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Eldridge, A. and Nofre, J.

This is a pre-publication version of a book chapter to be published in Nofre, J. and Eldridge, A. (eds.) Exploring Nightlife: Space, Society and Governance, London, Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 1-15.

It is available from the publisher at:

https://www.rowmaninternational.com/book/exploring_nightlife/3-156-0...

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Shaken, Not Stirred': An Introduction to *Exploring Nightlife*

Adam Eldridge and Jordi Nofre

Thomas Burke's *English Night-Life* begins with a reflection on the state of British cities after dark. Written in the midst of the Second World War, a picture is drawn of dark empty streets, curfews and blackouts, and a 'dim, subdued kind' of night (1943, 142). According to his extensive review of nocturnal leisure, the past offered ample opportunity for night-time festivities, pleasures and transgressions, and not only for the elite. Like today, various forms of inclusion and exclusion existed, and the night was similarly organised around class, gender and space, but the war led Burke to wonder whether British nightlife would ever quite recover. Two points become clear from Burke's discussion. First, late-night leisure is not new. van Liempt et al. note that 'city centres have always had late-night amenities in some form' (2015, 411), and, indeed, Amin and Thrift (2002) have argued that a distinctive nightlife emerged sometime in the nineteenth century (see also Erenberg 1984). Koslofsky's (2011) *Evening's Empire* also refers to a 'nocturnalisation' of European cities from the Enlightenment onwards, a period marked by the emergence of street lighting, a new urban culture and expanding opportunities for both work and pleasure after dark. But there is another way of interpreting Burke's commentary. While the conditions under which he was writing are vastly different from today, many contemporary reports of nightlife paint a similar picture, one where all the joy and fun associated with the night has been extinguished or is under threat.

Claims about the imminent collapse of nightlife in London, Sydney, New York or elsewhere are perhaps overstated, but they speak of a similar anxiety about nightlife to that expressed by Burke (1943). This is not an anxiety about crime, danger or antisocial behaviour, though these fears continue to circulate. It is instead a belief that the night and consumers of nightlife need protection. Overzealous authorities who wish to stamp out, over-regulate or control nightlife play an important role in Burke's history as they do in our present. Neighbours complaining about noise from late-night revellers are also not new, as Ekirch (2006) demonstrates. Added to these now-familiar concerns about immorality, noise, crime and disorder, however, new problems have emerged, which equally threaten late-night pleasures: new forms of exclusion, gentrification, commercialisation and mass tourism in particular. Whether these will entirely kill off nightlife is doubtful, but the question as to how we might save nightlife or whether it will ever offer the promises through which it is so commonly understood resonates as much today as it did in the past. How might we make nightlife in our twenty-first-century cities more sustainable, inclusive and secure?

Two questions linger in our minds as we finish this volume; what exactly is under threat here, and why does it matter? Why should we care about the night, least of all nightlife? As night-time scholars, it is perhaps our own failing that these questions have yet to be convincingly answered. Fears about the loss of the night sky due to excessive illumination, the loss of nightlife venues, or the muddying of the boundaries that separate night and day (Crary, 2013) have become common subjects of debate and tell us as a good deal about what it is we think the night should be and for whom: a time of play, rest, work, or darkness are all equally competing discourses

about cities after dark. At the very least, as Henckel (2016) has argued, there is little evidence that nightlife even exists beyond a few central streets in most cities, and his own research has found surprisingly little evidence for a clear expansion in night-time employment. As night-time scholars we have perhaps been guilty of assuming that town and city centres in so-called developed Western economies are uniformly open and buzzing 24 hours a day and that simply because we can drink, dance or shop at all hours we do so. As Gwiazdzinski suggests, ‘As we advance into the night, the options on offer decrease, and the city shrinks and seems to condense itself into a few clusters of streets where we find concentrations of illumination and animation’ (2014, no page). As Evans (2017) has also suggested, cities often characterised as 24/7 would be more accurately referred to as 24/2. In many cities, it is perhaps true that the night is a time when most people sleep or conduct domestic tasks. The night, as Gwiazdzinski goes on to argue, ‘is expensive, and any sense of social and generational diversity is illusory’ (2014, n.p.).

