



Governing the night-time city: The rise of night mayors as a new form of urban governance after dark

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Governing the night-time city: The rise of night mayors as a new form of urban governance after dark

Abstract

The urban night has traditionally been a regimented space characterized by strict policing and surveillance. Early research on the night-time economy documented the expansion of nightlife from a centrepiece of culture-led redevelopment strategies in post-industrial cities, to the introduction of a broad governance apparatus to manage the agglomeration of night-time activity. Over the past two decades, a new actor has emerged: more than 40 cities have appointed night mayors or individuals responsible for maintaining nocturnal vibrancy, while mediating between those who wish to work, party or sleep. This article summarizes the results of a qualitative study that gathered information on the origins, propagation and geographic variations in the role to provide a first comprehensive look at this position. Data from 35 night mayors and night-time advocacy organizations from around the world revealed that, though cities differ greatly in their approach towards night-time infrastructure and regulation, there seems to be growing consensus on the need for permanent nocturnal governance structures. By encouraging greater dialogue and experimentation, these structures are challenging traditional approaches to urban governance and paving the way for a new wave of studies on the urban night.

Keywords

urban governance, planning, urban night, nightlife, night mayor

Introduction

In recent years, globalization and the introduction of new forms of political participation have led to significant changes in the cast of actors involved in managing urban areas. The contemporary notion of urban governance refers to the process through which public and private resources are coordinated by a wide range of actors—situated inside and outside local government—in the pursuit of collective interests (Pierre, 2011). Though local governments are still a central player, city planning involves a continuous process of negotiation in which non-elected urban actors are attaining growing significance. Many frameworks and taxonomies have been proposed to compare

