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Nightlife Neighborhood Conflicts in Zurich. Innovative Practice of Governance involving Night Ambassadors

Conflitti della vita notturna a scala di quartiere a Zurigo. Pratiche innovative di governance con gli ambasciatori della notte

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Abstract. The paper explores the role of night ambassadors in policy-making and their interaction with local authorities in the governance of the night-time economy. The study proposes an analytical framework based on Zurich as a case study, where policy measures have been adopted to address the conflict situation in Langstrasse nightlife district. In Zurich, the night ambassadors, the Bar and Club Commission and the Night City Council, as policy-making actors, share with the City Administration resources to create strategic alliances and intervene through informal and formal practices of governance and introduce a change in public policies. The City Administration coordinates horizontal governance arrangements with the new actors and all stakeholders, engaging them in the innovative institutional architecture: the *Nachtleben* [Nightlife] project. Furthermore, inclusive strategies transform night-time conflicts into negotiated agreements and acceptable solutions through a participatory process. The findings extend the literature on night-time economic planning and management through empirical evidence and are of value for night ambassadors and local authorities looking to improve the governance of night-time economy.

Keywords: Zurich, urban governance, night ambassador, night-time conflict.

Riassunto. Il contributo esplora il ruolo degli ambasciatori della notte nel processo decisionale e la loro interazione con le autorità locali nelle pratiche di governance dell'economia della vita notturna. Lo studio propone uno schema analitico sulla base di Zurigo come singolo caso studio, dove misure di intervento sono state adottate per risolvere la situazione conflittuale nel quartiere della vita notturna di Langstrasse. A Zurigo gli ambasciatori della notte ovvero la Commissione Bar e Club e il Consiglio della Notte in qualità di attori condividono con l'Amministrazione della Città risorse creando alleanze strategiche e intervengono attraverso pratiche informali e formali nella governance per introdurre un cambiamento nelle politiche pubbliche. La Città coordina accordi di governance orizzontali con i nuovi attori e i portatori di interessi, coinvolgendoli nell'innovativa struttura istituzionale ovvero il progetto *Nachtleben* [Vita notturna]. Inoltre, strategie inclusive attraverso un processo partecipativo trasformano i conflitti notturni in accordi negoziali e soluzioni accettabili. I risultati estendono la letteratura sulla pianificazione e gestione dell'economia della vita notturna fornendo evidenza empirica; acquisiscono, inoltre, nuovo valore per altri ambasciatori della notte.

te e autorità locali che ambiscono a migliorare il loro modo di governance dell'economia notturna.

Keywords: Zurigo, governance urbana, ambasciatore della notte, conflitto notturno.

1. Introduction

Night ambassadors (NAs) are attracting considerable interest from local authorities and governments due to the need to govern the night, that is to promote a vibrant *night-time economy* (NTE) (Bianchini 1995; Lovatt, O'Connor 1995) for economic growth, urban attractiveness and community development, as well as, to address night-time conflicts between long-standing residents and city revellers.

The spread of NAs to several cities as a new form of governance to claim the recognition of cultural and economic value of the night has been observed in recent years. As a consequence, NAs are still a poorly understood topic. In spite of few definitions, NAs remain an under-examined form of governance in the field of *night-time economy*.

The paper was conceived with the goal of understanding the role of NAs and the mode of governance that might emerge from their interaction with local authorities with a focus on night-time conflicts at the neighbourhood level.

The term “night ambassadors” is used here rather deliberately, as a generic label for several bodies or entities with different organisational structures (foundation, association, mayor, council, lobby group, etc.) and constitutive modes (bottom-up, top-down). It is provisionally applied as a general term until a detailed identification of these actors and a description of their operational mode becomes available.

Therefore, drawing on Zurich's NTE governance experience, this paper asks: What is the role of night ambassadors in policy-making, and what typology of NTE governance practice emerges from their interaction with the City Administration?

Section 2 provides the theoretical framework drawing on NTE management and governance research. Section 3 details the sources and methods for the in-depth case study development. In section 4 the research context is presented with the background material on Zurich City and the NAs. Section 5 presents the results and discusses them.

The research allows insight into NAs' operational modes, as well as how these new actors within NTE may exert influence over broader urban politics and policy agendas.

