

Into the Night-Time Economy: Work, Leisure, Urbanity and the Creative Industries.

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is to investigate the shape and challenges of urban and economic development. We continue the analysis of Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands in *Urban Nightscapes*, to reveal the contradictions between the production, regulation and consumption of nightlife. Their research discussed nocturnal urban history as, “a story of corporate power, greed, domination and marginalization, not to mention hedonism / pleasure, dissatisfaction and resistance across city streets at night.” Noting their study with intellectual respect, we continue their ‘story’ to probe the role of nocturnal practices, behaviours and attitudes in an attempt to understand and map the margins of work, leisure and urbanity after dark.

On Tuesday May 24, 2005, *The Guardian* newspaper reported an announcement by the British Beer and Pub Association (BBPA), which represents 32,000 clubs and bars, that cheap alcohol deals offered by its outlets were to be curtailed.¹ More than half of Britain's pubs promised to stop selling cut-price alcohol through drink promotions and happy hours. Concerns for health and social issues, exacerbated by a growing culture of binge drinking supposedly encouraged by such promotions, lead to this sudden self imposed restriction. The changing face of the leisure and entertainment industries had emerged as a residual effect of a developing night-time economy and made conspicuous through issues of social and urban management. Manchester, a city with a thriving entertainment industry, has approximately 550 licensed premises and, according to Phil Burke of the Manchester Pubs and Clubs Network (MPCN), “up to 120,000 people come in to the centre every weekend to enjoy its night life.”² In their investigation of security at licensed venues - *Door Lore* - Hobbs et. al. estimated around 75,000 people visited Manchester on

¹ P. Curtis, “Pubs ban happy hour to curb binge drinking,” *The Guardian*, May 24, 2005, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,5200262-103690,00.html>

² S. Crown, “Tale of Two Cities Divided by Night and Day,” *The Guardian*, February 2, 2004, http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,3604,1136913,00.html

Friday and Saturday nights, where 30 police and 1,000 bouncers were responsible for regulation and management.³

Two weeks later and on the other side of the world, Australia's ABC television current affairs programme *The 7.30 Report* detailed concerns about the security personnel employed by clubs and bars in Adelaide, South Australia in the light of new controversial state laws aimed at restricting security licensing.⁴ South Australian Attorney General Michael Atkinson claimed that, "the police tell us that eight out of ten licensed venues in the central business district have crowd controllers supplied to them by companies associated with outlaw motorcycle gangs."⁵ In response, Adelaide hotel manager Lou Klement said: "As long as they're doing the job right here, I'm happy with those particular individuals."⁶

In response to the buzzwords of 'drinking,' 'violence,' 'security' and 'regulation,' the goal of this paper is to investigate the shape and challenges of urban and economic development. We continue the studies of Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands in *Urban Nightscapes*,⁷ to show the contradictions between the production, regulation and consumption of nightlife. Their research revealed "a story of corporate power, greed, domination and marginalization, not to mention hedonism/pleasure, dissatisfaction and resistance across city streets at night. The book is driven by a concern for who loses and who wins in the constant 'merry-go-round' of urban change, renewal and gentrification."⁸ Noting their study with intellectual respect, we continue this 'story' to probe the role of nocturnal practices, behaviours and attitudes in an attempt to understand and map the margins of work, leisure and urbanity after dark.

³ D. Hobbs, P. Hadfield, S. Lister, S. Winlow, "Door Lore: The Art and Economics of Intimidation," *British Journal of Criminology*, No. 42, 2002.

⁴ *7:30 Report*, June 6, 2006, <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2005/s1385901.htm>

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ P. Chatterton and R. Hollands, *Urban nightscapes*, (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁸ *ibid.*, xii.

