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[Café Cultures: An Analytical Framework[1]]

Abstract: What are some major café cultures, and why do they vary? We outline three levels of ideas as an interpretative framework for café cultures. At level one are ideal types like the convivial or the solitary worker in cafes. At level two are propositions about scenes including cafes: 15 scenes dimensions variously favor or shift the types of café values and activities. Third are propositions about the broader social context. We point to factors discouraging cafés in general, like Puritanism, a strong work ethic, and crime; other propositions identify Bohemianism and strong families as shifting café activities and cultures.

Keywords: Café, Culture, Streetlife, Urban, Amenities, Entertainment

The classic examples of café culture are from Latin Quarter institutions like *Les Deux Magots* and *Café de Flore* of Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in the 1950s. At the base of each bill of *Les Deux Magots*, below the monetary total, read the subtitle "le rendez-vous des intellectuels". But if many start from this model of the cafe, what can we add to bring meaning and context to the multiple establishments serving coffee, teas, and related fare?

If we focus on meaning for the main participants in the café then we can build up multiple types. An inventory of social roles, the values or meanings defining these roles, and associated activities are a logical place to start.

A Paris Classic

CAMBIO

Social roles of café users and underlying values / meanings

These might include:

1 *The quick drink / snack*. More salient in the Europe of the 19th and 20th centuries, by the end of the 20th century it was challenged by *le fast food*. Still a classic image was the manual worker stopping at the bar at the edge of the café for *un coup de rouge* or coffee, beer, or stronger fare, and then quickly returning to work. He lacks time to sit. Ancillary; really not part of the main events at the café.

2 *Conviviality*. This has many nuances that demand elaboration. Sometimes a couple or small group may sit and talk, but the more intense conversations like the American business lunch do not need a café and may not change if located in one. Unlike a restaurant where tables are set apart, a café implies a more egalitarian arrangement of chairs tables and their occupants. Each may gaze at others as well as passersby's in the street, which is expected in the more low-keyed, slower, multi-sensorial context.

3 *The* flaneur*, seated*. Normally he walks and explores the city streets, in characterizations from Balzac through Baudelaire, but the mentality still defines a distinctive role: seeing more than just people, faces, and conversations; observing the surroundings and reflecting on their meaning.

4 *The solitary worker*. Jean-Paul Sartre, writing, unsmilingly Germanic. Or later denizens of Starbucks, each deep in their software, immersed in their private electronic world, and oblivious to the nearby flesh and blood. Why bother to sit in a café only to be alone? To get away from a too small room, a backstreet, unmade bed and unwashed dishes, noisy children and other distractions.

5 *The observing gaze*. Particularly when the other café participants and passersby's are diverse and inviting of characterization, one can try to classify, rank, empathize, criticize all manner of face, dress, hat, use of arms, color and type of material, heel height, and hairstyle. These may form tables of elements for social status, geographic origin, national background, religious belief, and more dimensions that the observing or fantasizing café habitué may spin out alone or in conversation. This involves thus three parts: the observed passerby object, the individual gazing, and the fellow café participant with whom impressions are shared and interpreted.

6 *The interested gaze*. This may rise into a stare which can segue into a near-printed invitation for more. All manner of resistance, refusal, denial, discouragement, encouragement, elaboration, and collaboration may follow.

7 *The new news*. What's the latest? For personal gossip or grand politics, newspapers and magazines were long classic. How to incorporate electronic communication is contested. It was classically denied or segregated off in some lesser breeds of watering holes with plebeian labels like sports bars or entertainment complexes.

Jean-Paul Sartre

8 *Philosophizing*. If Hegel and his followers only opine in university lecture halls, for most nonprofessionals, to filosphize implies conversation, exchange and incorporation of potentially related ideas with others. Or at least the café provides a forum to assess competing worldviews of issues from hem lengths to tax burdens. The label café philosopher implies not Fachwissenschaft, but a more generalizing, intellectual perspective on the world and a looser and broader meaning of filosophy. But if the academic may be more pure, his abstract purity implies too being more deracinated, disconnected, and politically unengaged. By contrast the British seventeenth century coffeehouses were deeply engaged in business and politics, from making wagers to selling insurance, as well as offering forums for ideas leading to political tracts from such as John Locke and others formulating a perspective on democracy. Habermas saw this as an archetype of individualized discourse that encouraged civitas. One might test whether locations with more cafes and other related institutions have more civic organizations, easily done with data and methods described below.

9 *Enhanced egalitarianism*. While it is possible for one person to dominate a conversation in toto, such hierarchies normally prefer other physical locations. For a group of a dozen or so to come together and spend as much as several hours usually implies interchange even from the lowest to the highest and vice versa. Like the frontier, this

experience of direct personal exposure in the cafe tends to undermine traditional hierarchies.

The scene

If we rise one level of abstraction to ask what surrounds the café, the classic salient items are people walking by, possibly bicycle or automobile, horse or carriage traffic, surrounding buildings like restaurants, clubs, clothing stores, and major institutions which may be anchors, foundational elements, such as a university or factory or department store. Each of these may substantially redefine the Geist, or attract Café clients and impart a distinctive set of activities and orientations–from preparing for exams to shopping for handbags.

Past work on amenities discussed these items individualistically, often atomistically. The main theory came from economists in the late 20th century especially at Chicago, which readily accepted an atomistic assumption about individual amenities. From George Tolley through Edward Glaeser, this was the stuff of much grand theorizing. Here is a lay illustration. Look at the keywords listed with Paris café photos on the internet. The list…

> Awnings, Boulevards, Cafes, Calm, Calmness, Chairs, Color, Comers, Daytime, Drinking, Eating, Europe, Exterior, Females, Food France, Horizontal, Human, Leisure, Locations, Men, Outdoor, Outside, Paris, Peacefulness, People, Persons, Popular, Quietness, Service, Shop, Streets, Terraces, Tourists, Tranquil, Travel, Urban

… flows into our Scenes theorizing below.