2. Theoretical framework

Despite the increased relevance of NTE governance for issues of the promotion of economic growth and night-time conflict management, both in public debate and in scientific literature, the research on modes and forms of NTE governance is still sparse. Several NTE authors explore the NTE research on the transition in urban governance from “managerialism” to “entrepreneurialism” in a climate of neoliberalism (Hall, Hubbard 1996; Harvey 1989). Local governments, in the “new era of urban politics” (Hobbs et al. 2000), have moved from managing the city by providing local welfare services to encouraging and supporting local economic growth and development. Within this framework, it is widely accepted that within the entrepreneurial and proactive impulse of local governments, city marketing strategies have become a key theme for city strategic planning (Schmid 2018; Hollands, Chatterton 2003; Hobbs et al. 2000).

Within this framework, private-public partnership (PPP) emerges for its strategic potential and critical aspects. Commonly, PPP in NTE literature is a strategy for planning and management as a structured collaboration between the private sector (nightlife industry, private security sector, the Chamber of Commerce, as an example) and local governments (van Liempt 2015; Hadfield, Measham 2015; Roberts, Eldridge 2012; Hollands, Chatterton 2003; Aubrey et al. 2001). It should be noted that the PPP have been studied with respect to alcohol policy (Hadfield, Measham 2015), safe nightlife policy (van Liempt 2015), urban regeneration, economic development, and city marketing policies in British City centres (Roberts, Eldridge 2012; Hollands, Chatterton 2003; Aubrey et al. 2001).

On the other hand, the NTE authors remain very critical of PPP. Van Liempt (2015) stresses the difference between public and private actors with regard to their levels of accountability, rights and authority, priorities and power distribution, interpersonal conflicts, ambiguity and contrasting roles in their interactional configuration. In addition, other controversial issues are conflicts of interests and different agendas of the actors within these partnerships (van Liempt, 2015; Aubrey et al. 2001). Furthermore, responsibilities and intentions of PPP actors should be specified in a covenant, although a “paper” does not grasp the complexity of PPPs (van Liempt, 2015). Therefore, systematic empirical research is necessary to capture this complexity (van Liempt, 2015), and to understand how PPPs work out on the ground because very little is known about them (Aubrey et al. 2001).

However, another relevant question is why private businesses should exert influence over policy agendas and urban politics, and effect NTE policy implementation and enforcement (Hadfield, Measham 2015). Hadfield and Measham (2015) emphasises the role of private actors within PPPs in the establishment of branded ‘kite-marking’ schemes such as *Purple Flag* and *Best Bar None* as forms of self-regulation. For public authorities these schemes “foster the impression that ‘something is being done’” and goes beyond what they call “invisible” or “unpopular power” referring to the enforcement practices of public authorities (Hadfield, Measham 2015, 518)

Additionally, Krüger et al. (2015) point out that NTE actors tend to network in order to be a contact person. These networking efforts open up opportunities to avoid night-time conflicts by the development of new forms of PPP such as effective governance arrangements (Schmid 2018; Krüger et al. 2015). In particular, NAs contribute in shaping new governance arrangements based on specific features: horizontal interaction among participants, regular and interactive exchanges among actors, guaranteed access in decision-making, and organisational actors (not individuals) representing categories of actors (Schmitter 2000, 4). Zurich is a representative case where a governance arrangement exists between the NAs and the City Administration.

Since the rise of NAs as new form of governance for NTE as specific interest associations, and lobby groups from the grass-roots clearly expressing the need for representation of all night stakeholders (city revellers, night workers, bar and club entrepreneurs, party and event planners, DJs, etc.), the complexity in decisional process has increased. Therefore, there is a need to understand their conceptual and operational mode, the diversity of organisation and structure, the types of social relations. Although some definitions of night mayor have been provided (Gwiazdzinski 2015; Krüger et al. 2015; Henckel 2016; Kolvin, QC 2016; Portman Group, LGiU 2016; Maris 2009), there have been no empirical investigations into this role. Hence, Zurich City constitutes an extensive empirical base with the co-existence of two NAs, *Bar und Club Kommission* (BCK, Bar and Club Commission) and *Nachtstadtrat* (NSR, Night City Council), involves the policy arena and co-determining the policy process and outcomes.

Although most NTE studies have been conducted in a UK context and have referred to the entrepreneurial and managerial side of NTE, the less consistent but well-developed research in Germany and the Netherlands has started to explore new models. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Swiss local authorities have faced public management reforms under the wave of

“New Public Management” (NPM) model. Unlike the USA and English-speaking counterparts, Switzerland has combined the “Dutch Tilburg model” and the New Zealand approach to public management (Schedler 2003). Particularly in NTE studies, the “Tilburg model” represents the move from efficient and effective local authority internal management to an interactive and collaborative process between the municipalities and all actors involved in policy-making (Maris 2009). Zurich is emblematic of this interactive mode, showing participative decision-making in night-time conflict management through citizen involvement, and co-production of policy as a result of informal interactions between NAs and the City Administration. Moreover, direct democratic decision-making encourages participation and facilitates in moving issues up the political agenda (Schedler 2003).