Another day in paradise

I have never seen so many restaurants, coffee shops, so many places to go to buy things, so much to consume; yet London has never seemed so dull. The cappuccino bar culture that Tony Blair raves about looks set to dominate the whole of central London's lifestyle. Its insidious proclamations – 'mission statements' – written across shop windows tell us that we should be following their corporate line and tell us how we should work, how we should drink our coffee, how we should enjoy ourselves. Are we to become part of what I would call a 'fake' London? A London that alienates Londoners and tourists alike? London focuses all of us to spend more on the simplest of conveniences that any other city in the world. This is not progress, this is a corporate takeover of our very lives and city, and can only be stopped by a mayor who refuses to toe the party line.⁹

Malcolm McLaren

When Malcolm McLaren affirms the value of 'the real,' then the rest of us should be really worried. He is concerned that consumption has replaced experience, continuing a critique of work, urbanity and alienated production that has spanned over one hundred and fifty years. Certainly, corporatization and digitization have punctuated and transformed urbanity. Mobile technological platforms carry other places and times with us as we walk through our present lives. Townsend referred to the effect of the mobile phone as increasing the "real time urban metabolism."¹⁰ Such platforms increase the flow of information and reduce the scheduling necessary to ensure coordination of social and personal spheres in our daily and nightly lives. Yet how this 'urban metabolism' aligns with McLaren's 'real London' is a piquant problem.

Most of the contemporary definitions of urbanity were derived from the 19th century transformation in time, space, work, education and leisure: the industrial revolution.¹¹

⁹ M. McLaren, "My vision for London," *New Statesman*, December 20, 1999, p. 12.

¹⁰ A. Townsend, "Mobile communications in the 21st century city," in B. Brown, N. Green and R. Harper (eds), *Wireless world: social and interactional aspects of the mobile age*, (London: Springer, 2001), p. 70.

¹¹ Please refer to the landmark article that investigated the relationship between time and industrialization: E.P. Thompson, "Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism," *Past and Present*, No. 38, December 1967, pp. 57-97. This article has also been housed electronically at libcom.org, <http://libcom.org/files/timeworkandindustrialcapitalism.pdf>

The impact of steam, power and mechanization transformed the labour process, made goods cheaper and opened up new markets. The deployment of men's and women's time became more productive and efficient. Work was hard. Leisure was short. The labour force was exploited.

The use of the label of 'revolution' to describe industrial transformation suggests a sharp, radical jolt of change. Yet industrialization is a process, not a single event. This process fundamentally shifted understandings of work and leisure. Irregular hours could not be sustained after mechanization, where discipline and precision was required. The machine determined how and when the worker completed the task. When Josiah Wedgwood formed the factory system, he separated labour into different processes. Workers were trained in a particular task and did not move from that task. While the quality of Wedgwood's pottery improved, the skill level of workers was low. This model of pottery production changed men and women from artisans to hands of the machine. When Henry Ford built on Wedgwood's structures and strategies to instigate his moving assembly line in 1913, higher wages were given to workers to attract them to operate under pressurized industrial rhythms. The new systems of discipline instigated through the moving assembly line guaranteed worker patterns that were also enforced by a bell to commence work along with a primitive clocking in system.

One filmic residue and representation of these alienated working conditions is Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*. Chaplin's startling iconography means that we carry forward indelible images of the exploitative nature of capital. Indeed, the aura of the industrial revolution – in terms of the structures and routines of work – has survived long after this economic system. Work still conveys the connotations of useful effort, which is valued and paid. Yet the Wedgwood and Ford interventions, which focused on how to produce goods in an efficient way and not on the people who produced the goods, have been translated and transformed - but survived - in the post-Fordist service sector, where the 'goods' produced have become 'the experience' of the customer.

While Fordism chained labour tasks to external rhythms, Post-Fordism displaced much of what was previously termed ‘work.’ The acceptance of part-time and casual employment would be rare, even thirty years ago. Aronowitz described this phenomenon as, “millions of people take whatever part-time work is available regardless of its content and do not expect to be fulfilled by it, except in relation to income it yields.”¹² What has enabled this transformation is the movement from an identity formed through work to an identity shaped by consumerism. Shopping is the pay off for the highly exploitative employment without security. While manufacturing still exists, hospitality, tourism and retail are the growth areas of the economy, providing the foundation and framework for the night-time economy. A small and skilled core workforce is outnumbered by a large group of temporary, casualized and deunionized workers. Post-Fordism encourages worker flexibility, autonomy and responsibility. It also creates cyclical poverty for many and builds a ‘service economy’ of cleaners and waiting staff.¹³ Non-standard employment has increased, encompassing underemployment, over-employment and self-employment. These positions have few benefits and little job security.