In the scenes approach developed by Clark and Silver with many collaborators over a decade (listed in bibliography), hundreds of amenities were incorporated as the more subtle components defining a scene. For instance if the same block included a café, tattoo parlor, nightclub, and gay bar, these individual amenities in combination define the scene as transgressive. While it is possible simply to locate one café and to theorize patterns of individual amenities, if we join together a handful or hundreds of amenities, the theory of scenes suggests that they may be assigned to 15 general dimensions from transgression to glamour, as well as 14 ideal types from Disney Heaven to Baudelaire's River Styx. A critical aspect of the scene is thus not the sole amenity or the mere summation of several, but the underlying values and meanings that the scene represents. The Scene concept incorporates the activities of participants, their social backgrounds, the physical structures of buildings and flowers, and the adjacent neighborhood––all as an envelope. One can also add items like crime, security, temperature, rainfall, noise levels, and proximity to a large factory or railroad station which might punctuate or disrupt some café activities while defining others as quintessential. Like the railroad station café with its transitory clients and character, compared to a café in a traditional closed, stable, homogeneous, neighborhood.

The Piazza della Repubblica, Florence, a global icon, surrounded by cafes and more

With our research colleagues, we have elaborated multiple scenes characteristics and measured them with data for major and minor cities, and often rural postal codes, of the US, Canada, France, Spain, Poland, Germany, Japan, China, and Korea. These permit contrasting cafés across scenes and neighborhoods and looking for interrelations between cafés and each of the 15 scenes dimensions. For instance the self expressive café should have more individuals engaged in conversation, while a café in a neighborhood marked more by tradition should encourage more fixed and hierarchical role relations, conversational themes, and relations among clienteles. This idea posits an isomorphism between the fundamental types of roles and activities found in cafes listed above and the scenes dimensions. These need not be perfect or deterministic. On the contrary one can explore apparent contradictions, "deviant cases" such as a business lunch with a utilitarian focus taking place within A. a scene where it is business as usual at the other tables, or B. scenes with striking contrast. Such deviant cases are explored in Silver and Clark, *Scenes.*

Conversations in an individual café could be coded through personal observation, ethnographic participation, maybe even engaging the staff to code some key dimensions to assess changes over a week or more. For large-scale quantitative analysis, on can assign the scenes score for the smallest unit surrounding it to the café. Or explore other options such contrasting cafes by different individual nearby amenities (like a university vs. a large shopping mall, in Florence vs. Milan vs. Naples, and within each, a high end downtown piazza versus a lower-status industrial area, for instance). Does Putnam's idea that Neapolitans have low civic engagement show up in less café life?

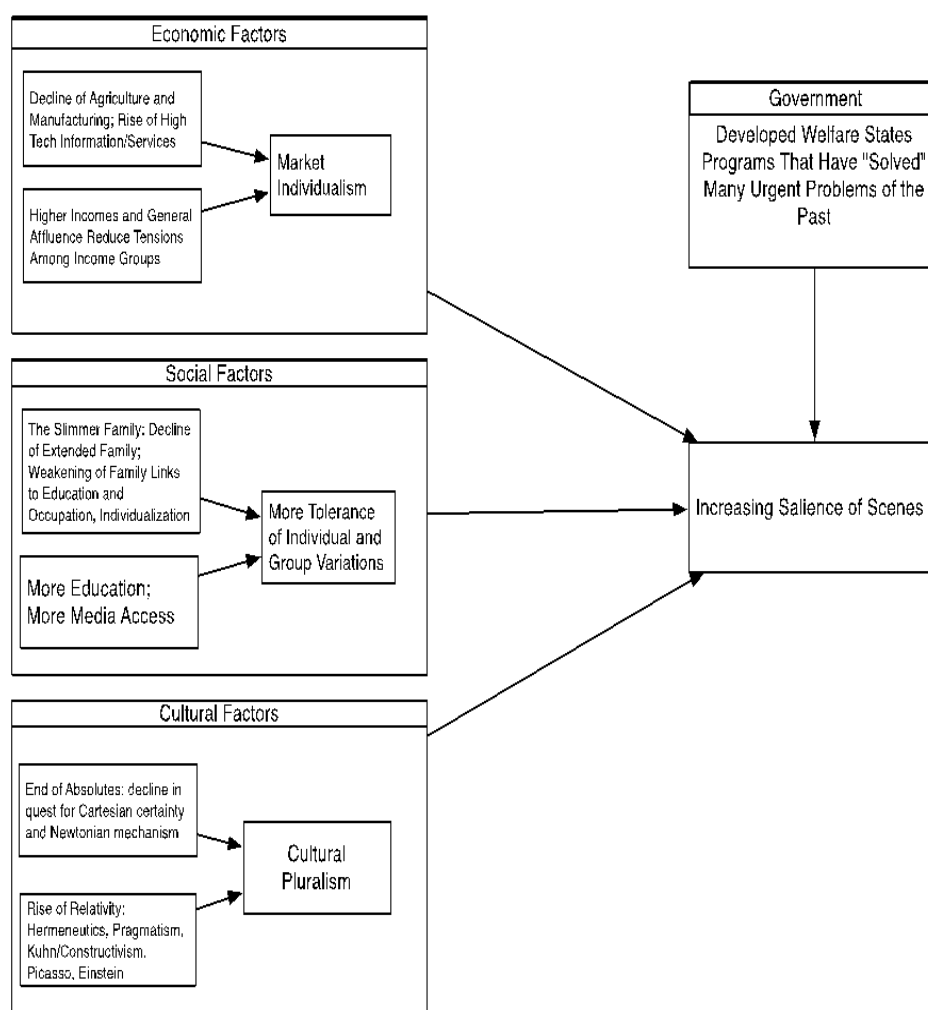*Figure 1 - Multiple factors increase the importance of scenes*
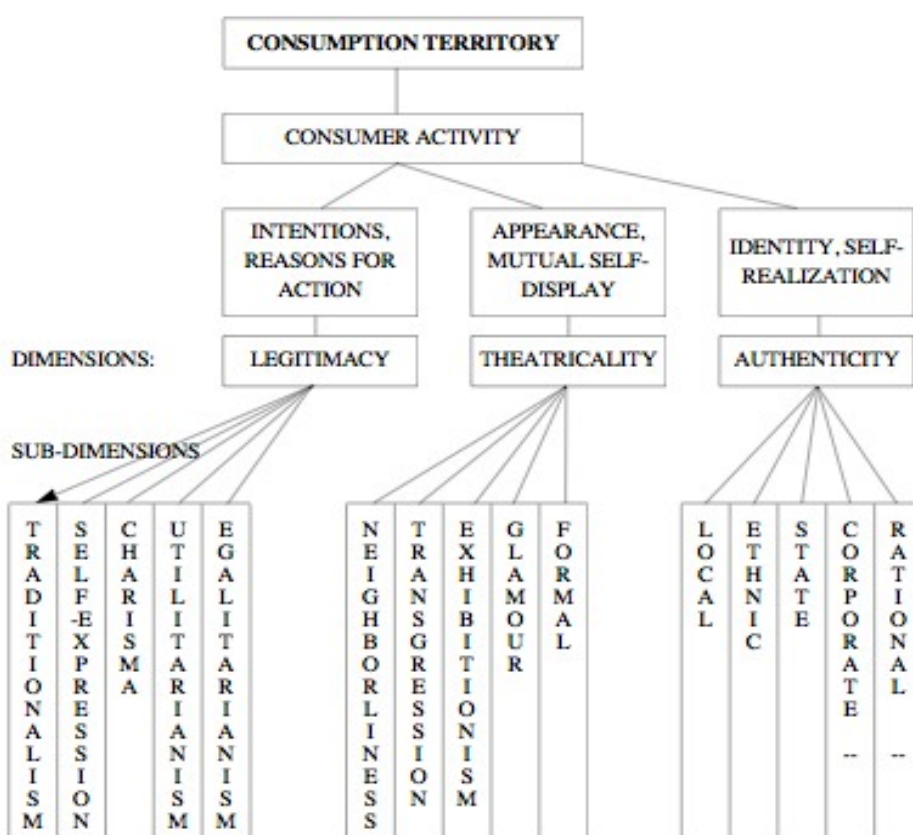
Figure 2 - Dimensions of scene analysis

