaning to these places, which is often accompanied by an awareness of one's own attractiveness and the resulting kind of pride and satisfaction in being admired, viewed like a living exhibit. This is why tourists are welcome as long as they come to admire the "real", "our" Kazimierz, but not when they try to experience Kazimierz in their own way, without paying respect to its bohemian tradition.

What makes the indicated venues unique and determines their bohemian intelligence and artistic aura is, first and foremost, the fact that they all have cultural activities and are linked to artistic communities, either directly through the owners or through their commitment to cultural development. The venues host concerts, meetings with authors and exhibitions. The venues are also characterised by a specific atmosphere. As the interviewees themselves describe the venues in question, they have a "basement" atmosphere and are "enclaves of decadence". The basement and decadence of these venues is reflected in their specific décor. The premises are dark, brightened by candlelight, the walls are covered with colourful wallpaper, there are old tables and chairs "as if collected from attics", "each stool is different", "napkins from grandma's table", antiques and trinkets. They also have an aesthetically distinctive clientele, although interviewees find it difficult to describe the style of the regulars,

as they are not distinguished by any clear pattern: rather, they try to be original—'originality' is the term most frequently used. They tend to wear casual but tasteful clothes, many have their own unforced style, an artistic flair that is difficult to define but easily recognisable. There are no "corporate uniforms", "fashion freaks" or "disco trash", but there is a "love of vintage style". Kaziemiarz's bohemian scene thus has a decadent character that defines its authenticity. This decadent-basement atmosphere of Kazimierz, together with its increasing commercialisation and tourism, do not find the same admiration among the part of the bohemia usually referred to by the respondents as the "younger generation", although this is a kind of simplification, because in both groups one can find representatives of different generations. What they have in common is rather that they usually do not live in Kazimierz and are looking for more "alternative" content and forms of cultural expression. They tend to gather around venues located outside Kazimierz and less visited by tourists, and often join in the fight against tourism in Krakow.

Among the practices undertaken in Kazimierz, respondents mention above all the practices they describe as "using the city", emphasising that they are typical of artists, as the artist "should go out". This includes consumption and social activity on the square and in the establishments visited, which one has "always gone to", as well as participation in culture. Practices in Kazimierz therefore include: going for a glass of wine or a coffee, often without an appointment, knowing that one will meet someone or chat to a familiar bartender who will offer water or coffee; sitting down for a moment for a coffee at a table overlooking the square/streets and observing the "life of the neighbourhood"; sitting down with friends for a coffee (there is always someone to talk to); interacting with and chatting to strangers or people known by sight; walking around the neighbourhood and taking a detour to meet someone; going out with fellow actors after performances to "our places"; spending long hours of the night in company; dancing on the tables at the Singer; singing (because "artists like to dance and sing"); talking about "common matters", complaining about changes in Kazimierz and reminiscing about places that are no longer there, working remotely on a laptop, with coffee; visiting exhibitions, listening to concerts, attending the openings of new venues run by artists and the cultural events taking place in them, meeting familiar faces there, as there is usually a regular group of guests at these types of events. Respondents admit that they feel an inner compulsion,

an imperative to attend cultural events ("I feel bad if I don't go somewhere"). Those who live in Kazimierz or its environs, or who work or study nearby and thus come here every day at different times of the day, undertake a slightly broader range of practices, fulfilling also the needs of everyday life in Kazimierz: buying bread at the bakery, doing the grocery shopping at the market, at the last surviving butcher's shop in the district or at Biedronka (the last grocery shop, which thanks to this fact has also become a meeting place for the residents), using the services of local craftsmen and shops (metal shop, paint shop, etc.), "running the daily errands", etc. Respondents care very much about the survival of local shops and services, so they not only use them regularly themselves (so they know the owners), but also promote them among friends.

These practices are used for identity practices (building a bohemian identity) and sociability (being among others). Kazimierz, in the respondents' statements, is "the perfect place for an artist" or "someone who wants to live like an artist". Respondents recognise other members of the scene with whom they share a lifestyle, described as bohemian, but they also point out that people leading such a lifestyle are not necessarily "real artists", but can afford to "live like artists". By "live like artists" they mean dedication to creative or intellectual activity, "use of the city", non-conformism and "love of unlimited freedom". The sense of community, however, grows primarily out of the profession— "artists rotate among artists", practising personal communities that are homogeneous in terms of their profession, which to a large extent defines their lifestyle. Many members of today's bohemian community in Kazimierz have known each other personally for years and share a community of experience in developing the bohemian practices that built Kazimierz's identity. They got to know each other both in the workplace, at various cultural events, and in Kazimierz itself, usually in the venues mentioned above. Although Kazimierz is changing a lot today, flooded by crowds of tourists and increasing commercialisation, causing the disappearance of many places important to the community (galleries, local shops, etc.), the "cult places where artists hang out" persist. It is still possible to make new acquaintances and "enter the circle" in them. In the respondents' statements, one observes a specific variety of sociability practices oriented towards building and practising personal community and social capital, in which, besides the affective dimension, the rational element of the teleoaffective structure plays an important role: the respondents emphasise the importance of social contacts for creative activity ("artists need to meet

each other"). As one respondent said, Kazimierz is "an important place for artists if you want to be in the profession". The bohemian scene of Kazimierz thus serves to network artists and maintain contacts. However, there is no shortage of statements referring to the satisfaction of experiencing comunitas and the emotional well-being that "just being" in the scene evokes. Respondents derive pleasure both from the many spontaneous social contacts made possible by this particular scene ("you meet someone you know and it immediately makes you feel better") and from interacting with other members of the scene, often strangers or those one only recognises by sight, with whom they feel a bond based on similarity of aesthetic choices and lifestyles. Although respondents acknowledge a community, this community does not seem to extend beyond similarities in identity practices and the practice of sociability. A strong individualism prevails, the "self" being the centre of the practices undertaken. As collective identity is not formed, collective agency, which is a condition for mobilisation, does not develop either. This is probably why the community described does not mobilise to defend the traditional character of Kazimierz from tourism, the effects of which it so often complains about, although the fascination with diversity, the great openness and tolerance of this group, as well as the aforementioned predilection for being an "exhibit" play an important role here, influencing ambivalent attitudes towards the fight against tourism.