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3 urban governance cross-nationally (e.g. DiGaetano and Strom, 2003; Pierre, 2011). In light of
4 Pierre's (2011) typology of urban governance regimes—managerial, corporatist, pro-growth and
5 welfare—the following article will analyse the origins and implications of a new actor whose rapid
6 propagation is influencing the way cities manage life after dark.
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11 Night-time planning is an emerging field, and one that has been addressed insufficiently in urban
12 studies (Van Liempt et al, 2015). Its origins can be traced back to the early 1990s, when a small
13 number of cultural and urban theorists began using a temporal approach to think about the physical
14 and social dimensions of city planning (Bonfiglioli, 1997). By doing so, these scholars identified
15 unique qualities present in European town centres after dark and raised a new set of issues that lay
16 outside of the scope of urban governance and city management during the day. Subsequently,
17 “temps de villes” policies and research became concerned with the socio-economic implications
18 of the expansion of working hours and the availability of services for people throughout the 24-
19 hour cycle (Boulin and Mückenberger, 1999).
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29 A useful framework to understand the evolution of studies on the urban night was provided by
30 Hadfield (2015) and recognises three waves of research in this emerging field. For Hadfield, a 'first
31 wave' of studies corresponds to culture-led redevelopment strategies aimed at extending the
32 vitality of post-industrial city centres beyond the 9-to-5 time frame, which saw the night-time
33 economy (NTE) as a key platform to transform abandoned warehouses and buildings into bars,
34 clubs and creative spaces, to bring people back to the city (Comedia Consultancy, 1991; Bianchini,
35 1995; Roberts, 2004; Shaw, 2014; Hadfield, 2015). In a context of intensified competition between
36 cities, the goal of these strategies was to deregulate 'restrictive' urban planning and licensing
37 regimes and foster a growing culture around the notion of the '24-hour city.'
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46 By leaving market forces “off the leash,” these strategies led to a rapid expansion of drinking-
47 based leisure and its agglomeration in city centres, contributing to a rise in urban noise, crime and
48 antisocial behaviour and triggering a backlash from residents and NGOs (Hobbs et al, 2003;
49 Roberts and Eldridge, 2012). For Hadfield (2015), these unanticipated negative outcomes were the
50 central concern of the 'second wave' of studies on the urban night, which focused on assessing the
51 ability of existing governance structures to manage the negative consequences of a growing and
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3 ‘problematic’ night-time economy (Hobbs et al, 2005). These studies often focused on the
4 ‘negative externalities’ associated with activity after dark and tried to quantify the operational
5 costs of managing it efficiently (TBR, 2016). Powered by media reports of these negative
6 consequences, this period demonized certain night-time practices and behaviours—particularly
7 those related to alcohol consumption—while overshadowing residents’ genuine claims for active
8 but more diverse late-night experiences (Eldridge and Roberts, 2008). As a result, new forms of
9 video surveillance such as CCTV proliferated in this period, along with the emergence of new
10 zoning laws and regulations that provided a broader range of enforcement options to local police
11 and city governments (Hadfield et al, 2009).
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20 Urban systems of nocturnal governance operate in different levels and range from laws and state
21 actors like the police, to informal agreements and non-state actors like neighbourhood watches.
22 Aside from having a common mission to oversee what happens in an area after dark, most of these
23 systems share a limitation: they often assume the need to mirror or exacerbate the mechanisms of
24 order and control that exist during the day, while disregarding the unique features of urban life
25 after dark. The night has traditionally been used as a pretext for strict policing and for maintaining
26 structures of social exclusion (Straw, 2018). Bianchini (1995) refers to these structures as
27 ‘regulators of behaviour’ that range from licensing authorities to bouncers in a night club. For
28 Hadfield (2015), the ‘third wave’ of studies on the urban night is concerned with studying the
29 exclusionary outcomes that result from these structures, which are based on race and ethnicity,
30 social class, gender, age and sexual preferences among other factors. This wave incorporates new
31 voices and case studies from Western Europe, North America and Southeast Asia that come to
32 diversify a field that previously relied heavily on the British and Australian experience.
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44 Moving away from the pessimistic ethos of previous studies, this ‘third wave’ of research on the
45 urban night encouraged more proactive discussions about how to integrate data and planning
46 mechanisms to tackle issues such as the saturation of licensed premises and an alcohol-centric
47 definition of the night-time economy. In 2012, Roberts and Eldridge published their seminal book
48 titled “Planning the Night-Time City,” and in 2015 *Urban Studies* devoted an entire volume to
49 explore the “geographies of the urban night” (Van Liempt et al, 2015). These publications
50 coincided with the rise of multi-sectoral efforts to reduce binge drinking and initiatives to
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3 encourage nightlife operators to improve their safety and quality standards. Examples include the
4 *Purple Flag* and *Best Bar None* accreditation schemes in the United Kingdom, which called for
5 greater dialogue and cooperation between city governments and the nightlife industry.
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10 These partnerships and collaborations—along with the rise of Third-Party Policing (TPP) in the
11 night-time economy—paved the way for greater consensus around the notion of nocturnal
12 governance as a complex responsibility that involves a mix of agencies including the police,
13 licensing authorities, resident groups and public health institutions, among others. Rather than
14 focusing on restrictive mechanisms to handle night-time crime and antisocial behaviour, this
15 broader notion advocates for a networked response that allows cities to tackle a wider range of
16 social, economic and environmental factors of life after dark. This new ethos was supported by
17 calls for the creation of partnerships and allegiances to exercise order and surveillance and to
18 facilitate night-time planning (Roberts, 2004; Van Liempt, 2013) and set the stage for the rise of a
19 new role and key actor within cities' nocturnal governance system: the night mayor.
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29 Night mayors—also called 'managers' and 'czars,' among other designations—are individuals
30 selected by cities to act as a liaison between nightlife establishments, citizens and local
31 governments. Though their backgrounds and the process by which they are selected vary
32 significantly, night mayors' responsibilities can be categorized into three basic types. The first
33 refers to enhancing nocturnal 'hardware,' or improving the built environment in a way that is
34 conducive to greater vibrancy and quality of life after dark. For instance, some night mayors have
35 been involved in efforts to expand night-time transportation services in their cities, or to enhance
36 lighting and basic services such as public toilets that are open at night. The second refers to
37 improving—and often updating—nocturnal 'software,' or the laws and regulations that facilitate
38 activity and minimize nuisance at night. This refers to curfews or policies that establish hours of
39 operation for businesses as well as public spaces. Finally, the third responsibility refers to
40 mediating and promoting consensus among the wide variety of actors involved in nocturnal
41 governance.
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53 These three responsibilities—improving hardware and software and promoting mediation—are at
54 the heart of all private and public strategies to manage urban environments after dark. Though
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3 cities differ greatly in their approaches towards night-time infrastructure and regulation, there
4 seems to be growing consensus around the need for permanent nocturnal governance structures
5 responsible for crafting these strategies and overseeing their implementation. This convergence of
6 ideas around nocturnal governance is the outcome of a process of policy transfer that began with
7 the introduction of the role in the early 2000s by cities like Amsterdam and Berlin and its rapid
8 propagation around the world. By December 2018, more than 40 cities had incorporated the role
9 of the night mayor or had an active night-time advocacy organization.

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17 The field of night-time planning and policy has grown over the past decade, but the rise of night
18 mayors and their relevance from an urban governance perspective has not been analysed and
19 documented in urban studies. Nonetheless, night mayors—and their high journalistic appeal—
20 have been recognized as a key factor in the ascension of the night as a relevant field of study
21 (Straw, 2018). They are also considered a noteworthy mechanism that, along with night charters
22 and other solutions, promotes mediation rather than regulation to solve urban issues after dark
23 (Gwiazdzinski, 2018).