We are confident Henkel, Evans and Gwiazdzinski would agree, however, that the urban night is not as it used to be. In the time it has taken us to compile this anthology, London, inspired by the Night Mayor post in Amsterdam, has appointed its very own Night Czar to champion the capital’s nightlife. Paris, Toulouse and Zurich also have Night Mayors (Roberts 2016), as does Shibuya in Tokyo. In 2017, New York City Council approved the creation of a Nightlife Advisory Board, motivated by similar concerns as elsewhere about threats to small, independent nightlife providers (Delgadillo 2017). Just in the past two years the editors of this volume have met up at no less than four international conferences and symposiums to discuss nightlife. We have also met with other international academics, planners, city promoters, festival

and cultural managers, entrepreneurs, politicians, journalists and representatives from various government and non-government organisations to discuss the nocturnal city.

van Liempt et al. (2015) argue that the night has been neglected in urban studies, but while this continues to ring true, the 'night-time economy' is now recognised as an important feature of city branding and a means of stimulating the local economy (Schwanen et al. 2012). Many of the chapters in this volume speak of change. As editors, it has been our task to push them on this point; if cities are changing, what are they changing from? Would the bars, taverns and gambling halls of the eighteenth century really be that recognisable to us today, or have urban centres at night changed beyond recognition? Perhaps so. It is hard to image any major city now failing to offer some form of nocturnal infrastructure or entertainment. Typing the word 'cities' into a search engine reveals images not of industry or commerce or even many cities in the daylight at all but of skylines lit up, sun setting on the horizon or artfully lit motorways and signature buildings. A buoyant, varied, diverse and cosmopolitan night-time is increasingly sought, promoted and enabled by government policies and urban regeneration strategies.

The urban night remains articulated with fear and risk, but it has equally become articulated with modernity, progress, cosmopolitanism and urbanity. London has had a night-bus service for just over a century, but when the city's Underground tube network opened throughout the night on weekends in 2016, there was a sense of pride, a feeling that London had finally joined other important modern cities like Tokyo or New York. The ability to shop, visit the gym, attend a night class or have a haircut seems to have become contemporary markers of progress and modernity (Kreitzman 1999; Crary 2013). While it might be unclear what exactly cities are

changing from, the night is an optic (Straw 2015a) to think through what we think cities should or could be, and indeed what we think the night should be. Studying the night is not simply about researching clubbing, deviancy or subcultures, though such studies continue to reveal important and fascinating results (Malbon 1999; Riley et al. 2010, 2012), but it also offers the opportunity to think through emerging forms of governance, economic and social transformation, new urban identities, the blurring or indeed stubborn distinctions between night and day and the shifting anxieties and pleasures through which the night is so often framed. As many of the chapters make clear, the night is now as much about pleasures and fears as it is about city branding, regeneration policies, tourism promotion, business and market expansion.

‘Neo-liberalism’ is a term that has become much used in the past few decades, and it is equally relevant here. Brown (2006, 693) defines neo-liberalism as ‘the explicit imposition of a particular form of market rationality’. And while she argues this occurs well beyond just the economic realm, it is worth starting here. The value of the night-time economy is subject to much debate, not least because of the often-vague ways the night is defined. Do we begin at 6:00 p.m. or later? Of course this matters, as we explain later, but when promoting the new night-time economy perhaps it doesn’t matter in the ways we might expect. The specificities, scale, or inclusions and exclusions of the nocturnal city often seem secondary to market-led and economic language. Will a new bar reduce the price of nearby housing or add value? This way of framing leisure and the night spills over into privileging economic benefits and economic costs. The cost of nightlife to the public sector, such as health services and policing, is offset by the value the night-time economy brings in terms of employment figures, job growth, council rates and tourists. New late-night

infrastructure is justified on the basis of how it might enable new markets to open or add value to existing ones.

The chapters here point to a similar economic rationality underpinning much night-time expansion and urban redevelopment. However, it is important that we do not sentimentalise the night and recognise from the outset nightlife has typically entailed some form of commercial exchange. Following Schivelbusch (1988), the expansion of lighting in the nineteenth century was driven by industry and harbour commerce, that is, by an increasing drive towards productivity into the night rather than simply providing more opportunities for leisure. Nonetheless, there is a sense of both urgency and anger in many of the chapters included here. The night is important for reasons beyond whatever market benefits it might entail; there are spaces, places and networks that operate at night to which we feel a sense of belonging, places that are crucial to the formation of our identities (Smith 2014), to emerging political movements, to socialising and leisure. Whether referring to the Take Back the Night Marches, LGBTQ+ clubs and bars, venues associated with Black and Minority Ethnic communities, or our own local pub, nightlife serves as a context for a range of social, political and cultural movements (Talbot 2007; May 2014; Campkin and Marshall 2017). When venues or even entire areas are threatened, it feels as if a part of our own biography is being erased. Without wanting to paint an overly romantic picture of the night, maybe there was a time when it did not feel so commodified and so reducible to market-led discourses and rationales.