Table 1 - The symbolic dimension of the scene

Theatricality		
Scenes generate a chance to see and be seen, shaping the bearing and manners of their members. Participants can enjoy the essentially social pleasure of beautifully performing a role or a part, or of watching others do so. This is the pleasure of appearances, the way we display ourselves to others and see their images in turn		
Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Glamour	Standing on the red carpet at Cannes gazing at the stars going by	Fashion Shows & Designers; Designer Clothes & Accessories; Beauty Salons; Nail Salons; Motion Picture & Video Exhibition; Motion Picture & Sound Recording Studios; Agents, Managers for artists & other public figures; Film Festivals; Night Clubs; Jewelry Stores; Casinos
Formality	Going to the opera in a gown or white tie and tails	Formal wear & costume rental; Opera Companies; Fine Dining; Private Clubs; Dance Companies; Night Clubs; Golf courses & country clubs; Theater Companies & Dinner Theater; Religious Organizations; Offices of Lawyers; Professional Organizations
Transgression	Watching a performance artist pierce his skin	Body Piercing Studios; Tattoo Parlors; Adult Entertainment: Nightclubs; Adult Entertainment: Comedy and Dance Clubs; Leather Clothing Stores; Skateboard Parks; Casinos; Beer, Wine, & Liquor Stores; Gambling Industries

| Neighborliness | Attending a performance by the community orchestra | Bed & Breakfast Inns; Civic & Social Organizations; Religious Organizations; Golf Courses & Country Clubs; Sports Teams & Clubs; Playgrounds; Elementary & Secondary Schools; Fruit & Vegetable Markets; Coffee Houses; Pubs; Baked Goods Stores; |
| Exhibitionism | Watching weightlifters at Muscle Beach | Adult Entertainment: Night Clubs; Fashion Shows & Designers; Body Piercing; Tattoo Studios; Health Clubs; Fashion Shows & Designers; Beauty Salons; Nail Salons; Discotheques |

Authenticity
The human possibility to be realized in a scene, even where it is highly theatrical, may also be defined by the extent to which a scene affirms a sense of rootedness, confirming or reshaping the primordial identity of their members. Participants may seek the pleasure of having a common sense of what makes for a real or genuine experience. This is the pleasure of identity, the affirmation of who we are at bottom and what it means to be genuine and real rather than fake and phony.