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31 Amid the rapid dissemination of night mayors around the world, this paper intends to provide a
32 first comprehensive look at this new role to assess its relevance as a mechanism to facilitate
33 proactive and collaborative responses to crime, anti-social behaviour and inequality after dark. In
34 the light of survey data gathered from 35 night mayors and night-time advocacy organizations and
35 testimonies from six experts who have been influential in the dissemination of the role, it will first
36 review the background and origins of night mayors within the growing field of studies on the urban
37 night. Second, it will discuss the variations in the nature and scope of the position, its propagation,
38 preliminary achievements and future perspectives. Third, in light of Pierre's (2011) four models
39 of urban governance, it will analyse the way the transfer of this role has been influenced by local
40 systems of governance. Finally, it will provide recommendations for future research within this
41 new subfield of studies on the urban night.

42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 **Methods**

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53 To obtain information about the nature of the emerging role of night mayors, the authors of this
54 paper developed a qualitative survey and a database of 45 individuals who have been appointed or
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3 hired for the position by city governments, nightlife associations or civil society organizations
4 between 2004 and 2018. While some cities have not yet designated their first night mayor, several
5 cities in the Netherlands have appointed more than one. In order to avoid selection bias, only
6 current night mayors of seven Dutch cities—Amsterdam, Eindhoven, Groningen, Zwolle,
7 Nijmegen and The Hague—have been considered as part of this analysis.
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13 The qualitative survey was distributed in June 2018 through personalized emails that were sent to
14 a total of 45 individuals who work as night mayors or representatives from night-time advocacy
15 organizations in 20 different countries around the world. All emails included a link that led to a
16 35-question survey available in English and Spanish. The survey included multiple choice as well
17 as open-ended questions that allowed individuals to share more details on the origins and nature
18 of their roles. Between June and October 2018, the survey was responded by 35 individuals from
19 a total of 34 cities.¹
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27 The first section of the survey included questions directed at understanding the demographics of
28 the people in the role (their age, gender, education level), the characteristics of the position (how
29 it was created, its duration, jurisdiction), the resources they have to support their work (salary,
30 staff, operating budget, outreach mechanisms), and the types of issues they deal with (economic
31 or social-cultural). Some of the questions also aimed at gathering information about cities’
32 nightlife regulations and infrastructure, by asking about the existence of 24-hour public
33 transportation, alcohol curfews and noise regulations. To complement the results of the survey,
34 between July and November 2018 the authors conducted additional interviews with six experts in
35 night-time planning and policy whose work has been instrumental to the rise of the night mayor
36 movement (see Table 1). Interview questions assessed the origins of the role, its current relevance
37 and influence, and predictions of its future significance.
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55 ¹All cities had one response, with the exception of San Francisco, where more than one night-time advocacy
56 organization was identified.
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3 Despite the global nature of this study, the selection of experts from North America and the United
4 Kingdom should not be seen as a limitation, but rather as a reflection of the reality of the field.
5 While there is a growing number of contributions from scholars focused on the developing world,
6 studies on the urban night continue to be highly focused on issues faced by cities in industrialized
7 countries. The following section will discuss the findings from this qualitative study in light of the
8 historical context and precedents to the appearance of night mayors as a new form of urban
9 governance around the world.
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19 **Results**