Though we have no desire to sentimentalise the night, nightlife has undoubtedly changed, as have the ways that cities function after dark. The night has moved up the policy agenda and not only in terms of strategies for better managing

crime or antisocial behaviour. New policies, recommendations and branding campaigns have appeared; Night Mayors, good practices guidelines and city marketing campaigns circulate across and between different cities and countries not only in Europe (e.g., Lisbon, Paris, London, Berlin, Belgrade) but also across the globe (e.g., Sydney, New York, Buenos Aires, Tokyo). As we have also established, the night is increasingly understood as crucial to the economic sustainability of many cities. On the one hand, this has led to greater opportunity for nocturnal leisure, socialising and employment. On the other hand, it has led to an increased framing of the night in terms of costs and benefits. More important, these policies, investments, regulations, deregulations and government interventions challenge one of the more romanticised perceptions of the night, which is that it is, or at least should be, a time and place free or somehow different from the more regulated and ‘capitalist’ daytime.

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Having established these broad themes of the collection, it is worth pausing and exploring them in more detail. In doing so, we introduce some of the rationales and the histories of contemporary debates about urban nightlife, many of which continue to shape the examples explored in this volume. While the selection of chapters here challenge the Anglophone-centred approach to the study of the urban night, it has become somewhat customary when discussing modern nightlife, particularly from a European perspective, to begin in post-war Britain (Laughey 2006; Fowler 2008; Marwick 2011). Of course, leisure at night is not unique to Britain, but the idea of a night-time economy, one where regeneration, creativity and leisure intersect, is often attributed to a unique set of conditions in post-war Britain. In one of the first papers to document Britain’s expanding evening and night-time economy, Lovatt and

O’Conner (1995) recount the now-familiar story of how post-war deindustrialisation, urban decline, suburbanisation and domestic leisure activities such as watching television left many town and city centres vacant by nightfall. The regulation of retail and leisure hours further contributed to what was termed ‘the 5:00 p.m. flight’, at which time city-centre workers would return to their homes, only to return to the city the following morning (Bianchini 1995). Nightlife continued to take place, but the perception was that cities after dark were dangerous, exclusionary and welcoming to only a small minority of people. Comedia (1991), again working in the United Kingdom, identified further problems with British cities after dark from inactive street frontages and poor transport to ‘larger louts’ and a lack of anything to do. Its report *Open All Hours: A Study of Economic, Social and Cultural Life in Twelve Town Centres in the UK* was influential in not only articulating the problems with evening and night-time opportunities across Britain; it also provided solutions. Comedia called for an *18-hour city*, one that was less a ‘nine-to-five retailing and employment centre’ and instead more of an ‘economic, social and cultural centre’ (Roberts 2004, 11). The relaxation of licensing laws in the United Kingdom, and a greater mix of uses including residential, was called for.

This was not a uniquely British phenomenon. Bianchini (1995) recounts that the first time he heard the phrase ‘night-time economy’ was in Rome in the late 1970s. The phrase was used by Renato Nicolini, organiser of the city’s programme of summer events from 1977 to 1985. In terms that would echo later in the United Kingdom, Nicolini argued that ‘city centres in the West are becoming, in many cases, day-time office and shopping districts, almost a wilderness after the afternoon rush hour’ (Bianchini 1995, 122). While this trope of the abandoned urban core resonates

across a range of different post-war studies, by the 1980s and 1990s attention turned to how cities were being transformed into creative, consumer and cultural hubs. The emerging study of urban tourism (Law 1993; Page 1995; Judd and Fainstein 1999), for example, explored the extent to which post-industrial cities were being transformed from centres of commerce and industry to culture and entertainment. Particularly from the United States, a new urban economy was being recognised and developed, which again centred around the narrative of post-war urban decline and urban growth on the back of culture and leisure from the 1980s onwards (Zukin 1991, 1995; Sorkin 1992; Hannigan 1998; Eckardt 2003; Florida 2005; Lloyd 2010; Hyra 2017).