There is a clash between the older theories and modes of work and the non-standard employment of the creative industries, particularly in the night-time economy. As Stanley Aronowitz has argued, “the labor movement focused on the struggle over the working day.”¹⁴ The working *night* was not a focus. For example, Mark Jayne’s researched the remarkable case of the failed regeneration of Stoke, the home of Wedgwood’s innovation in employment and industrial processes.¹⁵ This working class city could not transform its social structure, identity and work practices for the new creative industries of flexible hours, customization and ‘Independents.’¹⁶ While pottery may seem the archetypal commodifiable craft through the value adding of branding and design, the older definitions of work, leisure, time and discipline have been difficult to dislodge in this new economy, at least in Stoke.

¹² S. Aronowitz, *The Politics of Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 240.

¹³ To assess definitions of work in this service economy, please refer to F. Abrams, *Below the breadline*, (London: Profile, 2002) and P. Toynbee, *Hard work*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2005).

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁵ M. Jayne, “Culture that works? Creative industries development in a working-class city,” *Capital and Class*, No. 84, Winter 2004.

¹⁶ C. Leadbeater and K. Oakley, *The independents*, (London: Demos, 1999).

Richard Florida wrote *The Rise of the Creative Class*¹⁷ at the very point that there was a lack of discussion about the working class that no longer worked within Fordist rhythms. Why were theorists, policy makers and governmental legislators drawn to the creative class and not a discussion of the service industry? Why did the night-time economy gain more attention than day-time un(der)employment? Part of the answer is found in a simple desire to find alternative, optimistic narratives of work and leisure that suited progressivist, New Labour and Third Way agendas. Labels like *24 hour cities*, *creative cities* and even the *night-time economy* offer positive inflections and blinkered views of an economy that no longer requires a large number of the former working class. Instead, Florida assembles a creative class that he argues makes up a third of the workforce. It includes those working in design, information technology, educators, musicians, architects and artisans. But the service sector is also enfolded into this grouping. They serve food, clean buildings and (wo)man telephones in call centres. This is the group that Polly Toynbee believes reveals a simple fact about this ‘new’ economy: “the better off pay too little for these services.”¹⁸ In other words, the focus on music, galleries, museums, restaurants and cafes as the engine of the creative economy actively forgets about the people who clean the floors, distribute tickets, cook the food, wash the glasses and make the coffee.

The positive inflection on these changes is that work is more flexible, and can be fitted into a lifestyle, rather than being chained to a machine’s timetable. Married women fuelled much of this growth in labour supply. In fact, Aronowitz draws strong parallels between female clerical workers and the male Fordist assembly line worker.

Far from suggesting a new era in which worker autonomy corresponds to multivalenced labor (workers performing a variety of different tasks under their own control), computer-mediated clerical labor chains the workers to a machine and the most crude industrial conceptions of productivity. The repressive managerial programs associated with such arrangements produce a Fordist worker mentality. However, these women are not paid well enough to afford the durable

¹⁷ R. Florida, *The Rise Of The Creative Class*, (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

¹⁸ P. Toynbee, “Introduction,” from B. Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dimed*, (London: Granta, 2002), p. xii-xiii.

consumption of traditional assembly line workers. On the other hand, the work itself is not satisfying enough to make clerical labor meaningful.¹⁹

The decline of manufacturing has had a profound effect on how men think about their lives and identity.²⁰ The rise of repetitive administrative jobs that are coded as feminine ‘office work,’ such as feeding databases, forwarding emails, compiling minutes, have not lessened the alienation in – and from – the day-time economy. The types of jobs in which many women and men are placed to earn extra money to operate a household are not remotely creative. At its most basic, the ‘new’ economy is filled with low paying jobs where a stationary computer keyboards has replaced the moving assembly line.