Kato (Katowice)

Kato is located in the city centre on Mariacka Street, which is extremely popular with the people of Katowice (and beyond), and which has a recreational character and is the centre of nightlife. The Mariacka street is probably the best known space in Katowice with a significant scene-forming potential. Renovated over a decade ago, it has become a pedestrian zone filled with cafés, bars, clubs and other forms of entertainment that are clearly part of the expressive-distinctive, "hipster" atmosphere. Although in recent years the offer of cultural consumption on this street has become highly commercialised and standardised, its origins are associated with a space for debate, artistic creation, expression and social mobilisation. KATO is one of the first venues on Mariacka Street with which the transformation of the street and the entire city began: it was a perpetrator of intellectual ferment around Katowice's cultural future and a platform for consultation of various social actors. Described by

respondents as “the first hipster place in Katowice”, “an alternative place”, “Katowice’s Plan B”, from the very beginning it was much more than a bar—it combined beer sales with cultural animation, urban activism and promotion of the city and the region. It hosted, among other things, the famous yet niche concerts in the window animating the street (artists performed on a stage located in the window of the premises, facing the street, on which the audience, including quite a random one, gathered), lectures, meetings with authors, art exhibitions by local artists, fashion fairs by local designers, film screenings, including documentaries on architecture and urban planning, city debates, including with representatives of the local authorities (there was even a debate of the candidates for mayor of Katowice), meetings of NGOs, pre- and after-parties of many festivals and cultural events in the city. In the summer, the garden of the Kato bar was used as a venue for a food bazaar with food from local producers, which was frequented by the local neighbours, etc. Today, Kato is—according to our respondents—an “urban brand”, a “local icon”, a place considered “cult”, attracting more than just the city’s residents. Compared to other places in Mariacka, Kato stands out for its transgressive self-expression and local authenticity. This is determined not only by the somewhat ‘perverse’ atmosphere of the Kato bar, but above all by its rich offer of cultural consumption oriented towards niche tastes and the construction of a local identity.

According to respondents, Kato is a “unique place”: “already from the entrance, you just have to look around the room and hear the type of music, and you can suspect that it will not be like in the ‘usual places’ on Mariacka”. Kato’s décor is minimalist, austere and industrial, a little ‘dirty, although it’s not dirty’, ‘as if it were undergoing renovation’: the walls are clad in OSB, one of them is covered with a mural, there are neon signs on the walls, there is a long staircase along the façade where customers sit, and one can also sit in one of the two rooms at minimalist black tables. In one of the rooms, there is a stage by the window where customers also sit when nothing is going on. The “hipster” character is added by the lamps in the garden, the pallets and beer crates on which people sit, or the deckchairs from which you can watch the street. Specially selected niche electronic and techno music plays on the premises. In the perception of regulars, Kato’s décor reflects the character of the city and the region: industrial, sometimes a little coarse, not conforming to generally accepted standards of beauty, but attractive in its own original way. Respondents appreciate the fact that the place “does not try to be beautiful by force”,

"does not pretend to be something it is not", has its own casual and unobvious style, breaking the aesthetic standards. They see the décor of the premises as a kind of manifesto to "be yourself and be proud of it". They think similarly about the city: "We are not Krakow or Wroclaw, we are someone else and someone just as interesting just in a different way", "we don't have to compare ourselves to others because we are ourselves", "We are not beautiful but we are sexy"—they said in interviews, repeating the famous Berlin slogan. According to many interviewees, Kato is one of the first places that started to promote pride in Katowice and created a kind of fashion for the city, hitting the needs of a large group of residents.

According to the respondents, the atmosphere of the pub profiles the clientele: it is supposed to scare off both those looking for a place "to get drunk quickly" (higher prices, lack of popular beers, more expensive kraft beer on offer) and those looking for elegant places "to show off"—for them, Kato is "an ugly place with ugly techno". According to the respondents, Kato is not frequented by people wearing luxury brand clothes, there are no "artificially beautified blondes", "corporate people, suits, stilettos, white minis, boots", "obsequious men in shirts hoping to pick up, alpha males", people aiming for cheap, indiscriminate entertainment "rather than talking about what's on at the cinema", "drunken partygoers", "tracksuits". Despite repeated declarations of openness, equality and a reluctance to judge others, respondents clearly distance themselves from groups with different tastes and motivations that they perceive as inferior or worse, expressing a reluctance to be among such people: "Kato sifts out all those people you wouldn't want to meet who you meet in other bars". Unlike most venues on Mariacka, one won't meet "random people" here and for this reason Kato is a "safe choice". It is mainly frequented by freelancers (designers, architects, artists, people associated with the Arts Roundabout, the Academy of Fine Arts), urban activists, and amateurs of alternative electronic music. The place is considered tolerant towards minorities, LBGT couples feel at ease here, which, according to respondents, "for people who value tolerance is a sign that this is the right place for them". The tolerant atmosphere also attracts Erasmus students, who feel safe here.

Respondents emphasise that Kato's unique, homely atmosphere is also created by the fact that they meet people there who are similar to themselves. They describe them as "people from the same fairy tale", "similar people who understand the climate of the city", with similar aspirations, and a common world view, "humanists", people "with open minds",

"positive", tolerant and open to other people, "conscious Europeans", who "have already seen a bit of the world and have a different approach", who tend to have left-wing values and believe in equality, who also share common interests and similar lifestyles, such as an interest in electronic music and a love of "new sounds", active participation in the artistic and cultural life of the city, a preference for more niche cultural content (e.g. studio cinemas), connections to the world of art and culture, active "use of the city", interest in urban affairs. Respondents feel "familiar", comfortable, safe, "relaxed", "stress-free", "like at a house party" in this environment, as if "they are among friends who share similar values and are not judgmental". They will usually meet familiar faces here, someone they can sit down and talk to, and they know they will have a nice time here. The sense of similarity and bonding with other regulars is reinforced by the fact that the people of Kato also intermingle in other places in Katowice associated with culture, the activist community or the alternative music scene: all these scenes overlap.