Hadfield (2015) has referred to the study of the night-time economy as having followed distinct waves and the first very much engaged with the themes identified here, particularly the story of decline then rediscovery of Britain's post-industrial cities in the 1980s onwards. O'Conner and Wynne (1996), for example, bring together two threads of research prominent at this time: urban regeneration and the new postmodern citizenry. Cities, they recognised, had become less about production than consumption and afforded citizens new ways of experiencing, developing and doing urban identities. Milestone (1996) focused this line of enquiry on Manchester's deindustrial urban core in the 1970s and 1980s, which, she argues, provided the space for new forms of nightlife and entrepreneurialism to flourish. The abandoned warehouses, department stores and factories of the city allowed for young entrepreneurs to transform the commercial landscape and develop their own clubs, bars, rehearsal spaces, housing and retail stores.

What makes Milestone's (1996) work especially notable is this explicit connection between the emerging urban, creative economies others had previously identified, with a recognition that the night was central to this narrative. The devalued urban core transformed by consumption was not an explicitly new argument by the 1990s, but by articulating it with nightlife, Milestone and others (Lovatt 1996) identified how the newly anointed night-time economy followed the familiar pattern of urban centres being re-orientated towards cultural and consumptive purposes. This is by now a familiar argument and finds accord in many other accounts of post-industrial cities, or parts of cities, where it is not just culture but nightlife culture that is driving regeneration, such as Sheffield (Frith 1993), Temple Bar (Montgomery 2003), New York (Hae 2011a, 2012), Berlin (Evans 2012), Lisbon (Nofre et al. 2017a) and Hoxton (Eldridge 2010; Harris 2012). However, not all cities now associated with nightlife followed this same trajectory. Some of the examples of nightlife discussed in this volume, such as in Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Mashhad (Iran) and Cairo (Egypt), can be more accurately understood in terms of war or religion than post-industrial decline. It is equally important to note that deindustrialisation has different histories, and its outcomes are not linear or predictable (Waite and Gibson 2009). While cultural-led entrepreneurialism and gentrification appear common to Manchester, Lisbon, Montpellier, Amsterdam and Athens as discussed in this volume, their unique cultures, policies, histories and geographies lead to singular, if not unique, outcomes.

Something that is shared across the examples explored here, and many accounts of nightlife, is a concern about its effects. As alluded to in the beginning of this introduction, anxiety about nightlife is not new and indeed by the 1990s both new

and more dated 'problems' with the night were being discussed (Roberts 2006). No longer was the issue abandonment or the 5:00 p.m. flight. The second wave of night-time research identified by Hadfield (2014) engaged explicitly with the negative consequences of rapidly and seemingly haphazardly emerging night-time economies. Fears of abandonment and decline might have abated, and in many cities a new urban renaissance had started to emerge. New concerns were raised, however, especially around drunkenness, antisocial behaviour, noise and the expansion of a decidedly alcohol-focused urban night-time economy (Lister et al. 2000; Thomas and Bromley 2000; Hobbs et al. 2003; Winlow and Hall 2006). Shaw (2010) identifies that working-class people were, in particular, singled out for having failed to live up to the promise of a sophisticated, urbane, alternative night-time economy.

From a comparable perspective, Chatterton and Hollands (2003) questioned the homogenous, de-territorialised nightscapes that had come to characterise many urban centres by the millennium, especially in Western post-industrial cities. Rather than the alternative, youth-driven nightscapes explored by Milestone (1996) and others, nightlife had seemingly become dominated by large pub chains and corporate interests. Many of the changes that had occurred in urban centres were a result of the laws specifically designed to deregulate the industry (Hadfield 2006). Young people's *determined drunkenness* (Measham and Brain 2005) was aided by an industry concerned with profit and expansion, as well as by governments encouraging new venues on the one hand and developing strategies for people to better manage the consequences of their own consumption patterns on the other (Haydock 2014). Elsewhere, as documented in some of the chapters about southern Europe in this anthology, governments actively courted new and emerging youth tourism markets as

a way of propping up failing economies. As per the neo-liberal framework, citizens were cast in crude terms as productive, rational night citizens ‘whose moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for “self-care” ’ (Brown 2006, 694) versus the ‘urban savages’ (Eldridge and Roberts 2008) much mocked in the mainstream press. Other voices added to the concern that the new night-time economy was but a pale imitation of the much-lauded urban renaissance of the 1980s onwards. Greed (2003), for example, noted that much of this new urban economy was male dominated and alcohol based. The urban core might have become revalued, and the discourse of the creative industries had been clearly articulated with the urban core, but the belief that nightlife-led regeneration would herald an urbane, cosmopolitan urban renaissance had, as noted by the Davies and Mummery (2006), ‘soured’.