The definition and applicability of creativity when attached to a class is of great concern. In the last decade, politicians, policy makers and academics have ‘celebrated’ in an evangelical fashion the ‘benefits’ of creativity. Such enthusiasms are explicable, and Florida’s passion for those who live a creative and artistic life is understandable and valuable. He welcomes the idea of global citizens making money from ideas.²¹ He values creativity over consumerism. But he does maintain the assumption of entrepreneurialism, that underemployed and poorly paid workers can magically become creative and obtain a supplementary income. Film makers, musicians, writers and fashion designers work in low economic return environments. There is also an incredible array of low-skilled repetitive labour, completed by workers who have few choices about how their timesheet is organized. While recognizing the agitation of working rhythms and how the word ‘creativity’ often masks the old exploitations in these new environments, we now watch the metaphoric sunset and enter the temporal phase of nocturnal employment.

The night shift

Concerns with regulation serve to emphasize the extent to which the perception of night-time economies have become synonymous with social management and the degree

¹⁹ Aronowitz, p. 238-9.

²⁰ D. Buchbinder, *Performance Anxieties*, (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1998).

²¹ R. Florida, *The flight of the creative class*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2005).

to which these economies, once a seeming panacea for the revitalization of moribund post industrial and post-colonial centres, are now symptomatic of an alcohol fuelled monoculture. The promised café culture has failed to arrive and in its place are representations of a more hedonistic and elemental lifestyle. In observing night-time economies in Manchester and Sheffield in comparison to Australian cities like Perth and Adelaide, it is possible to determine factors of commonality and areas of divergence, which in turn help to understand an evolving and dynamic component of the contemporary urban economy.

The Future Foundation, a market and consumer research group, detailed in a 2004 report the growing significance of this economic activity. The findings suggest that by 2020 a quarter of the UK population – thirteen million people - will be “economically active” between the hours of 6pm and 9am, compared with seven million at present.²² The figures, regardless of the accuracy of the prediction, not only track the service industry’s growth in the increasingly fragmented ‘first world’ labour market, but also the extent to which the rhythm of daytime/night-time production and consumption continues to synchronize. This evolving economy provides an important dichotomy where employment for some is signified by a suspension of work for others. Similarly, spatial factors delineate the urban economy more markedly at night. Those who are denied access or legitimacy through consumption are significantly marginalized. Defined by Hobbs as the “legion of the banned” - or those who roam²³ - these individuals and communities deploy night-time behavioural codes that not only symbolize broader social practices but mark them as different. This global phenomenon of the nocturnal economy, signified by the appropriation of night-time urban spaces by the leisure and entertainment industries, is symptomatic of broader social and cultural patterns. In turn, these patterns of activity reinforce the temporal gulf between night-time and daytime economies. This inferred polarity raises a number of issues: access and regulation of private and public space, problems associated with formal and informal modes of urban control, corporate and private entrepreneurialism symbolized through mainstream and niche economies and the role of regional governance. Importantly, these issues are contextualised by national

²² J. Doward, “UK Slogs Around the Clock,” *The Observer*, September 12, 2004, <http://money.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,5014108-110144,00.html>

²³ Hobbs, *op. cit.*, p.356.

and local policies, regulations and laws. The need to prioritize local strategies to determine a suitable balance between an ergonomic city environment and a thriving cultural, night-time economy whilst supporting adequate services is fundamental to the development of responsible and functional urban centres that synchronize social and economic development.

Patterns of movement by urban populations, within the context of regional economic anomalies, have largely followed a path of decentralization brought on by residential shifts towards suburban peripheries with the attendant development of highway networks and an increased reliance on auto-mobility. Consequently, as observed by Thomas and Bromley, a decline followed in the status of the city centre through a focus on retail, business, entertainment and cultural activities in surrounding metropolitan regions, which has been a widespread feature of most advanced Western countries.²⁴ Many post-industrial cities became characterized by “long-term vacancies, lower-status stores replacing market leaders, the emergence of charity shops and the development of a general air of dilapidation.”²⁵ Perth, in Western Australia, followed the trends of other capital cities in the world where the doughnut effect was experienced during the 1960s followed by a return of population in the 1990s. The common effect of this process has been one of fragmentation of city centers, in turn impacting upon the functioning urban economies, highlighting issues of residence, access and safety.