Asked about practices carried out in Kato, respondents point to "sitting, chatting and drinking beer". However, as they add, "there is something more" in these practices, as people come to Kato "not just to have a beer", but, first of all, to have a good time with good music and good company, to talk about culture, art and urban life, to listen to a concert of electronic music, to watch an exhibition, to attend a film screening, an author's meeting or a debate on important urban issues. This "cultural dimension" of having a beer in Kato seems very important to interviewed practitioners—as they claim, it makes it different to having a beer in "regular places" ("we drink beer and they drink beer but it is not the same"). When it is warm, the regulars like to sit outside on the steps and watch the people walking along the street. Some take part in Thursday runs organised by a former Kato employee and return to Kato for a beer after the run. Kato is also, for many, the "starting place" before going to a dance party at one of the alternative music clubs in Katowice, which together with Kato create an alternative electronic music scene in Katowice. People also come here during festivals held in the city to meet the participating artists, who come down to Kato after the performances and indulge in lively discussions here. Although the most common practice is to visit Kato in the company of friends or colleagues (members of the personal community), and rarely one comes to Kato alone, it is common practice to meet new people, for example in the toilet queue or for a cigarette outside, to socialise on the landings and stairs, which—due

to the lack of tables—"generate a kind of conviviality". Kato also serves networking. It is here that the idea for the association "Moje Miasto" was born, bringing together people with a similar vision of the city.

As can be seen, the socio-cultural opportunity structure of the Kato scene allows respondents above all to enact practices of identity and sociability. Respondents emphasise that the Kato is a "self-evident place" for them, the only place in Katowice that makes them "finally feel at home", where they "can be themselves", "do what they like and the way they like to do it", thus indicating the unique importance of the scene for the construction of their own identity. In defining the essence of the uniqueness of the Kato's opportunity structure of Kato's, they extremely often refer to the example of Berlin and the Berlin model of urbanity as a desirable lifestyle that connects the participants of the scene and defines the identity. As we have seen above, the respondents unmistakably recognise the similarity of the repertoires of practices of the other members, most notably the community of teleoaffective structures oriented towards the practice of an urban lifestyle and the identity of the "new bourgeoisie". They describe the community of Kato as a community of people who are looking for opportunities to express and practise their lifestyle based on shared practices of distinctive cultural consumption and who feel there is a lack of such opportunities in Katowice, hence they often get involved in different kinds of "city-making" activities, participate in debates about the city and support initiatives aimed at development of urban character of their city, by taking part in various events and consumption practices offered by Kato and other overlapping scenes. They enjoy practicing sociability in Kato both by practicing their personal communities in the friendly atmosphere provided by the aesthetics and ethics of the place as well as by experiencing presence of other members of the neo-tribe which seems to make them feel empowered. They often consider Kato as a place for propagating the model of urbanism developed by involved activists and their followers, from which others can learn—this way they feel a part of a kind of "mission" that Kato is to carry out. The intelligibility of Kato and other overlapping scenes allows for recognition of common interests in creating the urban character of Katowice, while the safe context of the scene facilitated interactions and led to new acquaintances which helped to build a network of urban activists who are now important actors in city development.

Main Findings

The case studies presented provide a description of different situations of urban commonality. In the material presented, we can observe all the varieties of communities discussed in Chapter 1: both neighbourhood communities building local identities, networks and personal communities, and communities based on a sense of belonging and shared cultural awareness (neo-tribal, lifestyle). They are all based on, emanate from, and are rooted in the community practices (identity, sociability, collaboration and collective action) described in Chapter 2. The richness and complexity of the community practices observed in the cases varies and is a result of the nature of the resources offered by the available socio-cultural opportunity structures and their dynamics. Although most of the cases are examples of community in itself, there was no lack of examples of community for itself. The main mechanism for the evolution of practices from a community in oneself to a community for oneself is the transformations within the teleoaffective structure, which are in turn the result of the dynamics of the socio-cultural opportunity structure available in the scene. There is a feedback loop at work here, for dynamic structures allow practices to develop, which reciprocally develop structures.

Underlying all the observed community forms are identity practices. They were observed in all the cases. They seem to provide the foundation and starting point for the other community practices that develop around the practice of individual identities. The evolution of individual identity practices into collective community forms is facilitated by a shared scene, which, by providing coherent meaningful resources for the practice of individual identities, becomes a site of hanging together and community development. The starting point for the development of urban community forms is the intelligibility of the scene, which, through shared meanings, enables specific practices to be undertaken and practitioners to recognise each other. A particularly important dimension of the intelligibility of scene is its distinctive aesthetic that creates atmosphere and defines its affective structures. From the interviews, it appears that this is the first and probably the most important "filter" that informs the nature of practice-arrangement bundles and determines the take-up (joining or not) of the practices available in the scene, thus selecting practitioners. Respondents perceive particular scenes as repulsive or attractive, judging the nature of the available intelligibility structures (which they can name, e.g. as a place for Europeans, a place for free people, a place for

open people) and identifying participants as "their own" or "strangers" extremely easily and quickly. Once joining the scene and engaging in its practice-arrangement bundles, agents embody tacit knowledge and conform to community explicit rules and general understandings. Once joining the practices available in the scene and recreating its configurations of elements, they acquire proficiency in being a member of a community and constructing an identity, while creating and recreating the community as a nexus of practice-arrangement bundles.