This is a very UK-based picture, but while some critics of Britain’s new night-time economy were wondering why we could not be more like Barcelona, Lisbon or Rome, these other cities were experiencing comparable concerns. Again, it came back to a shared anxiety that nightlife and nightlife districts had become almost too successful and too commercialised and were losing the more authentic and convivial characteristics of the past. What we see here then are quite different problems with the night. Expanding retail and leisure opportunities into the night-time was initially promoted as an answer to post-industrial decline. Instead, urban centres became quickly characterised as dominated by alcohol-related establishments with associated problems of drunkenness, violence, noise and antisocial behaviour. From a slightly different perspective, and as is well documented in many of the chapters here, the night had seemingly lost whatever critical or authentic edge it was once believed to possess. Rather than local bars serving local residents, the marketisation and

commercialisation perceived to be a problem in the United Kingdom is now equally felt in many other cities, Lisbon, Sarajevo, Montpellier, Johannesburg, Athens and Sydney being some of the examples explored in this anthology.

It is worth emphasising here that some of the terms dominant in these accounts warrant further reflection. To speak of the night as *commercialised* ignores preexisting forms of economic exchange in the night. Equally, to speak of the loss of authenticity can unwittingly lead to further questions about whose authentic nightlife is privileged. While not discounting the effects of violence and antisocial behaviour at night, it is also notable that a great deal of the moral panic about late-night revellers centres on the working class and women. We should also be mindful that critiques about tourists or students populating urban venues do not replicate simplistic ideas about who does and who does not belong. It is precisely through addressing these questions that we come to a point raised earlier about why we study the night; the discourses that circulate about the night, especially those that mobilise notions of threat or loss, reveal much about our desires and what we think cities at night should be. They also, in turn, reveal underlying tensions and assumptions about who does not belong, what is the *right* type of city at night and what fears and desires continue to circulate at night. In thinking about these, we are attempting to address a critical question about the nocturnal city, that is to say, how we might manage simultaneously the right to leisure and the right to the city in an inclusive and sustainable manner.

Thinking about how discourses, representations and policies of the night circulate leads us to a final and perhaps overdue question. What is the night? When critics lament the loss of a favourite nightclub or the blurring of night and day, whose and what sort of 'night' are they referring to? We started this introduction asking why

we might want to study the night at all. For the authors in this volume, the night is a way of thinking through a range of topics such as access and inclusion and associated issues of power and social justice – homophobia, racism, classism and sexism at the very least. Others are concerned with how the night has developed over recent decades and what those developments reveal about capitalism, neo-liberalism, gentrification and the urban policies and indeed stakeholders that drive or resist them. Studying the night also allows for a critical engagement with terms such as authenticity, the local and global, place identity and what these mean when thinking about a space as deceptively simple as a neighbourhood bar or pub. As a phrase, ‘the night-time economy’ and, in particular, the term ‘night’ have caused much debate. In some cases, as shown in this volume, both terms are strongly affected by geopolitical factors. Despite evident differences found within northern and southern Europe, and between Anglophone, Asian and Arab countries, a further distinction between the evening and the night remains important in Western post-industrial cities. At one point, the night-time economy referred to 21:00 p.m. onwards, with the evening economy characterised as 18:00–21:00 p.m. and largely entailing restaurants and families. This has more recently given way to a more important debate about using the term ‘economy’ at all, and whether other terms should be used instead (Shaw 2014). While these distinctions might seem unimportant, they are necessary for a range of reasons. In northern Europe, it might be dark by 16:00 p.m. in the winter, but this would not be referred to as evening or night. Perhaps, then, the night is less about darkness than attitude, an orientation, an atmosphere, a set of practices or a way of inhabiting social space.