The NAs here are not understood as an example of industry-state partnership as their roles differ from city to city and establish governance arrangements with local authorities following a different style of policy making. For example, the London Night Czar is appointed by the Mayor of London. The London *Night Czar* is included in the general definition about NAs provided above, and it does not represent a form of PPP. Similarly, the idea of the *Clubcommission Berlin* as an interface between the night industry and the local authorities comes from a Berliner politician (Füller et al. 2018), and should foster a consensual approach by involving affected actors to tackle night-time conflicts. Contrarily, the *Clubcommission Berlin* and the *Bar and Club Commission Zurich* are lobby groups advocating for the music venues, night clubs and cultural event managers for their members. However, common tasks of NAs are as champions of the value of night-time culture and implementing strategies to minimise night-time conflicts.

Several authors report conflicts between residential and night-time uses in terms of littering and noise and emphasise the need for local authorities to seek a balance between the urban functions of sleeping, celebrating, working, and recovering (Henckel 2016; Krüger et al. 2015; Hae 2011; Roberts Gornostaeva 2007; Aubrey et al. 2001). Henckel (2016) conducts a comparative analysis of two case studies, Milan and Berlin, stressing the relevance of city planning through setting goals, collecting needs for actions, implementing actions, developing city mission statements for NTE governance to develop new approaches for the treatment of the night-time conflicts. Interestingly, Henckel (2016) developed a position paper where policy instruments, such as the *night mayor*, is categorised. However, despite the empirical analysis the concrete applicability of the *night mayor* remains unclear.

Füller et al. (2018) address night-time conflicts in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg by processing how discourse has evolved and presenting a local case study, the *Fair. kiez* project. They look at the governance arrangements created to respond to public demands and argue that horizontal and participatory governance modes do not inevitably lead to significant empowerment or changes in policy formulation. Furthermore, a clear paradox emerges: entrepreneurial cities and neoliberal political agendas allow market-oriented policies while simultaneously the promotion of new collaborative and participative modes offers opportunities for democratic engagement and deliberation (Füller et al., 2018).

In contrast to Füller et al. (2018), the present paper focuses on policy-making and processual aspects of governance, namely “How do they do?” instead of “What do they do?” or “What do they say?”. Moreover, the focus does not address “What is the solution, if there is one?” nor any assessment or evaluation. According to this context, the NTE has become an object of tension between deregulation and regulation, a contested subject matter between long-standing residents, city revellers, and night stakeholders. While the paper recognises the existence of NAs on NTE governance, there is a considerable lack of meaningful discussion based on scientific research.

3. Materials and methods

The empirical part of this paper consists of a single embedded case study that aims to explain how demands for solutions to night-time conflicts and the claims of the party city have been incorporated into practices of governance involving NAs.

Though the topic is quite similar to a previous study (Füller et al. 2018) the approach in this paper is based on public policy analysis (Dente 2014) with a focus on the role of NAs and their interaction with the City Administration in decision-making. This methodology responds to the need to learn lessons to solve problems that have not yet emerged in NTE governance.

For the selection of the case, the following criteria were employed: forms of NA should exist in the city; the City Administration should develop night policies, strategies, and visions; and measures should be taken to tackle night-time use conflicts. The city of Zurich was seen as a good fit for this single case study.

3.1 Data collection and data analysis

The data collection took place between November 2017 and April 2018. As primary sources of data, I planned on site observations participating at the Open Day Club 2018, and interviews with experts (Table 1), both those who participated in policy-making and those who did not but were concerned, people of interest, or contributors to the current debate. All informants were interviewed during individual sessions lasting 30 minutes.

The mode and type of interview had different effects on information accessibility. For example, face-to-face interviews were useful as informants could readily bring in materials to further elaborate on the topics discussed (e.g., images, documents, or letters), while telephone interviews limited the interaction with the informant. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed by the author; the transcriptions constitute annexes to my master’s thesis, while notes from informal interviews were used in the data analysis.