20 *Background and Origins of the Role*

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22 Though Berlin was the first city to create an official night-time advocacy organization—
23 Clubcommission Berlin—the term “night mayor” has its origins in the Netherlands. In the 1970s,
24 Dutch poet Jules Deelder’s prominent role in the cultural life of Rotterdam earned him the
25 nickname of *nachtburgemeester* or night mayor of the city. In a recent interview on the global rise
26 of the role, Deelder commented: “I just learned that night mayors are popping up here and there
27 (...) They sound like politicians, but that’s not how I imagined the role to be!” (Van Dommelen,
28 2018). Though Deelder never expected night mayors to have a voice in city planning, the position
29 preserves some of his disruptive character and wisdom: night mayors are individuals who are able
30 to navigate the chaos and contradictions of darkness while working alongside city governments to
31 make the night a safer and more inclusive space. By doing so, they become mediators or translators
32 between two worlds—nightlife and city government—that until recently had few devices to
33 communicate.
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45 Over the past 10 years, Dutch cities have appointed more than 20 *nachtburgemeesters*. The most
46 notable of these representatives is the *nachburgermeester Amsterdam*, a position elected for the
47 first time in 2003 and later institutionalized in 2014 through the creation of *Stichting N8BM*
48 *A’DAM*—an independent non-profit organization that provides guidance to the mayor and the city
49 council on how to design policies to promote a culturally, socially and ethnically inclusive nightlife
50 in the Dutch capital (Stichting *N8BM A’DAM* Amsterdam, 2018). The *nachtburgemeester*
51 *Amsterdam* is funded both by the nightlife industry and the government and elected for two-year
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3 terms by a tripartite voting process: an online vote, a town hall vote and a jury vote. While
4 candidates are expected to have a strong connection and knowledge of the city's nightlife industry,
5 they cannot be directly affiliated with a business or institution in this sector.
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10 One of the most successful initiatives implemented by the *nachtburgemeester Amsterdam* is the
11 creation of the 24-hour license, an innovative five-year pilot scheme launched in 2013 that allows
12 for the extension of opening hours for nightlife venues located on the outskirts of the city.
13 Following its successful implementation, in 2017 it became a permanent policy (Van der Groep,
14 R., 2017). A second initiative that has gained worldwide recognition is the *Rembrandtplein*
15 *Gastvrij* (Hospitable Rembrandt Square) project. This three-year pilot was launched in 2015 with
16 support from the late Mayor of Amsterdam, Eberhard van der Laan, to reduce alcohol-related
17 violence, raise the quality of nightlife and make it safer for residents to move through
18 Rembrandtplein, a major nightlife district where more than 200 violent incidents and reports of
19 nuisance were reported every year. The outcome of a public-private partnership, the project
20 involved hiring 20 hosts or stewards dressed in bright red jackets to patrol the district on Friday
21 and Saturday nights as a means of creating a more relaxed atmosphere, similar to that found in a
22 festival or public event. At the end of the three-year pilot, nuisance reports had decreased by 40%
23 and violence reports had decreased by 20% (Broer et al, 2018).
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36 Despite its Dutch origins, the night mayor concept had also resonated in France through the work
37 of scholars such as Luc Gwiazdzinski, who proposed the election of a '*maire de nuit*' as a means
38 to recover the urban night and avoid the "banalization" of this field (Aghina and Gwiazdzinski,
39 1999). For licensing specialist and former chair of London's Night-Time Commission, Philip
40 Kolvin, the idea had also been developing in British cities for a couple of decades. As the night-
41 time economy expanded in the 1990s, town centre managers had to deal with a growing number
42 of bars and restaurants, while also dealing with shops and offices (Philip Kolvin, 2018, personal
43 communication). In 2016 Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, appointed the city's first "night czar" to
44 facilitate the interaction between citizens, local authorities and nightlife venues. Though this new
45 role inherited some of the challenges faced by town centre managers, it was tasked with managing
46 a dwindling rather than a thriving night scene. In only a decade, London had lost 58% of its
47 LGBTQ+ venues, while nightclubs and other entertainment spaces were closing at an alarming
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3 rate (Campkin and Marshall, 2017). Among the most noteworthy, iconic nightclub Fabric lost its
4 license a few weeks before the night czar was appointed. Leading the talks that allowed this venue
5 to stay open is considered one of the night czar's main accomplishments during her first year in
6 the position (Mayor of London, 2017).
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11 In other cities like New York, the emergence of the night mayor figure is the outcome of years of
12 pro-nightlife activism (Hae, 2012). Following a decade of zero tolerance policies and a severe
13 crackdown on nightlife during Rudolph Giuliani's administration, in the early 2000s New York
14 City activists began to fight for the need to recognize the rights of those working the night shift,
15 including nurses, taxi drivers, and those in the hospitality and creative industries. In the summer
16 of 2017, Brooklyn Council Member Rafael Espinal led the enactment of a bill to establish a
17 Nightlife Advisory Board and an Office of Nightlife (The New York City Council, 2017). The
18 Nightlife Advisory Board consists of 14 members responsible for evaluating the city's laws and
19 making recommendations to address common issues in the nightlife industry. Created in early
20 2018, the Office of Nightlife serves as a liaison between nightlife establishments, residents and the
21 government. Though focused on handling complaints and violations, the Office can also provide
22 policy recommendations to the mayor and various city agencies (City of New York, 2019). As
23 opposed to the Amsterdam model, this position is fully funded by the administration and overseen
24 by the mayor. For Espinal, its first major challenge is "convincing the public that the night mayor
25 is not only there for the businesses, but also there for the community" (Rafael Espinal, 2018,
26 personal communication).
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41 *Nature and Scope of the Position*

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43 There are three questions that must be answered in order to lay out the role of the night mayor
44 successfully (Philip Kolvin, 2018, personal communication). The first question is where the role
45 will be situated: inside or outside city hall. While those who work for local governments must
46 align with political interests and voting cycles, those who are independent or appointed by
47 community associations also encounter difficulties to carry out and fund concrete actions, as well
48 as to gain recognition from city authorities. The second question is whether the night mayor will
49 have an advocacy or a regulatory role, and the third is what the city is expecting this position to
50 achieve. Seventy five percent of participants mentioned safety as the primary concern in their
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3 agenda and all of them mentioned mediation and conflict resolution as part of their job description.
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5 However, none of these individuals have the authority to change local laws or regulations, making
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7 this an entirely advisory role.
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10 For Will Straw, professor of urban media studies at McGill University and collaborator on several
11 projects on night-time culture at the international level, the title of ‘night mayor’ suggests “an
12 alternative city” that is in need for representation (Straw, 2018). Its appeal lies greatly in its absurd
13 and transgressive nature, which experts consider advantageous to raise awareness of the urban
14 night as a relevant field for research and practice. Some cities, however, have been hesitant about
15 using this designation as it is not always linked to an elected position and it sounds too much like
16 ‘nightmare’ (City of Toronto, 2018; Will Straw, 2018, personal communication). Variations of
17 night mayor title include ‘night-time economy manager’, ‘nocturnal delegate’, ‘nightlife advocate’
18 and ‘night ambassador.’ Differences in terminology also allude to a first geographic distinction in
19 the position’s situation and scope. While European night mayors are independent advocates who
20 help mediate between nightlife operators and citizens, their American counterparts—often called
21 managers or directors—are government-appointed representatives responsible for overseeing how
22 the night-time economy works (Philip Kolvin, 2018, personal communication).
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34 *Creation of the role*