Critical work has tended to frame the night largely in terms of crime, exclusion, antisocial behaviour and threat. It is for many people also time to relax, even if in theory more than practice. In everyday discourse, the night is conceived as a space of transgression, freedom, pleasure and escape. While these accounts need acknowledging, the familiar conception of the night as transgressive or purely hedonistic needs to be challenged however. The night, just like the day, is subject to multiple forms of inclusion and exclusion (Schwanen et al. 2012) rules, norms and regulations. Class, race, gender, sexuality, disability, religion and age all impact on the ways that we experience the night, if indeed we have access to it at all. To speak of the night only in terms of transgression or fun obscures fundamental questions about for whom it offers such promise and upon whose labour this trope is dependent.

If we can't fully define the night, we can at least identify, as we do here, the policies and the actors that have shaped it. We can also identify that *who* defines, manages and controls the night is equally important. As argued elsewhere (Roberts and Eldridge 2009), the night remains dominated by certain voices, in terms of representation, management and planning as well as definition. Significant voices remain absent, however. Particularly in the case of Europe (but not only), this is of crucial importance in the current period of uncertainty, austerity and societal challenges derived from both the No-Future Scenario for younger generations (Feixa and Nofre 2013) and the recent flow of migrants and refugees escaping from war, misery and poverty.

A kaleidoscopic approach to the study of the urban night should provide us with different tools for thinking about how the night is lived, experienced, managed and understood. In doing so we come to a simple definition. The night is, for us, a

means of thinking about urban landscapes after dark and how they have become a source of new and sometimes quite predictable forms of employment, leisure, identity, policy management and, most of all, power (Williams 2008). We hope this anthology provides a step forward in thinking about fostering an inclusive, egalitarian, community-centred conception of the urban night by taking into account specific geographical, social, cultural and political local contexts. In sum, this volume on global nightlife intends to bridge a gap between strategic research, decision makers, nightlife actors and the public towards thinking about more sustainable, inclusive and safer nights in our cities – and in doing so recognises such debates tell us a great deal about our own desires and fears of what the urban night can be.

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The Chapters

Bringing together case studies from across the globe, the chapters explore a set of topics, including nightlife and urban development, race, gender and youth culture, alcohol and drug use and urban renewal. We begin in South Africa where nightlife plays a key role in the urban redevelopment and socio-economic revitalisation of central areas of Johannesburg. In this chapter, Chrystel Oloukoï argues that the night has an ambivalent status in the context of Johannesburg's inner-city gentrifying spaces, revealing the precariousness of the gentrification process. Shaw (2015b) has examined the frontier metaphor that frames our understanding of the night. Crary (2013) suggests that in our 24/7 economy, we have moved on from this metaphor, and Melbin (1987), who is most strongly associated with the frontier analogy, was the one to argue in the 1980s that it was being chipped away. But Oloukoï reminds us that at

night, processes of racialisation might deepen rather than dissolve any border between the day and night. The night in Maboneng (Johannesburg) is envisioned by developers as an empty space, but they typically overlook the rich and varied culture that already exists there after dark. The area has subsequently become subject to regeneration and gentrification, as is all too common in areas associated with race and poverty.

The consequences of radical changes in the regulation of night-time leisure activities are then explored in chapter 2. By taking Sydney, Australia, as her case study, Peta Wolifson analyses the embedded contradictions within and between the two levels of government most active in regulating Sydney's night-time economy – the City of Sydney Council and the New South Wales Government. Wolifson argues their contrasting neo-liberal strategies have bolstered class inequality in Sydney through gentrification, despite both levels of government having attempted to 'improve' nightlife through the controversial lockout laws. In doing so, Wolifson discusses whether the pervasiveness of neo-liberalism, particularly in relation to Sydney's nightlife and the status of the city as 'global', has muffled and muted public critique.

In chapter 3, Nihad H. Čengić and Jordi Martín-Díaz provide an analysis of the role of nightlife transforming the city of Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Čengić and Martín-Díaz start with a short retrospective review of a vibrant, multicultural, nightlife scene in Sarajevo in the 1970s and 1980s. This is not, as documented in many night-time studies, about the effects of post-industrialisation. Instead, they provide an account that places subculture first, as well as the small cafes and venues available across parts of the city at that time. The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and subsequent war, of course, radically changed nightlife across

the city, and they recount the central role of nightlife in fostering the leisure-led revitalisation of the historic centre of the city, the functional and social transformation of the city centre and the enormous complexity of the ‘nocturnal geography’ of the city in the current post-socialist period.