Table 1. List of participants to the study. Source: Author 2018

Identified from	Participant	Date	Type	Mode of interview
Local press consultation	BCK ^a	17/11/2017	semi-structured interview	Skype
	NSR ^b	01/02/2018	semi-structured interview	Skype
	City Administration	01/03/2018	semi-structured interview	telephone
	Researcher	08/03/2018	semi-structured interview	Skype
	Resident 1	28/03/2018	semi-structured interview	mail
Open Day Club participation	Facilitator	06/04/2018	informal interview	face to face
	Resident 2	13/04/2018	informal interview	Skype
	Participant	03/02/2018	informal interview	face to face
		15/03/2018	informal interview	Skype
	Participant	03/02/2018	informal interview	face to face

^a *Bar und Club Kommission* [Bar and Club Commission]

^b *Nachtstadtrat* [Night City Council]

Secondary sources of data included institutional documents (e.g., images, policy documents, City Council minutes, etc.), reports, websites, press releases by the key actors in policy-making, and unpublished documents.

To analyse the data, the transcripts were first reviewed and coded by the author. As part of this process, the primary interview data was complemented, when possible, with the secondary sources and unpublished materials provided by some interviewees. Codes and themes addressing similar topics were grouped together, which resulted in the consolidation of the main themes that frame the section 5 “Results and discussion.”

4. Research context

The vision statement from the City Administration of Zurich is a key component of its strategic planning. “The nightlife and night-time economy are relevant for the city, and night and residential uses are compatible in a neighbourhood” (Interview City Administration). Accordingly, the local government formulated the NTE strategy first in 2015 and most recently in 2017 (Schmid 2018).

Initially, the nightlife priority focused on seeking pragmatic solutions with stakeholders, executing a new licensing procedure for bar and club businesses, promoting greater knowledge, and encouraging the spread of information among both night entrepreneurs and residents, ensuring the presence of the City Police in the nightlife district (Stadt Zürich Präsidialdepartement 2015).

Lately, the mismatch between residential and night uses, an issue of citywide debate, led to “Nightlife: living and partying – both in Zurich” priority setting. Indeed, the Strategic Plan Security Department 2017 intends to: (i) position Zurich as a bustling city with a diverse nightlife and tackle the night-time conflicts by seeking pragmatic solutions; (ii) align the positions of the city service departments so that a common regulative framework can be developed with regard to noise conflict; (iii) address all stakeholders regarding night-time land use conflicts and strengthen their sense of responsibility (Stadt Zürich Sicherheitsdepartement 2016).

The connection between strategic planning and city marketing is evident. “Zurich’s former red-light district appeals with its international cuisine, very varied nightlife and urban charm” (zuerich.com). The City government recognises the significance of local popular nightlife in creating the image of a lively and thriving city in which to party and to live, and attempts to reposition their cities in global/regional markets, competing

in terms of cultural, economic, social, and human capital — the “creative class” as well as tourists (Henckel 2016; Schmid et al. 2016; Krüger et al. 2015). It is widely accepted that within the entrepreneurialism discourse, proactive city marketing strategies have become a key theme for city strategic planning (Schmid 2018; Hollands, Chatterton 2003; Hobbs et al. 2000).

Simultaneously to the vision statement development, the City of Zurich should tackle the controversial situation between the party city and residential city in the neighbourhood of Langstrasse which attracts city revellers and visitors from all around Europe who come Zurich to celebrate at the weekend (Interview Participant), with a detrimental effect on the sleep of long-standing residents (Stadt Zürich Polizeidepartement 2011). (Fig. 1 a-b.)

Thus, the dispute has occurred as long-standing residents demand the adoption of intervention measures and enforcement of existing laws and regulations through the petition “Massive disruption of a night’s sleep”, signed in April 2015 from 115 long-standing residents and landlords in Langstrasse. The unpublished text of the petition letter stressed: (i) the “monoculture of noisy activities” on the streets and courtyards described as sensitive areas for the 24-hour/365-day trades insisting on them; (ii) the “lack of urbanity” regarding social density and diversity, with consequences on the quality of life; (iii) the dirt and litter on the streets.

Within this conflictual situation, a new position is taken by the BCK and NSR in advocating for the cultural and economic value of NTE as a driver for neighbourhood attractiveness, and urban and community development (Interview BCK, NSR, Researcher). This means that, the conflict stems from the opposing visions of Langstrasse, which are of “a pretty place to live and go out” (Interview BCK, NSR) and an “unattractive and unliveable place destined for dying” (Interview Resident 1).

4.1 Zurich Night Ambassadors: Bar and Club Commission, Night City Council

The NAs in Zurich, BCK and NSR, are non-state entities entitled to participate in decision-making, and are therefore actors in NTE governance (Dente 2014). Wholly independent of the city government, with no legislative power or executive authority, they advocate for their “content-related goals” (Dente 2014, 34) as regards problems and solutions setting to be adopted in night-time conflicts. As a result, their action is grounded in representation, mediation, and networks (Table 2).