Urban regeneration through production and consumption in cultural and night-time economies which took place in many British cities after the late 1980s, and later mirrored in other centres, displays a paradigmatic change in regional planning. Specifically, it denotes a shift in the relationship between local authorities and regional entrepreneurialism, akin to municipal corporatisation, in an effort to provide not only traditional services but also to become more proactive in seeking solutions to unemployment through cultural and leisure economies. Enacted policies capture the desire to embrace a more European or cosmopolitan urban lifestyle through what

²⁴ C.J. Thomas and R.D.F. Bromley, “City-Centre Revitalisation: Problems of Fragmentation and Fear in the Evening and Night-time City,” *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 8, 2000, p.1403.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 1406.

Bianchini refers to as “night time animation.”²⁶ This phrase is an acknowledgement that urban spaces are reactivated not only as a response to increased disposable time and income but also as a civic response to unemployment and an ageing population to re-appropriate spatial vacuums and nocturnal “dead time.”²⁷ Also underpinning this strategy is the need to account for – and market - local and national idiosyncrasies. Overstressing ‘modelling’ or ‘city imaging’ can underestimate the consequences of specific histories. For example, embedded social and cultural practices in many European centres are not replicated in British cities, nor do they perform local economic, political or climatic factors in subsequent revitalised urban centers. The need to apply local and national parameters to the growing global significance of night-time economies is paramount to constructive analysis. Nightlife experiences emerge from specific localities that are unique to each urban centre. Despite similarities in night-time economies in a global context, for most activities, location and socio-temporal conditions are vital. These economies may be modeled on earlier attempts at urban regeneration and frame similar cultural activities that occur within the liminal zone. For employers, employees and consumers alike, interaction and participation is distinctly localised. Night-time economies embrace experiences of the immediate, the current and the specific that are both symptomatic of and dependent upon local cultural and social context.

The concept of the 24-hour city is fundamentally a problematic cliché. Most urban areas, despite having continuous public access, require an understanding of function and an appropriate degree of delineation. The realistic objective is an extension of the city’s social, economic and cultural efficacy. Any accommodation of night-time economic activity implies an acknowledgement of scheduling and mutual accommodation of space and time for consumers and producers alike. Daytime and night-time economies require a high degree of consensus with regard to access, control and cultural representation. Yet the city of the day is marked by different patterns of consumption and production from the city after dark. In Hughes words, “in Western society, ‘light’ and ‘dark’ have become

²⁶ F. Bianchini, “Night Cultures, Night Economies,” *Planning Practice and Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1995, p. 122.

²⁷ *ibid.*

metaphors for the dominance of reason and the passions respectively.”²⁸ Similarly, public interaction is structured within local and national cultural factors. When Leeds City Council followed up on their ‘24 Hour City’ initiative in 1994 with the objective of providing, “an annual programme of events and entertainments and to create a city centre that is safe, accessible, and friendly to all parts of the community,”²⁹ the key was to relax licensing restrictions and extend opening hours to pubs and night-clubs. This initiative brought residual issues associated with increased use of alcohol, a perennial problem for the night-time economy.

In Britain, the 24 Hour City became synonymous with spatial segregation and formal and informal methods of control. In theory, the imagined or idealized ‘Euro citizen’ was catered for in the new economy. A marketing construction, it was reliant on a benign, cosmopolitan consumer who would access the revitalized urban centre, with disposable income evenly spread through daytime shopping and after dark leisure and entertainment. This new utopia summoned a cultural consumption framing urban and personal identity, but failed to take account of existing social and cultural fissures which would not be eradicated but increased by developing service economies. Britain, long shackled by licensing regulations that were linked to archaic industrial practices unlike those in other parts of Europe, did not facilitate a smooth transition to a café style model of economic activity. Long embedded signifiers of nocturnal activities identified by Bianchini included, “a culture of heavy drinking behind opaque glass windows, with little communication between the pub and the street.”³⁰ The metaphors of separation, isolation and secrecy proliferate. The new economy would be characterized, in the words of Hobbs et al as, “[the] colonization of after dark urban spaces by the leisure industry.”³¹ It would be constructed around the embedded pub and club culture, which - through consolidation of national ownership - would display increasing patterns of franchising and corporatisation.

²⁸ G. Hughes, “Urban Revitalization: the Use of Festive Time Strategies,” *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1999, p. 128.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.124.

³⁰ Bianchini, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³¹ D. Hobbs, P. Hadfield, S. Lister, S. Winlow, “Door Lore.” *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 42, 2002, p.352.