Chapter 4 provides further evidence of the complexity and variation in contemporary nightlife, the policies that guide it and the often transformative power it has on vulnerable people in certain neighbourhoods. Penny-Panagiota Koutrolikou takes us to Athens’ neighbourhood of Metaxourgeio. Using media discourse analysis, she examines the contradictory ways that nightlife has developed in Metaxourgeio since the early 2000s. While the area has become a creative hub for theatres, galleries and bars, it remains subject to a highly racialised ‘ghetto narrative’, and much of the development rests on the erasure of existing communities. Koutrolikou’s chapter echoes the work of Lloyd (2010) and his account of ‘grit as glamour’: those working-class areas characterised by graffiti, poverty and decline that are recast through the lens of bohemian chic. But the winners here are predictable, and it is not the asylum seekers, drug users and sex workers who populate the area.

Amid’s account of Mashhad in Iran, the subject of chapter 5, acts a punctuation point in the volume. Until now, the contributors have focused largely on Western examples, or on examples where Western forms of nightlife shape and inform local contexts. But despite the pervasive belief that the 24-hour city is relatively new, Amid demonstrates that there were numerous activities occurring in Mashhad in Iran and other Middle Eastern cities well before our current discourse of the night-time economy. Conducting various kinds of routine activities at night is historically part of the social fabric of the city of Mashhad, and Amid starts the

chapter by exploring the religious and cultural context of the night in Iran. After doing so, she turns to a more detailed focus on the Imran Reza shrine area where various services cater to both residents and the millions of pilgrims who arrive in the city across the day and night. Amid also warns that while the city currently has an active and vibrant late-night culture, recent plans to develop the area echo other concerns explored in this volume about gentrification and the erasure of existing late-night cultures. This is again a nightlife under threat, but not through punitive measures. Instead, it is about expanding further the opportunities in the area which, in doing so however, have damaged the fine-grained and intricate character of the urban form.

Chapter 6, by José Sánchez García, takes us to Egypt. Exploring the politics of *mahragan* music, Sánchez García argues that this musical genre has become an important media form through which to critique local politics. Focusing on the neighbourhood of Dar as Salam, a deprived area of Cairo, the chapter explores how *mahragan* has both risen and declined in popularity across the country. For working-class young men, however, it has remained an important way of voicing their discontent, as well as serving as a backdrop to parties and gatherings. After the Tahrir Revolution in 2012, Sánchez García argues *mahragan* became increasingly politicised and the lyrics not only spoke about the marginalisation of its performers and fans but also challenged the neo-liberal politics that have come to characterise Egyptian society. But this is about more than just fandom, or the politicisation of young people. The chapter also demonstrates how *mahragan* enables self-empowerment and the formation of new spaces in which to perform new subjectivities.

Chapter 7 again takes up the theme of youth culture but provides us with an entirely different context. Samantha Wilkinson explores the practices and experiences

of teenagers and young people from the suburban areas of Wythenshawe and Chorlton, in Manchester in the United Kingdom. Wilkinson demonstrates that suburban drinking for young people from these areas is a diverse and heterogeneous practice where there are clear classed spaces that young people move between for their drinking experiences. Rather than framing young people as overtly subject to commercialisation, Wilkinson draws on one of the more recent strands of nightlife theory research by exploring the atmospheres and materiality of street and park drinking. She provides a rich account of how young people's active production of their own drinking atmospheres is co-constituted through the non-representational such as sound, smell, lighting and mobility.

Chapter 8, by Marion Roberts, remains in the United Kingdom but moves from a case study approach to the broader question of gender mainstreaming. Roberts focuses specifically on heterosexual spaces and the ways that they might produce and reproduce gender inequalities. Nightlife in the United Kingdom remains strongly gendered, but recent years have seen both the expansion of women's participation in night-time leisure and new policies designed to challenge gendered inequalities and hegemonic masculinity. Roberts subsequently examines shifts that have occurred in the management and consumption of nightlife, focusing on new partnerships, gender-sensitive local initiatives and attempts by venues to eradicate specific forms of gendered violence and harassment.