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36 The great majority of night mayors (73%) work at city-wide level, while only 19% work at the
37 neighbourhood or district level. Though many were inspired by Amsterdam’s independent model,
38 almost half (40%) report directly and are fully funded from local government, while 23% report
39 directly to a civil society organization and only 3% report directly to the nightlife sector. However,
40 the survey revealed that night mayors have very limited resources: 56% operate with a budget of
41 20,000 USD or less, and almost 40% work on their own or with support from volunteers. Almost
42 half of participants reported that they only work part time, which restricts the scope and impact of
43 the role.
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51 When asked about the way they attained the role, 42% of participants responded they were
52 appointed by the mayor or city council, 26% were appointed by a civil society organization and
53 13% by the nightlife industry. Out of those endorsed by local government, 16% were hired full-
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3 time for the role. Answers to this question revealed a second important geographic difference:
4 while most European night mayors have been appointed for temporary position, their American
5 counterparts were hired as full-time city employees. Two American cities—New York and
6 Washington D.C.—have created their positions by introducing new legislation.
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11 Survey results also revealed variations in the selection of the role. Night mayors situated within
12 local government participated in a competitive process in which the role and its responsibilities
13 were clearly defined, made public or included in new legislation. Those located outside local
14 government followed a less rigorous selection process. More than half (53%) of participants are
15 between 35-45 years of age, while 38% are 45 years or older. Almost half (45%) have a master's
16 degree, which revealed a group of middle-aged and highly educated individuals with a vocation
17 for public service.
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27 *Propagation of the Role*

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29 Given the vast coverage and support that night mayors have received from international media
30 (e.g. Delgadillo, 2017; Henley, 2016; O'Sullivan, 2017), the role has quickly propagated around
31 the world (see Figure 1). For Straw, night mayors are an element of a 'new urbanism' that has
32 unfolded in three stages. The first stage refers to efforts to recognize the important contributions
33 of this new role to the city, which began around 2012 when the term became popularized by the
34 media. The second and current stage refers to global activism to save the remains of nightlife in a
35 context of gentrification and massive closings of music venues that have turned the night mayor
36 into an almost necessary figure. The third refers to efforts to raise awareness around group-specific
37 issues such as women's safety, particularly in places such as Latin America (Will Straw, 2018,
38 personal communication).
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51 The rise of night mayors is often described as a global movement that is tied to the growing
52 economic and civic importance of cultural life in urban areas (Mount, 2015). Scholars led by
53 Florida (2002) have long emphasized the relevance of a lively local night scene to enable people
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3 to meet and socialize, as well as the opportunities that nightlife brings for urban regeneration and
4 to attract the ‘creative class.’ Under this premise, urban development strategies have championed
5 the night-time economy as a panacea for tourism and economic growth but failed to predict the
6 long-term impact of regeneration over local identity and culture (Glaeser, 2004; Evans, 2009).
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8 Though expanding night-time activity can improve individuals’ perceptions of safety after dark,
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10 revitalization efforts centred on strengthening the night-time economy can also facilitate waves of
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12 gentrification in which many nightlife venues are later closed or displaced, victims of their own
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14 success (Hae, 2012). For Jim Peters, Director of the Responsible Hospitality Institute (RHI), cities
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16 are seeking night mayors as a person who will come to rescue nightlife from all these pressures
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18 (Jim Peters, 2018, personal communication).
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22 While the urban night has acquired a more positive significance in recent years, it continues to be
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24 a highly regulated space where restrictive policies such as curfews and drinking bans are
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26 implemented to “strike the right balance” between a flourishing and diverse night-time economy
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28 and growing residential populations (Jones, 2018). However, these policies are also linked to the
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30 disappearance of traditional venues in cities like London, which lost over half of its nightclubs
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32 between 2005 and 2015 (Wilson, 2019), and Sydney, where 176 establishments closed as a result
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34 of the implementation of the Lockout Laws in 2014 (Taylor, 2018). For Hae (2012), the
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36 suppression and disappearance of urban activities and their spaces must be taken seriously as
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38 “these are invaluable in establishing the normative ideal of cities.” This context has further
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40 encouraged more cities to appoint night mayors in an effort to protect their dwindling night scenes.