Individual identity grows out of the experience of performances, which make up the individual's trajectory of practices and determine the repertoire of practices that the individual develops. Without performances, the individual cannot define or develop their identity. Identity is not a mental project but is enacted in practices—in the repetition of bodily doings and sayings. A particularly striking example illustrating the importance of the performance experience in the formation of identity as a trajectory and repertoire of practices is the case of "Berlin identity" observed primarily in the case of Kato in Katowice, but also in Old Mokotow in Warsaw. Interviewees from Kato and Mokotow often pointed to the experience of travelling to Berlin, which somehow shaped their idea of the desired model of urbanity and taste for particular urban lifestyles. They found the practices they observed and undertook during their Berlin trip so attractive and rewarding that they decided to bring them back to their hometowns. By performing Berlin's practices of urbanity, the respondents build their own repertoires and trajectories of practices and identity out of them. In the case of Katowice, a large group of practitioners was observed who not only practise "Berlinness", but also actively seek to develop a socio-cultural opportunity structure for "Berliner" identity practices. The performance experience on which identity is built can initially also be mediated, as in the case of the bohemian community of Kazimierz. The surveyed participants in the Kazimierz bohemian scene often referred to Montmartre in Paris as a model for the "artistic lifestyle" practices developed in Kazimierz in the 1990s. Although most of them had not been to Montmartre before, they shared a common idea of the lifestyle of the bohemians there, based on accounts of different origins. This mediated experience provided a point of reference for developing local repertoires of practice and artistic identities based on them. Kazimierz was to become Kraków's Montmartre. However, it was only the satisfying personal performances of the developed practices that built the identity of the actors and the place itself, determining its authenticity. The imagined

bohemian community had to be enacted in everyday practices in order to become a reality, so ultimately the source of Kazimier's identity lies in the direct experience of performances, during which various configurations of elements were created and recreated, thus developing bohemian practices as entities with a relatively permanent configuration ("it's been going on for years, the actors change, but the habits and places don't"). The repertoire of identity practices of the Kazimier bohemians developed in this way is nowadays rejected by the "new generation", which builds its identity on different performance experiences.

From the statements of the interviewees, it is clear that in order to achieve social recognition that cultivates identity, the practice must be performed smoothly. Only smooth performances are considered authentic, and authenticity is a condition for social recognition and legitimisation of individual identity. Respondents denied authenticity to performances that were not smooth. Smooth performances ensure that freedom of movement in a scene is achieved—respondents then feel "in place" and in the same way they also perceive others in the scene who show freedom to perform the practices assigned to the scene, behaving "appropriately" to the legibility structures in place. They feel, in turn, 'uncomfortable' and out of place when their performances are flawed. The fluidity of performance allows respondents to distinguish between those who belong to a particular scene through their preferred configuration of practices and those who do not. They tend to refer to the latter as "accidental people". "Accidental people" are those whose performances are not authentic or deviate from accepted practices. This may be determined by the way one drinks beer or the purpose for which one drinks it, which respondents attribute to the "accidental" person on the basis of their bodily doings and sayings. Sometimes other "accidental" practitioners do not share the intelligibility structures of the scene and thus do not realise their incompetence, irritating those who consider themselves "their own".

The basis of successful identity performance is the adequate embodiment of a given practice, which is equivalent to achieving proficiency in the practice. The analysed interviews leave no doubt about the importance of the embodied nature of identity practices as well as other community practices and their elements. As the analysed material shows, as long as a practice is not well embodied, it is in the perception of practitioners something external, even seductive, and does not allow practitioners to enjoy authenticity. Therefore, the theme of learning the

practices, achieving authenticity by training the body-mind in performance and becoming proficient in practice, resonates in the respondents' statements. One respondent recounted her faux pas, which betrayed her as an unfamiliar newcomer when she ordered a coffee in the café of the New Theatre. She asked for her coffee to be served with plant milk, to which the serving barista announced in an admonishing voice that the café only served plant-based milk and asked her to choose which plant-based milk she liked best. The respondent recalls that she then felt "exposed and excluded", as if she was "pretending to be someone she wasn't yet", her competence proficiency was insufficient, and her sense of authenticity was questioned. She was "new and unfamiliar". She revealed herself not to be a regular; moreover, she could appear pretentious and "ridiculous" with her request, for "here the standard is that you don't eat animal products and real vegans know it". Proficiency in ordering coffee in the café of the New Theatre thus turns out to be an element of being a "real vegan" but also, as the respondent recounted, of "being Mokotovian", i.e. fluent in the Mokotow scene and familiar with its repertoire of practices that make an individual a member of the Mokotow community. Losing her sense of confidence in the situation described, the respondent experienced a lack of satisfaction with her practice, which in turn became a source of a sense of threat to her identity as she was not adequately—in the way she expected—recognised by others.

In the scenes studied, respondents tended to indulge in the most embodied practices, which lose their external character through shared embodiment and intelligibility. Respondents pointed to the "naturalness" and "sense of freedom" resulting from the "right to be oneself" that participation in the scene gives them. Therefore, the principles that organise practices are not always available to respondents, in many interviews' respondents found it difficult to articulate them. It was much easier for them to identify what could not be done in a scene, or how it could not or should not be done, what does not fit into the scene, demolishes its character and the "sense of freedom and right to be oneself" it generates, what runs outside its practice-arrangement bundles and is a manifestation of already other practices for which the appropriate site is elsewhere. Similar difficulties were often manifested by respondents in justifying the identity practices they undertake. This demonstrates that identity practices are not projects that individuals carry out thoughtfully and consciously, making rational decisions—they are automatic, embodied and involve joining in the practice with the meanings, values and emotions

ascribed to them. Individuals allow themselves to be "carried along" by the practice, taking things as they are, finding it difficult to rationalise and explain them—they appear to respondents as "only possible" and "obvious". This is not to say that respondents were unable to access the configuring elements of practice when properly stimulated to be reflexive. However, they most often referred to the aesthetic-ethical categories legitimising the practice, which induce its distinctive nature manifested in affects such as a sense of pleasure and satisfaction in undertaking the practice, or disgust at practices perceived as inferior. It was much easier for respondents to talk about others, in which case the identity (as well as community) projects behind the practices undertaken together became more apparent.