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Local	Listening to the blues in the Checkerboard Lounge, landmark of the Chicago blues	Bed & Breakfast Inns; Historical Sites; Fishing Lakes & Ponds; Marinas; Book Dealers: Used & Rare; Antique Dealers; Scenic & Sightseeing Services; Nature Parks & Other Similar Institutions; Spectator Sports; Sports Teams and Clubs; Microbreweries; Fruit & Vegetable Markets; Meat Markets
Ethnic	Recognizing the twang of Appalachia in the Stanley Bros.' Voices	Ethnic Restaurants (approximately 40 cuisines); Ethnic Music; Ethnic Dance; Folk Arts; Cultural and Ethnic Awareness Programs; Language Schools; Gospel Singing Groups; Martial Arts Instruction;
Corporate	Reviling a Britney Spears show because she is a corporate creation	Marketing Research; Management Consulting Services; Warehouse Clubs & Superstores; Designer Clothes & Accessories; Fast Food Restaurants; Business & Secretarial Schools; Department Stores; Convention & Trade Shows; Public Relations Agencies; Spectator Sports; Amusement & Theme Parks; Advertising & Related Services
State	Visiting the Gettysburg Battlefield	Political Organizations; Embassies and Delegations; Historical Sites; American Restaurants;
Rational	Reveling in the cosmic scope of human reason at a planetarium	R & D in Physical, Engineering, and Life Sciences; Scientific R & D Services; Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools; Planeteria; Aquariums; Human Rights Organizations; Management, Scientific, & Technical Consulting; Exam Preparation and Tutoring; Libraries & Archives; Computer Training; Offices of Lawyers

Legitimacy
In addition to their theatricality and authenticity, scenes may be defined by a judgment about what is right and wrong, how one ought to live, structuring the legitimacy of social consumption, shaping the beliefs and intentions of their members. Participants can seek the pleasure of a common sense of being in the right or rejecting those in the wrong. This is the pleasure of a good will, intending to act on what one takes to be valid beliefs.

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Traditional	Sharing in the stability and assurance of hearing Mozart performed in the Vienna State Opera as you believe it was earlier	Genealogy Societies; Historical Sites; Opera Companies; Antique Dealers; Fine Arts Schools; Libraries & Archives; Family Restaurants; Family Clothing Stores; Religious Organizations; Dance Companies; Museums
Utilitarian	Attending a benefit concert because it contributes to positive outcomes or savoring the value of efficient production at a museum of industry	Fast Food Restaurants; Technical & Trade Schools; Warehouse Clubs & Superstores; Business & Secretarial Schools; Management Consulting Services; Convenience Stories; Business Associations; Junior Colleges; Computer Systems Design; Database & Directory Publishers; Exam Preparation & Tutoring; Educational Exhibits

Egalitarian	Enjoying the democratic implications of a crafts fair	Human Rights Organizations; Salvation Army; Public Libraries: Elementary & Secondary Schools (Public); Environment & Wildlife Organizations; Junior Colleges; Services for Elderly & Disabled Persons; Social Advocacy Organizations; Individual & Family Services; Religious Organizations
Self Expressive	Enjoying hearing a jazz musician play something that could only be improvised spontaneously at that particular moment	Dance Companies; Fashion Shows/Designers; Yoga Studios; Art Dealers; Comedy Clubs; Body Piercing; Tattoo Parlors; Recorded Music Stores; Vintage & Used Clothing; Custom Printed T-Shirts; Music Festivals: Fine Arts Schools; Graphic Design Services; Independent Artists, Writers & Performers; Musical Groups & Artists; Performing Arts Companies; Sound Recording Industries; Hobby, Toy, & Game Stores; Interior Design Services; Karaoke Clubs
Charismatic	Watching a Chicago Bulls game because of the charismatic aura of Michael Jordan rather than because one is a Chicagoan	Designer Clothes & Accessories; Fashion Shows/Designers; Motion Picture & Video Exhibition; Art Dealers; Dance Companies; Historical Sites; Motion Picture & Sound Recording Industries; Musical Groups & Artists; Performing Arts Companies; Promoters of Entertainment Events; Spectator Sports; Fine Arts Schools; Sports Bars; Sound Recording Studios

Figure 3 - Two scenes dimensions, city mean scores
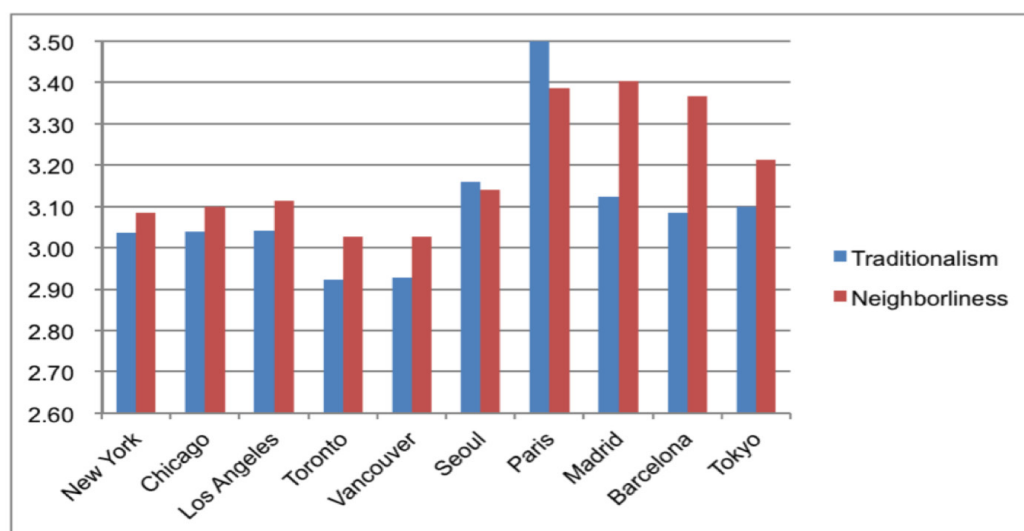
Broader contexts, esp. social and political values shift how cafes locate and operate

Cafés are located within scenes and sometimes link to distinct social groups which in turn are located within cities and within nations that vary on broader dimensions. A few big examples are discussed that visibly impact café cultures. That is, we can understand better where cafes are lively and successful by identifying where they are less lively, or absent. This was Durkheim's admonition: study deviance to understand core values. We have data from maps and other descriptive sources in our scenes files. How interpret them, with testable hypotheses?