41 Aside from its cultural and economic contributions, the urban night is a key space for social
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43 interaction, as well as for trust and identity building. It is also a highly contested space, used
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45 historically by certain groups to reclaim their right to the city (May, 2014; Williams, 2008). The
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47 urban night has been of particular value to LGBTQ+ communities, which historically have been
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49 recognized for their contributions to the vibrancy and unique character of neighbourhoods and
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51 entire cities. It is therefore not surprising to find that night mayors have become key mouthpieces
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53 for the LGBTQ+ community, particularly in cities such as New York and London where they led
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55 WorldPride celebrations and awareness efforts in the summer of 2019 (Abadsidis, 2019;
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57 Broadgate, 2019). Despite women’s greater participation in nightlife, the study revealed that most
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3 night mayors are men (73%). However, some of the sample’s biggest cities—such as New York,
4 Sydney and London—have selected female representatives. While some of these female night
5 mayors are leading gender-sensitive initiatives that encourage nightlife venues and organizations
6 to create safer environments for women, the impact of these contributions in reducing crimes
7 against women still has to be assessed.
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13 Data on the year that night mayor positions and night-time advocacy organizations were created
14 illustrates the exponential growth of this movement (see Figure 2). Though only six night mayors
15 had been appointed by 2013, 10 new positions or organisations were created in 2017 and 2018
16 respectively, making these the years with the highest growth in the movement. While this article
17 was published, six new cities joined the list— Bloomington, Mannheim, Prague, Los Angeles,
18 Toronto and Washington D.C —and other cities such as Edinburgh, Helsinki, Shanghai and
19 Vienna have announced their interest in creating the position. With the exception of Cali and
20 Valparaiso, all the night mayors and night-time advocacy organizations that participated in the
21 study remain active today.
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31 **Please insert Figure 2 here**
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34 *Preliminary Achievements*

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36 Survey results revealed that night mayors’ achievements can be categorized in four realms:
37 awareness, policy, mediation and infrastructure. Fifteen percent of respondents stated they have
38 been successful in placing nocturnal issues in local agendas (advocacy); 29% mentioned their
39 positive involvement in updating local regulations to support nightlife (policy); 44% mentioned
40 they were responsible for articulating nightlife operators and promoting greater cooperation with
41 neighbours and local government (mediation); and 12% mentioned their achievements in raising
42 public funds or encouraging private-public partnerships to improve soundproofing, night-time
43 transportation and other infrastructure.
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51 When asked about what makes their role relevant to their city, 50% of survey participants
52 mentioned they believe their role contributes towards creating a more positive image. Half of these
53 responses included expressions such as “changing the negative perception of the night,” and the
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3 other half included expressions such as “making the city more vibrant,” “liveable” and “more
4 competitive.” This denotes a highly optimistic perspective on the impact this new role can have to
5 support urban vibrancy and quality of life.
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10 Expert opinions were equally optimistic. For urban planner and author Charles Landry, there are
11 technical solutions to nocturnal issues such as noise and violence, but night mayors are important
12 because the position encourages local actors to negotiate (Charles Landry, 2018, personal
13 communication). In other words, it can be seen as a new platform through which cities can handle
14 nocturnal activity in a participatory and more proactive way. For Straw, the relevance of the role
15 stems from its ability to “cut through bureaucracies” to tackle pressing urban issues (Will Straw,
16 2018, personal communication). By raising awareness of the advantages of having a vibrant,
17 accessible and safe nightlife, the role exercises a new form of ‘temporalized governance’ that is
18 helping move the focus of city management after dark from reactive solutions to handle safety
19 concerns to making more strategic decisions (Gwiazdzinski, 2018, personal communication;
20 Peters, 2018, personal communication).
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30 31 *Future Perspectives*

32 Overall, experts agreed that the role will continue to expand—both geographically and in
33 prominence—as more cities adopt the position, but its longevity in the cities where it already exists
34 remains relatively uncertain. Though 78% of participants reported that they expect their role will
35 continue beyond their term, 22% fear they might lose their night mayors in the context of
36 leadership change. The prominent influence that local government has over the existence of this
37 role calls for a greater involvement from the private sector, particularly, nightlife operators whose
38 interests might not be represented if the role disappears.
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46 When asked about their vision for their city’s nightlife in five years, 60% of night mayors stated
47 they see the role as a tool to create a more inclusive city. They used terms such as “bottom up,”
48 “diverse,” “affordable,” and “open” to describe the initiatives they aspire to see in their cities in
49 the future. These terms denote clear aspirations towards greater tolerance and collaboration,
50 recognizing that community building is a key feature of a healthy night-time economy.
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3 Both survey participants and experts concurred that, rather than being defined as a one-person job,
4 the night mayor role must be part of a broader functional structure that facilitates the coordination
5 of different agencies (Kolvin, 2018, personal communication; Peters, 2018, personal
6 communication). Several cities have made positive steps towards facilitating this coordination.
7
8 London created a Night-Time Commission in 2017 and Manchester, Sydney and New York have
9 created similar bodies (Greater Manchester Combined Authority, 2018; Joyce, 2018; Litvak,
10 2018). However, some of these bodies are temporary and most of their members are representatives
11 of the nightlife and hospitality industries, while only 5% or less have a background in urban
12 planning or policy.
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20 **Conclusions and recommendations for future research**