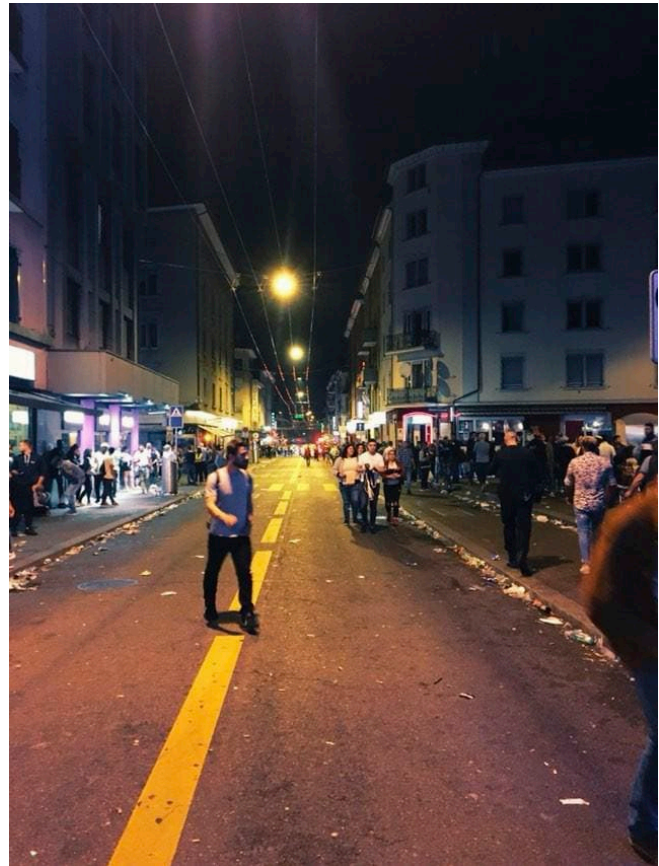


Figure 1. a. Dwelling in Langstrasse: *Vor der Bar ist vor dem Nachbar* [In front of the bar is the neighbour] (author’s translation). Source: Stadt Zürich Sicherheitsdepartement (2016, September 28). **b.** Partying in Langstrasse. Source: Galeuchet Romain, July 2018

Table 2. Zurich actors’ analysis based on public policy analysis approach proposed by Dente (2014). Source: Author’s processing from my master’s thesis.

Actor	Type	Goals	Resources	Role
BCK ^a	special interests	content-related goal	political (?) legal cognitive	ally
NSR ^b	general interests	content-related goal	legal cognitive	ally
City Administration	official/political	process-related goals	political/legal economic human	policy entrepreneur

^a *Bar und Club Kommission* [Bar and Club Commission]

^b *Nachtstadtrat* [Night City Council]

While the BCK is the lobby group for night-time bar, club and cultural event managers, the NSR represents the city revellers.

One of our aims is to collect nightlife voices and give nightlife a voice [...], if you have a problem or a wish, you come to us and we try to bring you to the responsible person. [...] We give a voice especially to nightlife stakeholders having no voice in the public discourse, we listen even to those who do not have a strong lobby behind them and we act as an interface between all stakeholders and government agencies (Interview NSR).

Both the NAs interviewed commented on being a mediator, using the expression “positioning intermediately” and provided an example: “We meet owners of available spaces, i.e., the youth and community centres, the churches, to ask them if they can make some rooms available for youth who need spaces so they can listen, play, and dance to loud music” (Interview NSR). The mediation activity has a long tradition. Since 2012, the BCK has organised roundtables on safe nightlife issues (alcohol misuse, illegal drug consumption), and noisy night gatherings together with specific stakeholders and parts of the

City Administration such as the police. The BCK acted as a consultative body ensuring regular exchange collaboration and empowerment of stakeholders.

The NSR, founded in 2015, is a self-constituted and non-profit *Verein* [association] consisting of seven councillors from “pro-nightlife associations” and DJs. The NSR transfers the Amsterdam *Nachtburgemeester* [Night Mayor] practice to Zurich, with a substantial difference. As a multi-headed body, the NSR does not respond to elected representatives and reflects the Swiss governmental setting, which means that the Federal President carries out representative functions with no more or less power than the other Councillors of the Swiss Federal Council (Interview NSR). Hence, this is a Council and not a Mayor.