1. *The puritan challenge* denies the legitimacy of the consumer-driven self-satisfied indulgence of sitting and in relaxed manner to converse and imbibe. This is immoral. In locations from Salem Massachusetts to the Netherlands,

not only bars but cafés and any sort of leisure activity were classically framed as nonwork and specifically Calvinist non-good work and thus immoral (see accounts from Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic* to Philip Gorski's later work on Calvinism and politics). Cafés in particular were framed as decadent and European, at least southern European. While strongest in New England and in the migration path through Minnesota to Washington state, Americans in general enjoyed very few cafés through the 19th and most of the 20th century. As Puritanism waned in its more literal and obvious form after World War II, especially as gender roles multiplied, and a general multiculturalism came to be embraced by religious leaders and politicians, the café revolution came to America. Its most visible export is Starbucks but it is distinctive in having a corporate image, a franchise chain-brand symbolism, a general homogeneity of style which conflicts with the potential for integration with surroundings in the scene which is more feasible for other types of locally owned and managed cafés. Still even Starbucks vary across scenes. For instance, one can observe Starbucks in Chicago where African-Americans almost exclusively sit at the outdoor tables, and whites at the indoor tables.

2. *The Communist denial*. Communist leaders in much of the twentieth century sought to focus on efficiently constructing steps toward socialism. The background was Lenin and the Soviet Communist model. In Warsaw pre 1989, for instance one could walk for blocks and find no store selling a newspaper or small groceries which one would expect in any Western city—pre-1989. And definitely no café. That is in the stage of building socialism it was seen as essential to curtail the excesses of individualism and personal consumption which would undermine the production emphasis on building the economy. Thus the planning and investment decisions made by the Communist Party systematically were to invest more in factories and production facilities, and less in consumption activities that could also distract corrupt and undermine the production focus of workers. Thus private homes, restaurants, cafés, luxury shopping facilities, elegant automobiles, and the like were to be held to a bare minimum and kept invisible where possible.

Hypotheses from both Puritanism and Communist ideology suggest ideas for classifying neighborhoods and subtypes within cities today as well as cross nationally. These should be partial explanations of at least the density of cafés and restaurants for instance and types of each which may be available from names and labels for simple quantitative analysis. We have names of each café by street address in most neighborhoods in the US and Canada from electronic Yellow Page downloads. The same Yellow Page data are available for Italy, Poland, Germany and other countries. Some Censuses report cafes separately by small areas; others not. Italy has particularly good small area census data on detailed activities, which we have explored briefly but not analyzed for cafes in detail. More subtle ethnographic work could distinguish types of conversations, role types, and more going on within cafés and third places[2] in different neighborhoods, linking these with scenes like dimensions and broader value orientations. More detailed hypotheses are in Silver and Clark, *Scenes,* esp. chaps 5 and 6.

3. *Production, production theory*. The normative bases of production are explicit in the Puritan challenge and Communist denial. The more explicitly positive analyses of most social scientists privilege work over leisure, production over consumption, money over abstractions, substructure over superstructure (in general as well as specifically in past work on culture e.g. by Adorno, Bourdieu, Di Maggio). This was dominant in the past, but is increasingly challenged by rises in leisure time, income, education, and a new focus on concepts like the creative class, creative industries, and the idea that innovation may be a critical driver of the economy. Clark (2011) charts this transition and lays out several dozen propositions codifying some activities based more on consumption than production. Still, both production and consumption are clearly present in most cities, and a basic café culture proposition might be: cafes are more likely found in neighborhoods where consumption activities and amenities are more salient than production facilities. Nevertheless this could be qualified by types of production, with industries like film in LA, computers in Silicon Valley, the arts in Paris, and tourism in most of Southern Europe.

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2 The *third place* (or *third space*) refers to social surroundings separate from the home and workplace. Oldenburg (1989) discussed third places are important for civil society, democracy, civic engagement, and establishing feelings of a sense of place. He terms one's "first place" the home and the "second place" the workplace. Third places are "anchors" of community life and foster broader, more creative interaction.

These variations could be mapped with our 15 dimensions and assessed using Census and related data, as the next section suggests.

4. *Simple scene/context coding.* One ultra simple classification for analyzing amenities and scenes is a fourfold distinction:

A. residential

B. work/industrial/production

C. entertainment

D. political activities.

We have assembled neighborhood-specific indicators of each of these, such as residential housing divided by jobs and entertainment amenities, and for politics the number and density of organizations that are oriented toward separate activities (the US, Japanese, and European censuses conveniently use near identical codes to distinguish e.g. environmental organizations, business organizations, political organizations, religious institutions, social service organizations, etc.) Café should vary within each of the four above domains to enhance each of their respective overall orientations. Thus a café in a residential neighborhood should have families and people who are neighbors and more likely to know one another than in an entertainment district where there should be more tourists and non-neighborhood residing people traveling from further and who are less personally connected. Cafés in spaces with more political organizations, from parties to interest groups to lobby groups to protest groups, are more likely to engage in conversations and activities with political overtones. This could be detailed with ethnography from Todi or Arezzo.

Figure 4 - An example of cultural marker: Starbucks as a cultural marker

* So why examine the location of Starbucks coffee houses relative to the North Side HAZ?
* Because Starbucks is a critical comnponent of "The city as an Entertainment Machine" and they are a cultural marker of the creative class and new economy retall.