As the research shows, gaining proficiency in the practice of identity and community based on it is linked to learning new practices and expanding one's own repertoire. The socio-cultural opportunity structures available in scenes tend to create opportunities to undertake more practices than just the practice or practices that originally attracted the individual to the scene. Moreover, socio-cultural opportunity structures are dynamic: practitioners 'bring' practices with them, co-constructing the intelligibility of scene and its opportunity structure. Thus, scenes always offer opportunities to recruit to new practices. In scenes that offer a wider range of practices, practitioners are much more likely to develop their repertoires of practices. The cases of Jazdów or Mokotów, where the greatest diversity of practices has been observed, are here the best examples of such an expansion of the repertoires of practices that make up the lifestyle and identity of a place. A participant in the Jazdów scene goes there to work in the community garden and, on the spot, engages in a multiplicity of other practices, as a result of which he becomes a community worker and activist: from other participants in the scene he learns how to be more ecological and anti-systemic, he joins in the celebration of community. A respondent from Mokotow, while shopping in a food shop from a local farmer, observes other customers who come with their own packaging to reduce their plastic consumption—she is ashamed that her organic food is packed in plastic bags, so she expands her repertoire of ecological practices to include the use of reusable packaging. Individuals begin to build their identities as trajectories and careers of practices often with a single practice: they come to a scene as a site for this practice and observe on site the availability of other practices connected teleoaffectively. Thus, they subsume new practices aimed at similar goals and affects

and in this way not only reinforce or expand their meaning and identity, but also increase opportunities to overlap with other agents and enter into contact with them, as well as build collective identity as a shared repertoire of practices and their arrangements. The nexus of practices develops by incorporating new practices thus developing the community.

Respondents show an awareness of the dependence of lifestyle-based identities on the availability of practices. An interesting practice observed is the practice of "sustaining" practices as activities aimed at preserving or strengthening the socio-cultural opportunity structure. This type of practice is particularly present in the emerging scenes of Katowice as well as the scenes of Krakow, which is defending itself against tourism and the anonymisation and disintegration of the socio-cultural opportunity structures. Socio-cultural opportunity structures in these cities, as already mentioned, are relatively weaker than in Warsaw—in Katowice we still observe a relative scarcity of opportunities for specific practices, while in Krakow opportunity structures seem to be shrinking and homogenising under the influence of tourism. It should not come as a surprise, then, that respondents from Krakow and Katowice unusually often indicated in their interviews that they were in solidarity with places that ensure the availability of the desired practices. The majority of participants in the bohemian scene of Kazimierz regularly visit friend venues, use local outlets and shops to "save the remains of the old Kazimierz". They popularise these venues among their friends in order to ensure that there is sufficient critical mass to sustain the venue and thus the practices undertaken there. Similarly, in Katowice, many respondents stressed that they try to participate in various events organised in well-liked venues in order to sustain and support the kind of initiatives that give Katowice its expected urban character. Similar practices are not lacking in Warsaw either. One interviewee from Old Mokotow told us that she buys much more expensive light bulbs from a local bulb and lamp shop just to keep the shop afloat and to be able to buy such a bulb in the future if she suddenly needs one. She also points to the need to support local outlets in order to maintain the character of the place and the opportunities it offers for the lifestyle she practices: "When you can't get everything done here locally, it won't be the same anymore, I don't want to move from here". Thus, it can be said that the participants in the studied scenes form a kind of "front" in the struggle to maintain and develop the desired socio-cultural opportunity structures on which their chances to perform

identity practices, tasks and projects depend. Actors perform a given practice in order to be able to practice it in the future as well. It thus appears that practitioners have a kind of awareness of the performativity of the social world and understand that without a given practice being practised by a sufficient number of committed practitioners, the practice dies out. Undertaking a practice in order to sustain it demonstrates the agency of practitioners in creating the social world and its community dimension.

It is difficult to enact a community of lifestyles alone, without the presence of other people. Identity practices are inevitably linked to practices of sociability, hence it is not surprising that practices of sociability also appear just as frequently in the material collected. This inevitability of connections is primarily due to the need for recognition by others as a condition for an effectively enactment of individual identity. Since recognition by others and learning from others (proficient in the identity practices in question) are a condition for an effectively performed identity, the presence of other people and being in their company becomes inevitable. Moreover, sociability is often instrumental and appears as part of identity construction—being sociable and meeting up is part of practising a particular lifestyle. This theme was mainly observed in the case of bohemia. The statement that "artists need to get together" was a frequent theme in respondents' statements. It was unequivocally pointed out that meeting others is part of the artistic lifestyle, hence practising sociability is something commonly expected of an artist. The presence of other people in the scene also has an important function for identity practices as part of practice-arrangement bundles. Respondents pointed in the interviews to the characteristics of the individuals in the scene as equally important elements besides aesthetics in the configuration of practices that give meanings to the scene defining structures of intelligibility. Depending on the company in which practitioners are drinking beer, the practice takes on different meanings, hence respondents are careful to select the places they go for beer, also taking into account their clientele. "Other people" in the scene, however, need not always include only individuals who are similar in terms of repertoires and trajectories of practices. Sometimes, the presence of people with different repertoires and trajectories, and thus different identities, proved to be essential for respondents to legitimise the identity practices they undertake and determine their authenticity. A particularly telling example of this is the square of the New Theatre in Old Mokotow, where, as in the case of Neukoln in Berlin, described by me elsewhere (Klekotko, 2019b), the authenticity of

respondents' identity practices is based on the co-presence of negatively privileged individuals. Their presence in the scene is a necessary condition for the authenticity of the practices that make up a tolerant, egalitarian and inclusive lifestyle. However, although allowed or even invited into the shared space of practices, the negatively privileged remain excluded from the lifestyle community acting merely as objectified props necessary for the realisation of identity practices.