The BCK, founded in 2011, is a *Verein* that currently includes 14 event organisers, 32 clubs, and 61 bars (Bar & Club Kommission Zürich). The inclusion of this number of members and their networks guarantees strength and power to the lobby group and is “a badge of honour because the more members you have, the more power you have [...] If there are many people they are allowed to speak in public and the City must involve them” (Interview Resident 2).

Having a network both at the international and local level is important for exchanging know-how. At the local level, creating networks allows stakeholders to be more powerful, fight for their needs, be supported on specific issues, and carry some weight when dealing with local government. Nightlife involves networks: working inside of networks and together with networks is a central aspect of nightlife culture. Being a network encourages people to develop the ability to talk about, hear, and listen to stakeholders' needs. Moreover, working together, cooperating and exchanging experiences are part of networks and networking (Interview BCK).

Both the NAs are part of local, regional, national, and international networks though their membership. BCK is member of *Swiss Bar und Club Kommission* and *Safer Clubbing Schweiz*, and partners with *Berlin Club-commission*. The formalisation of the BCK–NSR relationship is reflected in the fact that they share affiliates. Neither of them receives public funding; BCK is open to sponsorship in return for network provision (Bar & Club Kommission Zürich).

5. Results and discussion

The results are reported in three subsections: “The Night Ambassadors and resources mobilisation”, “The Night Ambassadors “in between”” and “Strategies of

interaction”. These subsections are based on themes that emerged during the coding process as key areas of discussion and address the research questions of the paper.

5.1 The Night Ambassadors and resources mobilisation

NAs contribute in policy-making by mobilising and displacing cognitive resources (local and specific knowledge, information, data, conceptual models) which enable them to shape the results of the decisional process and generating relevant effects for the other participants (Dente 2014). The actors identities linked to the NTE and cultural sector, and their networks are drivers for the mobilisation of cognitive resources fundamental for decision-making. This enabled them to develop and set solutions to night-time conflict resolution even putting the long-standing residents in a disadvantageous position.

In fact, it is reasonable that Zurich NAs have learned things inside networks of other practices of management that remain unknown to long-standing residents. An example of a cognitive resource is the *Gutenachtbarschaft* [Good Night Neighbourhood] a toolbox and outcome of a consensual approach to the management of night-time use conflicts that has been offered by BCK, NSR, City Administration, and *Quartierkonferenz Zurich*, and inspired by the older Berliner *Die Pop im Kiez* Toolbox. *Gutenachtbarschaft* targets night stakeholders and long-standing residents.

Thus, following the definition of power as the “ability of actors to mobilise resources in order to achieve certain outcomes in social relations” (Arts, Tatenhove 2004), a question arises: how do NAs acquire and develop such a power? A reflection on the exercise of authority and power by NAs would facilitate understanding and if they can drive political consensus or create it around them, to what extent and by what means. At the time of the data were gathered, the NSR was rarely mentioned in the public debate and the local press, while the BCK had gained a great deal of exposure and created acceptance and a growing consideration from the media, civic society, as well as the City Administration.

5.2 The Night Ambassadors “in between”

The NAs brings into the decision-making process the competencies to listen to right stakeholders, map interests, identify needs, problems, and mediate between affected actors to reach a settlement of conflicts based on stakeholders’ agreement. Consequently, they position themselves “in between.”

This result is in line with previous findings. Gwi-azdzinski (2015) conceives NAs as groups coming together to draw the attention of local governments to nightlife and pursue the promotion of a thriving and diversified NTE through the establishment of a favourable framework. The author defines NA “liaison” between the night stakeholders and local governments (Gwi-azdzinski 2015). Accordingly, they are a “hinge” to create a better understanding and ensure the representation of interests of night stakeholders in politics (Gwi-azdzinski 2015; Krüger et al. 2015, 133).

It is a fact that the NAs attempt to respond to a general need of a contact point of all night stakeholders for local governments and authorities that Henckel (2016) calls a “clearing house.” In his conceptualisation, the “clearing house” should be politically neutral and should be managed by the night stakeholders themselves to increase the acceptance of the “clearing house” and its recognition by all actors. Henckel (2016) by asking who is eligible for such a neutral position, and how is the clearing house built and funded? (Henckel 2016).