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22 The first three waves of studies on the urban night (Hadfield, 2015) have documented the
23 expansion of nightlife from a centrepiece of redevelopment strategies in post-industrial cities, to
24 the introduction of a new governance apparatus that, while aimed at mitigating the rise in crime
25 and antisocial behaviour that resulted from this expansion, also created a set of structures that
26 foster social exclusion. Increased policing, strict licensing and reduced hours of operation have
27 long been the formula to ensure social order after dark. However, the rise of night mayors has
28 expanded the notion of nocturnal governance by revealing a new set of socio-economic and
29 cultural issues that demand greater mediation and collaboration.
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38 Over the past two decades, more than 40 cities have appointed night mayors. Powered by large
39 media support and recognition from high-profile mayors such as those of London and New York,
40 night mayors are quickly becoming local political actors and icons of a growing transnational
41 network to discuss the issues affecting this long-overlooked part of the day. Aside from mapping
42 the expansion of this movement, survey data revealed relevant geographic differences in the scope
43 and situation—inside or outside local government—of the role. In light of Pierre's (2011) four
44 models of urban governance, it is possible to analyse some of these differences. For instance,
45 following Amsterdam's corporatist model, most European night mayors are independent
46 champions who voluntarily—and in most cases only temporarily—lead civil society organizations
47 that favour mediation and inclusion of a broad variety of groups and interests. In the United
48 States—and in most places in Latin America—night mayors are hired as full-time civil servants
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3 and follow a managerial model, focused on efficiency and multi-agency coordination. Though
4 urban governance models are static representations that only focus on a handful of cities—most of
5 them in the developed world—Pierre’s (2011) and other taxonomies can be useful to explain some
6 of the variations in scope that have emerged as the role is transferred into new contexts.
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11 Study results also revealed an evolution in the scope of the role. While early night mayors and
12 advocacy organizations followed Berlin and Amsterdam’s model focused on preserving nightlife
13 and culture after dark, later additions to the movement are largely based within city hall: between
14 2017 and 2019, 23 new night mayor positions were created, out of which two thirds are situated
15 inside local government. The institutionalization of the role has allowed night mayors to become
16 increasingly involved in initiatives to enhance nocturnal ‘hardware’ or the built environment at
17 night, as well as collaborate in processes to update nocturnal ‘software’ or laws that regulate urban
18 life after dark. While broader institutional support and resources will allow them to venture further
19 into policy and infrastructure, their capacity to advocate for certain causes might be curtailed by
20 changes in city leadership or political affiliation.
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31 Given the novelty of the position, the purpose of this study was not to assess its impact but to
32 understand its significance within a broader history of nocturnal governance and studies about the
33 urban night. Further research is needed to measure the impact of night mayors’ contributions
34 towards improving safety and reducing nuisance, while protecting the vibrancy and cultural
35 identity of the urban areas they are responsible for overseeing. However, study results reveal four
36 main contributions that can be attributed to this role:
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43 (1) Creating an institutional space to discuss the urban night: Though different forms of
44 nightlife activism have existed in cities around the world, night mayors are helping place
45 this topic in city agendas, leveraging additional resources—both human and material—to
46 tackle the myriad of issues that affect urban life after dark. In the Fall of 2018, New York
47 City’s recently created Office of Nightlife embarked on a five-borough listening tour “to
48 pursue recommendations and long-term solutions to ensure a safe and vibrant nightlife
49 scene that works for all New Yorkers” (Office of Nightlife, 2019). Tour meetings took
50 place in theatres and performance spaces and were led by the Office of Nightlife, along
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3 with representatives from city agencies such as the police and transportation departments.
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5 Aside from raising awareness of the new office and creating a space for citizens to voice
6
7 their concerns, since early 2019 this initiative has encouraged periodic inter-agency
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9 meetings to discuss the most pressing issues concerning nightlife in the city (Ariel Palitz,
10
11 personal communication, 2019).
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14 (2) Promoting better night scenes through experimentation: The night presents unique
15
16 opportunities for cities to experiment with new planning regimes, public transport
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18 provision and opening hours (Bianchini, 1995). By promoting pilot programs to explore
19
20 greater flexibility in licensing and innovative mechanisms to facilitate multi-stakeholder
21
22 cooperation, night mayors are encouraging local governments to be more creative in the
23
24 way they allocate resources to regulate night-time activity. This is the case of initiatives
25
26 such as the 24-hour license model and the Hospitable Rembrandt Square project that began
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28 as a pilot intervention led by the city of Amsterdam with the support of the
29
30 *nachtburgemeester* and was later incorporated as a permanent program.