However, the material collected allows to conclude that sociability as an urban practice of community is not solely derived from identity practices (although it is linked to them), but shows a relative degree of autonomy and autotelicity. It appears that residents of large cities need real contact with others and engage in and develop practices designed to establish or sustain such contact. This need for contact shows up in the collected material in two dimensions. On the one hand, the theme of loneliness in the city and the search for companionship becomes apparent. Respondents visit certain scenes in the hope of meeting someone familiar or getting to know someone new. This type of motivation was particularly observed in the case of Zbawiciela Square and in the case of Kazimierz. The scene functions as a meeting place, a point on the city map where current or potential acquaintances gather—people with whom we share similarities of lifestyle. The second dimension in which the observed practices of sociability manifest themselves is the tribal aspiration to be among one's own (as understood by Maffesoli, [1996] cf. Chapter 1), which makes it possible to fulfil the need to experience liminality in its pure form (which was particularly clearly observed in the case of Old Mokotow). In the interviews, respondents expressed the need to be among other people—not, however, completely random people, but people with whom they share similarities of practices and in whose company they feel safe. Here, the scene is a safe site of intelligibility that defines the framework for interaction between strangers indulging in similar practices—a recognisable terrain of neo-tribalism.

Whether driven by autotelic or instrumental motives, being among other people who share common practices inevitably leads to an experience of liminality that becomes a source of pleasure and satisfaction. The vast majority of interviewees emphasised the pleasure they derive from perusing practices together. In the scenes studied, interviewees experience liminal emotional-spiritual states, which they described as "that nice feeling" when "it makes a person feel better", "it's nice", "it's blissful". Such a "nice feeling" may be generated even by such inconspicuous situations

as the one described by an interviewee from Old Mokotow, who talked about how cyclists passing each other in the neighbourhood smile at each other, expressing in this way their sympathy for common lifestyle choices ("I ride my bike and she rides her bike and it is nice, there are more of us"). Being among "one's own", i.e., similar individuals provides, moreover, a sense of ontological security, which fosters social relationships. In almost all of the interviews, respondents pointed to this sense of security provided by scenes—they felt "at ease", "at home", "among their own", "naturally", "safe", "familiar", etc. in them. This sense of safety and familiarity disappears when "random people" appear in the scene, whose performances betray the foreignness of the ineligibility structures. One interviewee spoke passionately about "losing oneself in dance" at electronic music concerts and the particular spiritual community that this losing oneself together with others generates. She also emphasised that such losing oneself is only possible where "there are no random people" who "shatter the atmosphere of the place", thus justifying her particular predilection for the scene under study as safe and enabling one to lose oneself and thus achieve spiritual community. The interviews also pointed to the ease of connecting with other regulars resulting from the safe context of the scene: "you know that no one will talk back badly to you here", "you can afford to be more confidential", "no one will be surprised if you talk to someone", "people here are nice to each other", "no one will surprise you negatively here, you know what to expect". There was also an anti-structural theme in some of the statements, as Turner (1969) himself understood the anti-structural moment of liminality (cf. Chapter 1)—interviewees indicated that the scenes explored were "the opposite of the normal", "a suspension of the everyday", "a negation of normal relationships". Some interviewees pointed to a kind of sense of "freedom", understood as a release from statuses and pressures, which fosters a greater openness of people to each other and facilitates contacts that would not otherwise be possible. Practitioners thus come to the studied scenes not only to practice identity, but also to experience "comunitas". Once experienced, liminality expands the teleoaffective structures of the practices with new motivations and affects, developing practices of sociability. Based on experiencing comunitas, the practice of sociability becomes an independent and autotelic communal practice.

As indicated in Chapter 2, the experience of liminality leads to an awareness of the commons and thus the birth of a collective self-consciousness that allows the development of practices of collaboration

and collective action. How then, in the light of the material collected, does this process manifest itself in the practices undertaken? It turns out that although respondents are perfectly capable of recognising (and naming) the community to which they belong (especially by identifying the teleoaffective similarities that link them to other practitioners), they do not always identify with it explicitly—they sometimes avoid speaking of their practices in collective terms. Nevertheless, practising together in the intelligible space of scene allows respondents to recognise other practitioners as sharing similar meanings (including tastes and values) and competences (embodied skills and practical understandings) distinctive from practitioners of different scenes ("We drink beer and they drink beer, but it's not the same thing after all"). In almost all interviews, respondents indicated that scene participants shared a number of similarities (which at the same time distinguished them from participants of other scenes), whereby in defining similarity they referred to a commonality of practices as distinctive ways of practising rather than character traits, thus recognising each other's meanings and identities. Sharing common repertoires and trajectories of identity practices naturally brings people together, even when they do not know each other and do not interact with each other directly. Respondents recognise that they feel comfortable around others in the scene and display trust and openness towards them as "people from the same fairy tale". This is because they recognise shared competences, meanings and teleoafectives in shared practices and can anticipate their ways of acting and feeling with other scene participants ("I know what to expect"). In other words, they share an intelligibility that ensures smooth hanging together.

The mutual recognition of individual identities realised through the practices embedded in the scene and the resulting liminal experiences are, in turn, a condition for the other types of community practices, which are arranged in a kind of successive stages of community development. It is the mutual recognition of the similarity of repertoires and trajectories of practices that first connects individuals and underpins the development of community practices. However, recognition and the spiritual pleasure of shared practice do not automatically lead to collaboration or collective action. The repetition of practices is important, as is their variety and overlapping. Respondents pointed to the importance of time spent in shared practices and their repetition and regularity. Frequent or regular repetition of the same practices of identity and sociability with the same people makes the community more intimate, as it is no longer based on the mere

similarity of the practices undertaken, but also on the shared experience of the performances, which allows a specific configuration of elements of community practice to be worked out together and builds a greater commitment to sustaining the community as such, develops a sense of we-ness and a sense of attachment to the scene as "ours". The development of community-oriented practices is also fostered by the overlap of various identity and community practices in the scene. Where respondents had the opportunity to engage in a greater number of meaningfully coherent practices (Jazdów and Old Mokotów), a greater ease of developing collective self-awareness, agency and collective action was observed. The greater the intensity and saturation of overlapping practices, the stronger the sense of we-ness and the readiness for collaboration and community action. The joint involvement in more practices increases the similarity of careers or trajectories of practices and thus results in a greater coherence of identities of individuals and their mutual recognition, which translates into collective self-awareness. In other words, the more different practices practitioners can engage in, the more commonalities they recognise that bind them together in more ways. These multiple ties favour development of stronger sense of community and lead to collective agency. Recognition and liminality thus lead to an awareness of community and are primary to collective action. However, once community becomes realised, materialised and enacted in collective action, the result is again a strong experience of liminality that is a source of strength and a more lasting community—a greater frequency and permanence of community-oriented practices (practices of cooperation and collective action). The community of Old Mokotow or Jazdow believes that everything can be done. It has a strong sense of agency. It sees the community no longer just as a community of values and lifestyles, repertoires and trajectories of practices, but as a collective body capable of action. The experience of liminality is thus an extremely important element in the development of community practices in the city.