The UK conceptualisation of a night mayor differs from that in Zurich. The London Night Czar aims to “bring parties together to develop visions, strategies and lead towards them” (Kolvin QC 2016; Portman Group, LGiU 2016), that is mediate between all parties involved in NTE governance. While, the Zurich NAs, with their agenda oriented toward the night economy and culture, are advocates of specific interests, in contrast to the position and interests of long-standing residents who demand protection of the welfare and quality of life in the neighbourhood. Thus, the long-standing residents are not beneficiaries of the mediation from NAs that has been depicted from the interviews as one of the most important benefit they bring to policy-making (Interview BCK, NSR). Therefore, the actors targeted for mediation need to be clarified and this aspect contextualised in the conceptualisation of NAs, and in the wider framework of local governance mode. A single case study does not allow for any generalisation on NAs outside their local institutional and environmental setting in which they exist. Furthermore, a greater understanding of my findings could lead to a theoretical improvement in conceptual models of NTE governance.

My research only focuses on the role of NAs, whereas it might be important to include further considerations on democratic representativeness and legitimacy of NAs in relation to their constitutive mode, and in terms of accessibility of their bodies, activities and resources. However, who do they represent? Addressing this question might be problematic even though the NSR represents persons (city revellers, city visitors) who nor-

mally are not able to participate in policy-making and remain underrepresented (Heeb Krümmenacher, 2017; Krüger et al. 2015).

Admittedly, this study cannot provide a more detailed and generally accepted definition of NAs. As mentioned in the “Introduction”, so far no one appears to have focused on current subject of NAs to the field of NTE research. The importance of my results spreads new light on the subject letting emerge key issues to be considered when discussing and analysing the NAs, underpinnings for the mechanism of action of other NAs and local authorities.

5.3 Strategies of interaction

The development of the in-depth case study stresses the transformation of night-time conflicts into inclusive and participatory strategies, and modes of interaction where the City and the NAs create a strategic alliance through cooperation, the sharing of resources and similar policy goals.

“Nightlife is part of the city development, and the city approach cannot be top-down rather than based on dialog with stakeholders and their participation in governance processes” (Interview City Administration). As a consequence, the City of Zurich has developed inclusive strategies firstly by initiating the participatory process, *Nachtleben Langstrasse Roundtables*, and secondly by promoting the “innovative interaction” and “cooperation” as principles of the city-financed *Nachtleben* project.

Three roundtables took place between September 2015 and September 2016 with the aim of tackling night-time use conflicts and answering long-standing residents’ complaints. Thus, the participatory strategy is a formal means of renewing agreements and negotiating acceptable solutions in regard to the policy measures (*Gutenachtbarschaft*) for night-time conflict resolution.

The “innovative institutional arrangements” occurring between NAs and the City Administration implement the policy activity coordinated by the City Administration. The *Nachtleben* project is a new form of governance reflecting the problematisation of NTE in terms of both night-time conflicts and the need for governance structures that can address upcoming challenges in the Zurich NTE. The *Nachtleben* project introduces the institutionalisation of the NAs including these non-state actors in the organisational chart provides a clear sign of the recognition of their existence.

Hadfield and Measham (2015) assume that the governance arrangements between industry-led bodies and public authorities foster data sharing, and increase

trust and the flow of intelligence. Furthermore, they demonstrate how policies are most effective when they draw upon co-operative work relations where the actors involved reflect upon resources, and skills at their disposal and foster information and knowledge exchange. Other authors emphasise that governance arrangements allow for improved communication and mutual understanding among local authorities and other stakeholders (for example, van Liempt 2015; Hadfield, Measham 2015; Aubrey et al. 2001).

On the other hand, it might be seen these arrangements breed complacency and inaction in the public administration in that although the city coordinates policy activities, in reality the policies are co-produced by “innovative institutional arrangements” engaging civil servants (already employed in City Administration), civil society (NSR) and private actor (BCK) (Swyngedouw 2005).

Füller et al. (2018) argue that the policy formulation and empowerment are not a necessary result of inclusive strategies and participatory modes. Moreover, they demonstrate that a shared consensus on a ‘non solution is possible’ which might be reached as a consequence of the capability of these modes to manufacturing consensus around this ‘non solution.’ The report analysing the participatory process, *Nachtleben Langstrasse Roundtables*, provides empirical evidence on this issue (Heeb, Krümmenacher 2017). In addition, an interview underlined the policy measures as outcome of this process:

In the end, nothing happened. There were no effects. A slight effect of them all. [...] I think there is no solution, you cannot bring together night and residential uses [...] it is always the same. Perhaps the noise is lower; this

club is a little bit more careful in opening and closing the door. People are coming out from the clubs without caring. Night entrepreneurs want to help us. The situation in the courtyard is better than before, and this was a success of the roundtables (Interview Resident 1).

I acknowledge that a single interview is not a sufficient reason to question the results of the participative process. Hence, to investigate if the expectations were disregarded will require a larger number of residents to be interviewed. Additional detailed evaluations are recommended to consider the effectiveness and efficiency intervention measures.