Metaphorically and socially, the night-time economy has become an important component of a global leisure industry, a recipient of disposable income and an increasingly vital part of the overall national and local economy. Nocturnal cultural activities are a statement of lifestyle. Night-time activities function as an expression of both group and personal identity. Specific activities become analogous to different socio-economic, age and gender groups. Nevertheless, for those seeking symbolic capital through consumption, but unable to participate in this after dark economy, it has also become a region of exclusion. Most analyses of night-time economies focus on mainstream or more corporate representations of economic activity, a continuation of pre-consumer hegemony, whereas Harvey points out, “cities ... are founded upon the exploitation of the many by the few.”³² Urban public spaces may be inclusive, however night-time economies are symptomatic of existing social, economic and cultural divisions where not only newer segregations are defined but also older inequalities are reinforced.

The apparent leisure industry hegemony, targeting students and youth groups, encourages increased alcohol consumption with residual social problems. This approach to lifestyle marketing results in many groups, particularly young males, being both participants and protagonists within the night-time economy. This need to contain intrinsic social problems through the regulation of human movement and to establish behavioral codes has not only led, as Hughes argues, to the night-time economy being, “the latest manifestation in the history of social management,”³³ but also becoming symbolic of the social divisions within each specific urban environment. Embedded classifications of race, class, age and gender are fused with consensus codes of behaviour. Physicality becomes the key determinant of who is allowed or denied access. For example, Northbridge in the City of Perth announced its intention of imposing a late night curfew in 2004, a means of social regulation aimed specifically at reducing the number of local indigenous – Noongar - youths in the area. They were regarded as an inhibitor to the

³² D. Harvey, “Social Justice and the City,” in S.J. Ball, M. Maguire, S. MacRae, “Space, Work and the New Urban Economies,” *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2000, p. 281.

³³ G. Hughes, “Urban Revitalization: the Use of Festive Time Strategies,” *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1999, p.131.

area's night-time economy. When the initiative failed to gain community support, it was shelved.

This evolving convergence between formal and informal methods of social management is reified by technology. Police, security services and employees within night-time industries are signified by complex and rapid modes of communication and surveillance. This 'constant eye' culture is normalized, not simply through urban scrutiny and supervision but also through media representations. The 'Big Brother' reality television culture has standardized constant observation as being prescriptive of social procedures, where being seen is validation of an authenticity and legality necessary to activate the protocols of citizenship. An erosion of the delineation between fame and infamy is collateral to this perpetual inquiry. Within an urban context, technology's most recent and insidious development is through CCTV, which within twenty years Graham argues could "become the fifth utility."³⁴ Already in shopping malls in the USA, "[those who] simply sit down or 'loiter' for periods deemed by power holders to be too long for the imperative of maximum profitability and commercial throughput."³⁵ Technology was instrumental to spatial demarcation, where Graham's "failed consumers" become an unnecessary liability. Urban spaces are subjectively sanitized to facilitate zones and patterns of consumption, with classification based upon the ability to engage with the daytime or night-time economy. Australia was one of the first nations to embrace these observational technological platforms. The City of Perth's CCTV surveillance network was the first in the country to be installed and overseen by a local government authority. By 1994/95, the system was extended to incorporate the nightclub precinct in West Perth and the Northbridge area.³⁶ The encroachment of surveillance technologies into urban areas is a seemingly necessary procedure to revitalize local economies and tie issues of public safety to tenets of visibility. The residual effects of surveillance and urban management are becoming manifest in the application of informal methods of control

³⁴ S. Graham, "CCTV: The Stealthy Emergence of a Fifth Utility," *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2001/2002, p. 240.

³⁵ Graham, p. 241.

³⁶ D. Wilson and A. Sutton, "Open CCTV in Australia," *Report to the Criminology Research Council*, April 2003, <http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org/filebin/IO/edition30/wwwaicgovau.pdf>

where acceptance or exclusion become arbitrarily enforced and symptomatic of embedded social and cultural schisms.