From Greene R., Spatial and Functional Relationships of High Amenity Zones to Downtowns: The Case of Chicago and Los Angeles, *Association of American Geographers, 2012 Annual Meeting, New York, New York. Blue dots indicate high end shopping, art galleries, museums which red dots indicate Starbucks. The red dots South of the Amenity Zone are in the central business district with more finance and business activities. The blue and red dots thus overlap but are by means solely driven by leisure or work.*

5. *The family and home*. In the American South one finds fewer restaurants and entertainment venues in part because the family would offer dinners, luncheons, parties, and social occasions such as coming out dances and celebrations of young persons. The American South in this regard is closer to southern Europe, Latin America, and especially Asia where the family performs more functions and nonfamily spaces are seen as less friendly, impersonal and either inappropriate if you are alone, or perhaps more appropriate if pursued by sisters or brothers or a family jointly sitting together in the café-- or restaurant or church pew (see Jang, Clark, Byun 2011; Clark *et alii*, 2014). Again it would not be that hard to assemble census type data on family structure by neighborhood by city by region of Italy and cross nationally to assess the degree to which cafés may be weaker in areas where families are stronger. How about age and gender? Or other basic social dimensions?

6. *Geography and economic base*. The concepts of amenities and economies of scale and density suggest that cafés, restaurants, and third spaces are easier to sustain with a higher density of potential customers walking by. The strong contrast is with the desert or very low density agricultural or grazing land for animals where the model of the individual cowboy or farmer is more the norm for the popular social role. These variables are easily added to a bigger model that could include puritans, politics, family size, and other related characteristics which may encourage or discourage various forms of cafés, restaurants, bars, and the like.

7. *Social barriers*. Most obvious in locations like South Africa or caste India, there still are all manner of nuanced definitions of who is or is not welcome. The label yuppie or young urban professional was diffused by a Chicago *Tribune* reporter who was sensitive to the fact that most Chicago neighborhoods did not welcome persons who carried a Wall Street Journal, a paper cup labeled Starbucks, and walked a dog. "No yuppies in my bar" was a fighting slogan which distinguished neighborhoods from one another in Chicago in ways that were more salient than in other cities which had more tolerance or egalitarianism or less sharply culturally defined neighborhood boundaries. Braxton and I participated in an exchange in the American Sociological Association, ComUrban listserv in 2011 about Italian restaurants in the US. We showed that if one divided the number of restaurants in the zip code by the number of persons of the corresponding ancestry one could then distinguish Italian from German from French and other ancestry groups and their nearby restaurants. The striking finding was that Italian restaurants in neighborhoods with high proportions of Italian residents as reported in the U.S. Census were much more numerous across the US than was the case for any other of the major ethnic ancestry groups. But these varied substantially within regions and cities. They were particularly high in the northeastern region where these European ancestry groups settled initially, as well is in Chicago and San Francisco were these same groups migrated and were numerous from the 19th century onward. By contrast in newer locations with more automobile-based culture like Los Angeles and the Western states in general, an individualism from the cowboy based tradition triumphed over the ethnic group and neighborhood, marked by the types of restaurants and types of residence (about 100 pages of discussion on Italian restaurants etc. followed, available from T. Clark email). This method is a simple way of trying to capture ethnic closure and social integration that could be replicated with other data in other contexts. And of course made more subtle through ethnography and other means, plus mapped onto surveys and other sources like ethnic publications, novels etc. In the strong form the proprietors of the restaurant or café would not even serve any food or drink to a person who was not welcome. Thus in the classic Italian neighborhood that was largely destroyed by the construction of the University of Illinois at Chicago, persons who looked as if they were academic and especially not Italian could sit for 1 or 2 hours at a table and never obtain service. This sort of "subtle hospitality" can help preserve ethnic homogeneity of the restaurant or café. Similarly "we don't want Yuppies" was a Chicago slogan leading neighborhood bartenders to limit service to persons who looked different.

In the Asian context tea largely replaces coffee, but teahouses have many of the external similarities of European cafés. Comparative data on restaurants suggest that in China and Korea the numbers of restaurants per capita and per total amenities are far higher than they are in the US or Western Europe. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the Chinese often enjoy meals together more in a manner closer to the southern European partisans of the slow food movement than Northern Europeans. Family strength is complemented by work group strength as a basic

interpretation.

8. *Work, work-group strength, and unemployment, as shifters.* An important Asian example is the bar/restaurant/ karaoke establishment (which may be separate or nearby each other) where it is classic for manual laborers as well as white-collar office workers to gather with their office mates for several hours, for many if not most days of the working week, and to continue conversing, drinking, eating, and singing karaoke with each other after the workday in the office ends. This is an important contrast to the classic southern European strong family as well as to the Piazza flavor of Italian or Spanish cities were bands of young men and women meet and chat and socialize for hours. This is helped by the near 50% unemployment rate of young persons in Spain in the early twenty-first century, combined with a century-old tradition of late-night meals and nightlife even continuing until dawn the next day. One result is that most major Spanish cities in the early 21st century report having neighborhoods where young persons meet, dance, drink, smoke, carouse, and caress through much of the night–in parks and street corners as well as nearby cafés, bars, and clubs. These generate classic urban conflicts with older Spaniards who live nearby and want to sleep early, undisturbed by the loud music of the young. Still these youth cultures vary and are driven by more than unemployment alone. We could join this with the extensive work on young persons' values, e.g. from the World Values Survey and related sources. If one chooses one café in one city, it is still possible to administer a questionnaire from a large survey to compare e.g. the Arezzo Café participants to the Japanese or French national population, or young persons, etc..