Daniel Malet Calvo, João Carlos Martins and Iñigo Sánchez-Fuarros, in chapter 9, develop an equally important thread in nightlife research, focusing specifically on students. They examine the differentiated nightlife practices, experiences and discourses of Erasmus students in nocturnal Lisbon. This chapter

exemplifies many of the debates we discussed earlier: the globalisation of commercial nightlife, the threat nightlife is believed to pose to existing working-class areas and the effect of nightlife-led gentrification on existing communities. Malet Calvo, Martins and Sánchez-Fuarros raise issues about the socio-economic backgrounds of those different groups of students and their distinctive forms of consumption in Lisbon's nightscapes. The authors argue that class, subcultural lifestyles and national and linguistic identities have emerged not only as boundaries between mainstream and alternative students but also as intersections to negotiate their consumption practices in Lisbon's gentrified nightlife spots as mobile, middle-class European students.

Also focusing on university students, chapter 10 explores the nightlife of Montpellier, in southern France. The picture drawn by Emanuele Giordano and Dominique Crozat resonates with Malet Calvo, Martins and Sánchez-Fuarros's discussion earlier, but it points to a quite different set of influencing factors and outcomes. While recognising the effects of studentification in the city's historic core, the chapter also explores how the city had already undergone an intense period of gentrification from the 1970s onwards. This has led to tension between the existing first wave of gentrifiers and the newer students who populate the numerous bars and clubs in the city centre. Giordano and Crozat extend critical work on studentification and articulate it with both gentrification and nightlife, providing insights into the importance of local context.

Irina van Aalst and Ilse van Liempt, in chapter 11, also examine the impact of recent gentrification processes, urban regeneration policies and the increase in urban tourism on residents and entrepreneurs living and working in the Amsterdam's red-

light district. In this chapter, we see further the spatial and social effects of the current transformations in one of Amsterdam's most famous quarters and the resulting complex balance between partying, working and living in this rapidly changing neighbourhood.

Safer partying is the focus of chapter 12. The night as documented here entails 'submitting every action and policy to considerations of profitability [and] the production of all human and institutional action as rational entrepreneurial action, conducted according to a calculus of utility, benefit, or satisfaction' (Brown 2005, 40). While deregulating the market and allowing for greater freedom and choice in night-time leisure, governments have also framed consumers as able to make rational, individual choices. Drug testing at parties and clubs is a crucial component of this, allowing consumers to make informed choices. By focusing on three Portuguese cities (Lisbon, Porto and Viseu), Helena Valente, Cristiana Vales Pires and Helena Carvalho explore the implementation and development of CHECK!N, a community-intervention project based on harm reduction policies. In their chapter, the authors analyse partygoers' behaviours and the impact CHECK!N's intervention has on them.

In the final chapter, Marcos Paulo Ferreira de Góis explores Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and discusses the role of public policies for nightlife in the carioca city, especially the actions taken by public officials to renew and regulate public spaces. de Góis argues that after a decade of urban projects and public policies aimed at changing the urban environment, the city has developed a new night-time offer. Much of the preexisting culture of the city continues to reverberate, however, and de Góis provides a fascinating account of how gentrification and a decidedly cultural-led policy for renewal have panned out across the city. Finally, Will Straw, author of

numerous works exploring nightlife, provides some concluding thoughts to the collection.

As with any volume, one can look back at the end and see gaps; the night markets of Southeast Asia, employment practices late at night and cities such as New York, Tokyo and Berlin, each famed for their nightlife, seem conspicuously absent. As we identified earlier, there is also a real paucity of research about specific aspects of nightlife, such as nightlife and disability, and much more still needs to be said about gender, race, religion, sexual orientation and class and how these intersect, shape and are shaped by nocturnal leisure. On that note, there is also much to be said about *ordinary* nightlife and the ways in which our everyday domestic lives are enfolded into and shape our nocturnal lives. Highlighting these gaps is not intended to detract from the work here, however. Each chapter provides insights into important themes about the management, representation and lived experience of cities, both during the day and after dark. At times they might appear to contradict each other; in some cases gentrification has expanded and enabled new forms of socialisation, while in others it has led to new forms of punitive restraint. In some cases, creativity appears to be little more than a marketing tool for an already-privileged elite, while in others we see new and unexpected opportunities. What the chapters really speak of is the incredible diversity of nightlife and indeed the ways the night is understood across quite distinct sites. They demonstrate the extent to which nightlife reproduces some forms of power, while also providing opportunities for resistance in others. Most of all, and while there is a common theme about contemporary forms of urban governance across the chapters, they individually and together reveal the complex

ways the night is understood and what these contrasting accounts reveal about our current desires, hopes, and fears for urban life more generally.