Night-time economies, by encompassing creative and service industries, have the capacity to obscure the distinction of work and worker. In the cases of the DJ, bar worker, theatre or cinema employee, their identities are constructed not only through the value of work and production but also through another's leisure and consumption. Within this construction, Hochschild argues that, "employees expend emotional labour. Their work is a mix of mental, manual and emotional labour."³⁷ Often depicted as aesthetic labour - where a subject's physical appearance plays an important role - night-time economic practices involve a high percentage of flexibility but also economic marginalisation. High risk and with little long-term economic security, underemployment and unemployment become an economic norm. In Ball, McGuire and McRae's view, this mode of work incorporates, "an inherent instability and uncertainty which condition the identities, values and 'planning' of the young workers who service and represent these economies in practice and which encourage a sense of detachment."³⁸ Networking and locally-embedded knowledge are integral to building night-time community capital - not only at a local level, but also on a national and regional level. Many cultural industries - journalism, design, DJ'ing and club promotion - operate on informal and social levels to capitalize on employee mobility. Patterns of engagement in these niche economies also serve to blur the distinction between cultural consumption and creative production; a nexus of identity, mobility and consumption symbolized through economic activity. Hollands identifies the economy's metaphorical function as, "more mature and upwardly mobile section of local working-class populations, who view such places as sites to express their perceived mobility, status and maturity."³⁹ Alternatively others lose such significant capital, "due to economic and geographical marginality, racism, or merely

³⁷ A. Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 85, No. 3, 1979 pp. 551-575.

³⁸ S. Ball, M. Maguire, S. MacRae, "Space, Work and the 'New Urban Economies,'" *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2000, p.283.

³⁹ R. Hollands, "Divisions in the Dark: Youth Cultures, Transitions and Segmented Consumption Spaces in the Night-time Economy," *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2002, p.166.

feelings of disenfranchisement.”⁴⁰ They are excluded from areas of participation as either producers or consumers with regard to specific genres of music, club cultures and styles, defined through fashion, sexuality or ethnicity.

The characteristic growth of the cultural and night-time economies for Australian cities traces an inevitable effect of the nation’s demography. Despite its continental mass, Australia is the most urbanized nation on earth, with 58% of its population concentrated in five main cities.⁴¹ In Perth Western Australia, the night-time economy operates as an ancillary component of the wider service economy. Climate and environmental factors are the focus of tourism through beaches, regional travel and daytime consumption. Perth’s urban development has been shaped by a low population density, a characteristic suburban sprawl and reliance on auto-mobility. Public transport infrastructure has reinforced spatial and social divisions that overlay differences through leisure and night-time activities. The city’s development has also inhibited spatial cohesion with separate CBD, shopping, restaurant/café and cultural zones exacerbated by a rail network, which dissects these zones. Consequently the night-time economy also impacts on suburban satellites and cultural industry clusters where secondary centres, such as Subiaco, Leederville and Mount Lawley, have developed in response to patterns of low-density population spread.

The need to address the broader use and access of urban centers lies in initiatives that incorporate a wider social spectrum and develop strategies that seek to integrate public and private space. Finding approaches to accommodate private business, personal safety and suitable public access rather than segregation requires a dynamic and appropriate dialogue between business and local authority sectors. The night-time economy is in most cases incorporated into, and contingent upon, the broader classification of cultural industries, where representations of both group and personal identity are locally contextualised. Middleton, in delineating resident and tourist experiences, likens the city to a metaphorical text, “a repository for [people's] memoirs, recalled events and

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 161.

⁴¹ J. Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive*, (London, Penguin 2005) p.387.

accumulated cultural symbols.”⁴² In an attempt to accommodate social change, “modernization of urban space unifies the physical form with social demand.”⁴³ This need to embrace both resident and transient representation requires strategies that incorporate not only requirements of the consumer but also the producer - the local economic infrastructure. Shorthose identifies these strategies as being one of two types: either 'engineered' downward, with an extrinsic “formal rationality geared towards devising universal means with which to achieve cultural objectives,” or a 'vernacular' upward means, which capitalizes on intrinsic DIY activity “that may both create and sustain a vibrant cultural life.”⁴⁴ Shorthose identifies Leicester as an engineered development which, like the pioneering efforts of local authorities in Sheffield, sought to revitalize the local economy by instigating and funding cultural activity. Nottingham, in a mirror of Manchester in the 1990s, is recognized as 'vernacular,' a paradigm of informal urban economic practices and “an inherent part of everyday social and cultural networks.”⁴⁵