Japan, China, Korea, and Spain are illustrative examples that could be pursued in Italy or other locations using data from our scenes project where we have maps based on small area data of individual amenities as well as the 15 scenes dimensions. These could be cross tabulated and variously analyzed along with for instance cafés or restaurants or bars as well as other individual institutions within the context for instance of utilitarianism. Thus one would expect fewer cafés in traditional factory working class areas outside Paris and indeed this fits with related institutions like bakeries, bread stores, boulangeries which are more concentrated in residential areas.
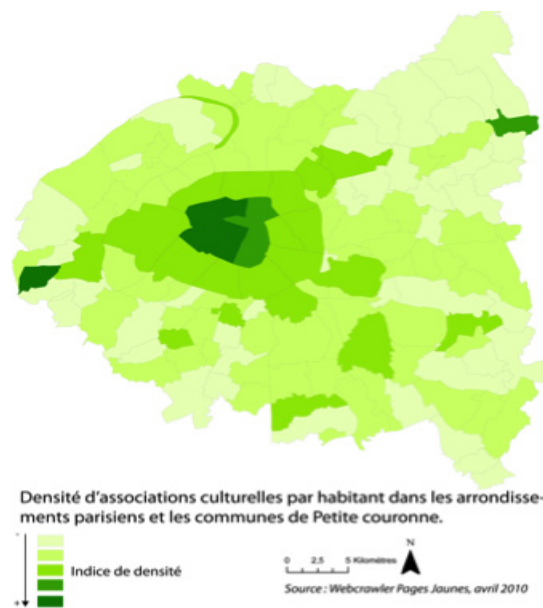
Figure 5 - Distribution/concentration maps
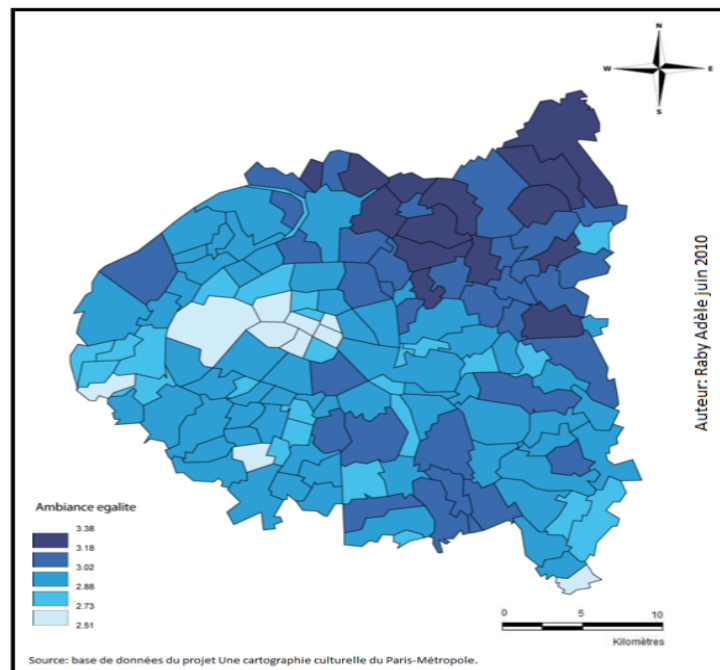
Map 1 - Bakeries per inhabitants
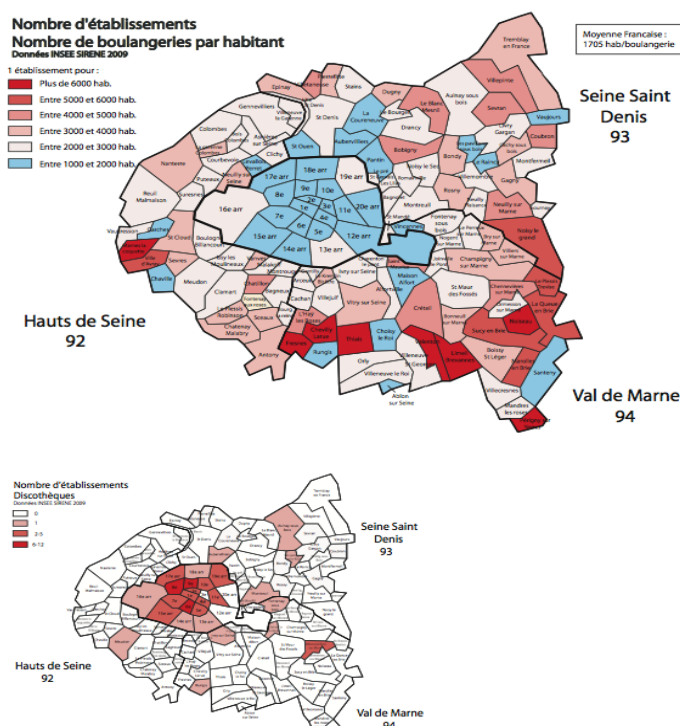
Source: See our French report, Sawyer 2011

Map 2 - Cultural societies per inhabitants

Densité d'associations culturelles par habitant dans les arrondisse-
ments parisiens et les communes de Petite couronne.

Indice de densité

0   2,5   5 Kilomètres

N

Source : Webcrawler Pages Jaunes, avril 2010

Source: See our French report, Sawyer 2011

Map 3.Variation in the distribution of egalitarianism

Ambiance egalite
3.38
3.18
3.02
2.88
2.73
2.51

Auteur: Raby Adèle juin 2010

0   5   10
Kilomètres

Source: base de données du projet Une cartographie culturelle du Paris-Métropole.

Sous- dimension égalitarisme

L'échelle de variation du poids de l'ambiance égalitarisme n'est pas très
éntendue et stagne aux alentours de 3, qui est un indice de neutralité. Parmi
toutes les communes du Paris Métropole, deux zones ressortent: les communes
du Nord-Est de la Seine Saint Denis marquées par leur caractère égalitaire,
d'une part et, les arrondissements centraux et à l'ouest de Paris très peu
rappreséntatifs de cette ambience d'autre part. La répartition des équipements
plus ou moines comparant la carte des salaires net horaires moyen en 2006, et la
carte de localisation de l'ambiance égalitarisme, on peut remarquer que là où se
situent les populations les plus démunies sont présents les équipements les plus
égalitaires et inversement.