The research confirms that the aesthetic dimensions of scene as elements of its socio-cultural opportunity structure play an important role in determining the nature of community practices in terms of both content and form. The dimension of transgression seems to play a particular role in mobilisation. Jazdów, Plan B in Zbawiciela Square, Kato or even Old Mokotów (although to a much lesser extent, as in this case the other features of the socio-cultural opportunity structure outlined earlier were decisive for mobilisation) mobilised mainly around the theme

of transgression. This finds its theoretical justification in, among others, Melucci's (1989, 1996) concept of social movements. Transgression naturally denotes cultural resistance and positions transgressive practitioners in opposition to the dominant groups that define mainstream values. The basis of transgression is a disagreement with the status quo and a desire to change it. Mobilisation in the cases indicated here concerned both the territorial interests of a scene perceived as 'ours' (defence of the interests of a housing estate in Jazdów, the fight to preserve trees in Old Mokotow, the rise of the urban movement in Katowice) and more universal values and goals (ecology, democracy, helping and supporting minorities, fighting the system). The values of neighbourliness, on the other hand, seem particularly conducive to the celebration of sociability, and a local community (a new locality) is built around the combination of neighbourliness and locality, as observed in the case of Mokotow (similar observations, although on a significantly smaller scale, have been collected in the case of Nowa Huta in Cracow and Koszutka in Katowice, which, due to lack of room, have not been presented in this book). The local community grows not from the functional dependencies of inhabiting a shared space, but from a community of identity projects built from identity tasks and practices oriented towards, among other things, locality and neighbourliness. The new locality is built on a community-constructed local identity that is defined by a defined repertoire of practices. This identity does not grow out of tradition or attachment to a particular place, but is constructed around shared values, tastes, cultural practices and specific consumption patterns. The sense of belonging and place-attachment is, above all, a consequence of the shared enjoyment of a chosen lifestyle which is a frame for local identity of the place.

Field observations also confirm the assumption that differences in the "scenisation" of cities translate into different socio-cultural opportunity structures and thus different community dynamics. It turns out that the undefined emerging structures "under construction" in Katowice allowed for the activation of community processes of space production—the identity of individuals is built together with the identity of the scenes and the city itself. In Krakow, although there is no shortage of opportunities for cultural consumption, they often show low intelligibility caused by massive tourism and touristification of scenes. Their blurred structures "in defence" provide thus limited resources for integration. The regulars of scenes are "lost" in the crowd of tourists, which makes their mutual recognition and social contact much more difficult. The

hindered contact, in turn, limits the possibility of developing the collective consciousness, therefore the community practices in Krakow's scenes seem to be dominated by identity practices. On the other hand, developed and highly intelligible structures in Warsaw are conducive to quite diverse communities, which achieve a high level of integration and organisation.

Overall, practices enacted in scenes allow the building and sustaining of both new-local neighbourhood communities (Mokotów), as well as networks (Kazimierz) and cultural communities (Mokotów, Jazdów, Plac Zbawiciela, Kato). The development of these communities is based on distinctive identity practices. In this context, many views on the community building in the city, some of which were presented in Chapter 1, need to be revised. The idea of Oldenburg's (1989) third place where "everyone is welcome" may not prove to be very effective, as individuals find it easier to establish community when they share similarities that at the same time allow them to distinguish themselves from others. As could be seen in the empirical material presented, where intelligibility is low and "random people" appear it is more difficult to bond, as there is a lack of mutual recognition and a coherent framework of interaction. Full inclusion is therefore not possible, it is difficult to build a scene that connects everyone. This is why it is necessary to build diverse scenes for different groups and ensure their smooth intermingling—then many groupings can integrate within their horizons of intelligibility in the context of tolerant coexistence. It is therefore necessary to look at the public spaces of cities through the lens of practices and mechanisms of liminality that they trigger. In the conclusion of this little book that follows this chapter I provide some general and universal tips on how to build communities using the scenes approach.

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Conclusion: Scenes Approach in Community Building

The aim of this little book was to propose a new approach to studying community in an urban context that would allow us to link spatial determinism with cultural reductionism, namely territory with culture, as well as to overcome agency–structure divide in the field of community studies. The theoretical framework for such an approach was the theory of social practices (especially the concepts of Theodor Schatzki) and the scene theory (the new Chicago school in urban sociology), which served as two pillars for the model of the urban community as a nexus of cultural and aesthetic practices and their arrangements embedded in urban scenes. The model assumed that community-forming processes take place in collective cultural consciousness and are mediated by cultural and aesthetic practices in which individuals participate and that urban space is an important element and facilitator of these practices. Urban communities emerge through daily cultural and aesthetic practices, and these are, in turn, defined by cultural meanings of territory in which these practices take place, shaping the cultural meanings of territory (spatial arrangements). Spatial arrangements were conceptualised as a scene and a concept of socio-cultural opportunity structures that different urban scenes provide for the development of different community practices was proposed. These structures provide different types of resources for community practices: identity resources, social contact, interactional resources, collective consciousness and mobilisation resources. The approach assumes that community practices form a continuum: from community of practice (community in itself) to community of practice (community for itself).