The City of Perth has embarked on a path of revitalization through a fusion of these extrinsic and intrinsic strategies. The goal has been to develop a clearly defined cultural quarter in Northbridge through a structured synthesis of high and popular culture in a zone where existing state and national galleries and libraries blend with the traditional club, bar and restaurant area. This 'project' is now part of an extensive overhaul of the state's transport infrastructure and a proposed development to submerge a railway line, which has symbolized the division between this informal cultural zone and the established CBD and shopping district. Links between urban development bodies and local entrepreneurialism hope to progress organic growth in the area, with local governance providing the appropriate framework to assist revitalization and social interaction. The advantages of informal cultural activity, at the expense of mechanistic strategies enables what Shorthose describes as a “continual redefinition of cultural

⁴² M. Middleton, “Cities: Resident Readers and Others,” in I. Parker (ed.), *Critical Textwork*, (Buckingham, Oxford University Press, 1999) p. 117.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 122.

⁴⁴ J. Shorthose, “The Engineered and the vernacular in cultural quarter development,” *Capital and Class*, No. 84, Winter 2004, p.160.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 65.

production based on new forms of interaction and collaboration,”⁴⁶ and avoids the intrinsic flaws of engineered approaches which threaten to “relegate culture to a passive cultural consumerism.”⁴⁷

Tim Brown, an active member of Northbridge Business Improvement Group which is the focus organization involved in the redevelopment of the area’s cultural quarter, draws attention to the spatial and chronological relevance of the strategies:

There is a conscious attempt to take the development seriously, the [adjacent] galleries have become very aware of high art drawing from street culture and the need to build links. Cities become defined by when they accumulate wealth; physical and cultural footprints are laid. Perth’s time is now.⁴⁸

The need to provide an adequate infrastructure to encompass appropriate social management is for Brown part of a broader agenda to de-regulate areas of the economy. He states that, “the licensing laws are frankly draconian with costs prohibitive to outsiders, in comparison to Melbourne for example. Many people want change to enable development through cultural rather than business forms, it’s counterproductive, [existing] laws keep the industry in the hands of the few.”⁴⁹ Aware of issues of social management, he believes that the media has served to reinforce public perceptions of the area:

Gays and Asian people don’t see any problems with Northbridge, many white suburban people do however. Interestingly many of these will go to King Cross, Sydney or parts of Paris but never venture into Northbridge. The curfew issues go too deep, but regardless the Noongar are very much part of what goes on here. Diversity is what should attract people to this area, there’s valid territorial ownership for many groups you shouldn’t deny this, we don’t want to pull culture down to a tight band.⁵⁰

His awareness of the delicate textured surfaces of the night time economy, which may be shattered by the interventions of social regulators with specific concepts of value, taste

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴⁸ Stephen Mallinder interview with Tim Brown, Club Proprietor and Co-President of Cabaret Owners Association, Lobbying Member of Northbridge Business Improvement Group, June 9, 2005.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

and propriety, is revelatory and important. Diversity is part of the attraction of night spaces. To suburbanize and standardize this space culturally, economically or socially is shortsighted, particularly for the development of creative industries.

The 24-hour city did not – and could not – become a reality. There are costs and consequences of agitating the patterns of work and leisure, day and night, regulation and liberation. The hot spots of ‘binge’ drinking, knife crime, ‘yobs’ and personal safety,⁵¹ jut from the uneasy liminality. It is through this legislative, social, economic and temporal twilight that creative industries’ debates must now turn. Discussions of Putnam’s ‘social capital’⁵² or Florida’s ‘flight’ of the creative class⁵³ is masking a social dysfunction: between citizens with their clocks set at different times and their minds filled with either the exuberance of the night or the calm predictability of morning.

⁵¹ Harriet Wilkins, “The 24-hour city – implications for women’s safety,” *London Women and Planning Conference*, January 2003, <http://www.wds.org.uk/www/download%20documents/MSP/24city.pdf>

⁵² R. Putnam, *Bowling alone*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

⁵³ R. Florida, *The flight of the creative class*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2005).