Source: See our French report, Sawyer 2011

What styles, conversations, roles, and participants, in terms of social, occupational, educational background does one find in a more blue-collar neighborhood in Florence, Siena, or Arezzo in contrast to a university or professional neighborhood? This sort of class analysis is a good place to start as a benchmark, as it is so widely discussed in political and civic behavior studies. We find drastic differences across scenes; some like glamour are strongly correlated with income or local rent, while others are minimally.

9. *Tourists? They can be analyzed like local residents*. In many areas of southern Europe at least the roles of visitors and tourists demand separate and significant consideration, as they transform and redefine restaurants and cafés where tourists are numerous. Florence, Venice, areas of Rome are strong examples. Still here too we should not label all tourists as identical but look at ways that a particular mecca attracts tourists of a particular sort, from the Giro for cyclists, to Easter at the Vatican. Some tourists are on pilgrimages, others for many more reasons. Their cultural backgrounds and expectations hugely vary. This simple observation alas is ignored by much tourism research. (Cf. Clark 2003, and Guido Martinotti personal discussions on political tourism to participate in demonstrations, esp. in Italy, elaborate these themes.)

10. *Security / Crime / Violence*. Colombia had six times the US murder rate just a decade or so back, civil war, drugs, kidnapping were rife, and the streets were empty at night due to security concerns. Mayors Mockus and Penalosa turned Bogota around in terms of security, leading women to be comfortable enough to walk alone at night in many streets. Third places like cafes can return. But security varies by neighborhood and is critical when it is borderline/low. Studies of Philadelphia and Chicago show how clubs and nightlife decline in high-crime areas, and move to more secure neighborhoods. Since 9/11 and with immigration and security more salient in many European countries, security is more visibly a concern for entertainment and third place activities.

11. *A Research program building on Scenes, 15 dimensions locating cafes*. Using the 15 general dimensions from Silver and Clark (forthcoming), we suggest that cafes could be generally scored in a manner analogous to Bohemian scenes. The weights below should apply to a bohemian café. If instead we sought to assign scores to a "bourgeois residential area café" it would have higher scores for glamour and lower for transgressive dimensions. We could empirically assess how much via ethnographic observation or surveys of café participants on these sorts of dimensions.

Table 2 - Scenes dimensions

Joining complex scenes and scenes dimensions

	Disney Heaven	Bohemia	Samurai's Licensed Quarters	Renoir's Loge	LA-LA Land Tinsel	Rossini's Tour	Wagner's Volk	Brook's Bo-Bo's	Black is Beautiful	Cool Cosmopolitanism	Plurality	NASCAR Country
Traditionalistic	4	2	3	3	2	2	4	4	4	2	4	5
Self-Expressive	2	5	3	4	4	5	2	4	3	4	4	2
Utilitarian	4	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	4	4
Charismatic	3	4	3	4	5	5	3	3	4	4	4	4
Egalitarian	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	4	3	5	4	2
Formal	3	2	2	5	4	3	3	2	4	2	4	4
Neighborly	4	2	1	3	2	3	4	3	4	2	4	5
Glamourous	2	3	3	4	5	5	3	4	4	3	4	1
Exhibitionistic	1	3	4	4	5	3	3	3	3	3	4	3
Transgressive	1	5	5	2	3	3	3	4	3	4	4	2
Local	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	2	4	5
Ethnic	2	3	3	3	3	3	5	4	5	4	4	3
State	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	4	5
Corporate	4	1	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	4	4
Rational	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	3

This matrix displays the 15 scenes dimensions as rows and the complex scenes like Disney Heaven as columns. The cell entries are weights, with 5 most positive. Disney Heaven is thus defined by the 15 weighted scores in the column below it: somewhat Traditional but clearly not Transgressive. The matrix more generally illustrates the combinatorial logic of joining and weighting the 15 scenes dimensions to create many other complex scenes.

Table 3 - Ideal-typical bohemian scene

Dimension	Score	Dimension	Score	Dimension	Score
Traditionalistic	2	Neighborly	2	Local	3
Self-Expressive	5	Formal	3	Ethnic	4
Utilitarian	1	Glamorous	3	State	2
Charismatic	4	Exhibitionistic	3	Corporate	1
Egalitarian	2	Transgressive	5	Rational	2

Note: 1 is negative, 3 is neutral and 5 is positive on each of the 15 individual dimensions. Each U.S. zipcode receives a bohemian scene score by summing its scores on each of the 15 dimensions, weighting each of the 15 as in this table.

From this we can suggest that neighborhoods with more of these 15 characteristics are more likely to foster (bohemian, or with weights adjusted, other sorts of) cafes, while neighborhoods far from these "bliss points" should have fewer cafes.

Conclusions

The figures and tables show both cafes and more general scenes to suggest how and where cafes can be integrated into a more comprehensive scenes analysis. There two sorts of scenes: the 15 dimensions like Traditionalistic and the 12 like Disney Heaven which are constructed scenes, generating by different weighted combinations of the 15, as illustrated by Bohemia (sometimes labeled Baudelaire's River Styx to stress its historic origins). The 15 more abstract and can be combined in various ways to generate many other "constructed scenes" besides those shown here.

Many of our data are available to others who can reanalyze them differently. We offer the scenes concepts and data not to replace any other theory, but to complement and enhance other analyses and models, by providing a systematic way to incorporate "context" or "environmental" variables beyond these normal labels. We join them here with cafes as one illustration that demands more subtle, and contextual, analysis as consumption, lifestyle, and scenes activities become a more widely accepted part of social, economic, and political analyses. Billions are being invested in them by policy makers globally. It is time for social scientists to catch up.

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