This study does not provide an evaluation of the *Nachtleben* project as an innovative management structure of the local administration, the policy measures as outcomes of informal and formal governance practices, or the governance mode itself.

The governance arrangements occur in both formal (the *Nachtleben* project and participatory process) and informal environments which represent a significant aspect of Zurich governance practices.

Nevertheless, the informal dimension of the interaction between the NAs and the City Administration is significant if considered as “liminal space of negotiations”, the “in between space” connecting political parties, night bar and club businesses, and urban activists which would otherwise not be connected (Maris 2009, 24; Hobbs et al. 2000), nurturing decision-making by enriching the debate, facilitating communication, and disseminating tacit knowledge, creating mutual understanding, and establishing potential strategic alliances among actors.



Figure 2. Open Day Club in Zurich: informal practice of governance. Source: Author's photos, February 2018. *Tag der offenen Bar und Club Tür* [Open Day Bar and Club].

In line with Tadié and Permanadeli (2015), who consider urban informality to be a means of social sustainability in the form of participation, my findings show a prevalence of informal practices in NTE urban governance. The spontaneity and relaxed atmosphere of the night offers profound insights into informal practices of governance (Yeo Heng 2014). Specifically, the un-governed activities occurring in actors' interactions are regular telephone calls and texting, informal meetings and lunches, media engagement, and event organisations (BCKZ, NSR, City Administration, Interview).

Examining this "liminal space" is relevant to understanding how strategies and tools for governing the night and addressing night-time conflicts at the perceptual bias level have been developed. For example, the *Open Day Club* event, as a communication and informational tool, increased acceptance of the night-time spaces in the city society (Krüger et al. 2015), established new relationships between night stakeholders and long-standing residents, countering the negative perception of the night on the outside (residents) (Henckel 2016, 148).

Despite this, informality is the externalisation of the cooperation, the cornerstone of the *Nachtleben* project and the city's strategic planning. Some questions remain unanswered: to what extent do the informal practices of governance contribute to night-time conflict resolution? The centrality of informality in ordering the night and in governance processes has already been stressed (Tadié, Permanadeli 2015). Previous research (Hadfield 2015, 613) has demonstrated that the use and practice of power exercised through informal practices of ordering rather than "official control" can generate enforcement. However, the current case study does not provide evidence to support this.

6. Conclusions

The NAs as actors mobilise and displace cognitive resources, bring several competencies into decisional processes and build strategic alliances with the City Administration by developing horizontal governance arrangements. The night-time conflicts are in Zurich transformed into inclusive and participatory governance and co-operative modes of interaction.

In this paper, I have explored the role of NAs in policy-making and the governance mode emerging from their interaction with the local authority. As the forms of governance in NTE and the governance strategies have evolved, due to the rise of NAs, among other factors, I thought it was opportune to start thinking critically about NAs.

This study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of NAs as a strategic tool by producing empirical knowledge about them. Moreover, the paper has laid the foundations for further theoretical conceptualisation of NAs by filling a gap in the NTE literature which so far has not addressed the subject of NAs. However, many other aspects remain critical and unexplored, the exercise of authority and power and the creation and drive of consensus are some of them.

The results provide empirical evidence showing a possible operational mode for governance arrangements and shed light on the complexity and conflictual aspects of PPP by examining the interaction between NAs and City Administration which occurs in formal and informal environments. In particular, the arrangements between NAs and local authorities through sharing resources and goals in decision-making process might be disadvantageous to long-standing residents especially when policy measures are developed to tackle night-time conflicts. Furthermore, the in-depth case study shows how the local governments and authorities might acknowledge the existence of NAs as external industry-led bodies or bottom-up associations. However, despite the initial assumptions in the literature, it has not yet been demonstrated whether these governance arrangements are effective or not in the governance of NTE. Furthermore, the in-depth case study enlarges the practical applicability of governance arrangements to the development of strategies for night-time conflict management that has emerged as a new field in respect to the literature.

The paper reinforces the idea that strategic planning is relevant for NTE governance as NTE scholars have already pointed out (Schmid 2018; Schmid et al. 2016; Krüger et al. 2015; Hollands, Chatterton 2003; Hobbs et al. 2000).

To further my research I intend to zoom out to get an overview on the wider and general phenomenon of the spread of night mayors and then zoom in back in for comparative and cross-national analysis of several case studies. Furthermore, I intend to introduce initial assessments of the effectiveness of night mayors as form of governance for NTE.

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