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PRACTICE OF:	COMMUNAL PRACTICES IN SCENES COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE <----------> PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY			
	IDENTITY	SOCIABILITY	COOPERATION	COLLECTIVE ACTION
MECHANISM:	RECOGNITION	LIMINALITY -->	<-- REIFICATION -->	<-- MOBILIZATION
IDENTITY/ SENSE OF BELONGING:	ME	ME-US	US-ME	US
SPACE:	SCENE	PLACE	LOCALITY	TERRITORIAL INTERESTS
SOCIO-CULTURAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE:	CULTURAL CONSUMPTION – IDENTITY RECOURCES	SOCIAL CONTACT – INTERACTION RESOURCES	EMBEDEMENT –RESOURCES FOR COLLECTIVE CONSCOUNSNESS	COLLECTIVE ACTION – MOBILIZATION RESOURCES
CASES:	Mokotów „eco slow life"	Mokotów New Theatre	Mokotów ferajna	"Trzaskowski save the trees"
EXAMPLES OF PRACTICES: Who? What is (s)he doing? In what way? With whom? Where? When? Why (this, here, now, in this way, with these people)? How did this happen?	Stickers, local farmer, vegan food, bicycles, ecological gestures - no plastic, animal rescue, e.g. hedgehogs	Local main squere-meetings, coworking, sitting, cultural events, outdoor concerts, children's backyard, dogs, hanging out, 'living room extension', 'go hang out', etc....	Neighbourhood swaps, direct sales, advice and help through a group on FB, mothers' meetings, clothes swaps, plant adoption, etc....	Mobilisation to defend trees against felling
QUESTIONS ABOUT MECHANISMS	Recognition - questions about the identity of the actor, the place and the audience, the mood of the actor, the emotions of the place and the people; giving and reading the content of identity, building and recognizing (pushing?) boundaries	Liminality - the emotion of co-existence, the emergence of the concept of a community of similarities 'we', the birth of the 'community spirit',	Embedding and reification - the transformation of individual consciousness into collective consciousness, the construction of a we and one's self into a we	Mobilisation - interest awareness, communication, ramification, empowerment, transformation of the we in self into a we for self,
DEVELOPMENT / CHANGE OF PRACTICES (RECONFIGURATION OF THE ELEMENTS OF PRACTICES)	Nexus of identity practices	Extension of practice with similar others (requirement of simultaneity), modification of the teleoaffective structure	Transformation of the teleoaffective structure, inclusion of others in the practice, transformation of practical understandings, emergence of new explicit rules, expansion of the bundle of practices to include practices of coordination and cooperation, new practices of sociability	Transformations of the teleoaffective structure, transformations of tacit knowledge and explicit rules, inclusion of external others, expansion of the bundle of practices with new practices: communication, ramification, exclusion, struggle, negotiation, etc..

Fig. 1 Elements of the concept of community as nexus of practices with examples from the field

Four types of community practices have been distinguished, namely practices of identity, sociability, cooperation and collective action. The approach proposed is therefore cultural, relational and praxeological. The model applied to the field allowed for the description and explication of community formation in various contexts defined by the character of scenes. The fieldwork demonstrated that the main mechanism for the transformation of one type of community practice into another is the transformation within the teleoaffective structure, which is the result of the dynamics of the structure of socio-cultural opportunities available in a given scene (Fig. 1). The figure 1 concisely summarizes theoretical approach developed in Chapter 2 by presenting the main building elements of the concept of community as nexus of practices, as well as provides empirical examples from the field that have been discussed in Chapter 3.

Urban scenes, by providing socio-cultural opportunities for community practices, create a potential for urban public policies that is hard to overestimate. In the big and anonymous space of the city they allow individuals with similar identities to find themselves, they facilitate social interactions, and they create the feeling of "being there", "at home" and

"among one's own". They tame the space, giving it a social meaning, making individuals not experience loneliness, relieving big-city existential stress, bringing a sense of ontological security, generating social and cultural capital, empowering, stimulating civic attitudes, socialising. At the same time, they are free from functional-structural dependencies and neighbourhood pressures, they are based on the free choice of the individual, and they remain available regardless of the place of residence and the time spent there. The object of urban policies aimed at building communities and strengthening their potential should therefore be the encouragement of the creation of scenes in urban space by supporting the offer of cultural consumption (availability of specific goods and services) and their subsequent densification and permeation.

"The logic of scene" in building urban communities is based on seven principles (Klekotko 2018c, 2018d). First, communities need to be created at the micro level by producing socially significant places—at the level of "scene" (rather than neighbourhoods, which are often too vast or spatially undefined, residents spend time outside them and often come "from different fairy tales" and thus do not identify with each other). Secondly, the city, its scenes and the communities embedded in them should be treated holistically, as a system consisting of various elements in mutual relationship with each other. Thus, special attention should be paid to the relations between the elements forming the whole, without losing sight of the whole. Thirdly, community-forming processes must be seen in terms of the dynamics of space, people and practices. It is the right dynamics and alignment of these elements that are a condition for the success of a project to create urban communities. Universal scenes do not exist, they need to be built according to the conditions we find. Fourthly, the creation of scenes and the communities embedded in them should be based on the stimulation of appropriate practices that create them, as practices are the basic building blocks. It is therefore necessary to design the desired scenes in such a way that they provide individuals with adequate resources to develop specific community practices, to observe such practices and to strengthen them by complementing and adapting the socio-cultural opportunity structures. Fifthly, practices create scenes and communities through the meanings that underlie them, so in building communities it is necessary to focus on meanings and the making of meanings, which must remain coherent and legible (for example, it is not enough to start a bookshop-café, it must provide a clear message of desired values: a bookshop-café with "subversive" books and fair trade

coffee, appropriately styled staff and background music, promoting anti-systemic social action). Sixthly, the key to effective community building is social participation, therefore it is necessary to stimulate such scenes and possibilities of cultural consumption practices, which are conducive to participation. Seventhly, the synergy of top-down and bottom-up activities is important in creating scenes and communities embedded in them. Its absence wastes the effects of the best designed urban initiatives. Adhering to these seven principles will make it possible to launch bottom-up community-forming processes.

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