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32 (3) Protecting nightlife as a form of culture: Cultural vibrancy and liveability are key features
33
34 of a thriving city, but strategies to promote them can also drive processes of gentrification
35
36 and displacement. By raising awareness of the need to protect night culture, night mayors
37
38 are helping music and nightlife venues get recognized as relevant contributors to local
39
40 tradition and identity. Amid increasing noise complaints in residential neighbourhoods, in
41
42 2017 the city of Berlin pledged one million Euros to fund soundproofing strategies for
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44 nightlife and music venues in an effort to protect them from disappearing (Hawthorn,
45
46 2017). This response follows almost two decades of advocacy work carried out by
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48 Clubcommission Berlin, an independent night-time advocacy organization that has been
49
50 raising awareness of the positive social, cultural and economic contributions of nightlife to
51
52 the German capital since 2001 (Goldhammer, 2019; Wilson, 2019).

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54 (4) Creating inclusive spaces after dark: Night mayors are increasingly being acknowledged
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56 by city councils and community boards as key allies in garnering support from groups
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58 whose interests have long been overlooked. In recent years, they have become relevant
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3 champions of LGBTQ+ communities and supported efforts to promote women's safety and
4 night workers' rights. As part of its Cultural Infrastructure Plan, London has committed to
5 provide an annual audit of LGBTQ+ venues and has created a five-point pledge for
6 operators, developers, property owners and others to support the city's LGBTQ+ pubs,
7 bars, clubs and other venues (Mayor of London, 2019).
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14 Despite these contributions, some sectors remain hesitant to recognize a new form of bureaucracy
15 that could potentially duplicate certain urban planning functions. Though the regulation of nightlife
16 has long been a part of urban governance, the creation of night-time management offices within
17 city administrations could be interpreted as greater civic control over private spaces of leisure and
18 entertainment, potentially reinforcing rather than breaking existing structures of inequality and
19 social exclusion. Some individuals in the role have begun to distance themselves from the 'night
20 mayor' title in order to avoid making false promises of what their position can do from a law
21 enforcement perspective (Poon, 2018). The study also revealed that not all cities have the same
22 priorities or are at the same stage in managing life after dark, which complicates any predictions
23 on the continuity of the position. In the absence of legal backing, charisma and recognition from
24 the nightlife industry become relevant qualities to exercise the role, particularly for those located
25 outside of city government.
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36 The situation of the role—inside or outside local government—greatly determines the resources
37 and legitimacy that are attributed to the position, though the impact of this condition on night
38 mayors' performance still needs to be assessed. While most of night mayors' achievements are in
39 the realm of mediation, their ability to make more permanent contributions to policy and city
40 infrastructure greatly depends on the support they receive from other city agencies and multi-
41 stakeholder institutions such as nightlife commissions and boards. By incorporating
42 representatives not only from the culture and hospitality sectors, but also from urban planning and
43 policy, these boards will be better suited to assist night mayors in achieving significant long-term
44 changes in the spatial configuration of cities at night.
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53 As Hae (2012) suggested, understanding how pro-nightlife formations are evolving and
54 responding to the conditions that threaten a city's nightlife presents a unique opportunity for cities
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3 to embark on a more proactive agenda towards nocturnal governance and to explore new ways to
4 tackle pressing issues, such as cultural displacement and gentrification. By becoming part of the
5 decision-making process, night mayors have the potential to advocate for a revision of licensing
6 and zoning provisions that directly affect nightlife establishments and to work with communities
7 to respond to their changing needs and preferences, a process that is key to building long-term trust
8 and social cohesion. Making room for these new actors in the long term will require not only
9 achieving local recognition as a problem-solving mechanism, but also becoming a platform to
10 promote a socially and environmentally conscious nightlife agenda. In Bianchini's (1995) terms,
11 this would entail linking the 'green' and the 'dark,' or incorporating the notion of the 24-hour city
12 into current debates on urban sustainability. To date, several cities like London, Madrid, Sao Paulo
13 and Bogota have put together 'manifestos' to set local targets and guide night-time planning in this
14 direction (Kolvin, 2016; NIX, 2017; Colaboratorio, 2014; Seijas, 2019).
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25 The goal of this study was to provide a first comparative analysis on the role of the night mayor as
26 a new mechanism for urban governance after dark. By encouraging greater dialogue and
27 experimentation, the night mayor movement is challenging traditional approaches to nocturnal
28 management focused on safety and control and creating a new form of representation that cities
29 did not have before. The fast propagation of this role is paving the way for a new wave of studies
30 concerned with assessing the implications—both positive and negative—of expanding the notion
31 of nocturnal governance beyond licensing authorities and the police, to incorporate new actors
32 with strong industry support and a focus on mediation. These studies should not only help contrast
33 night mayors' contributions among different cultures and political systems but should also make
34 room for intra-national comparisons that shed light on differences based on gender, ethnicity,
35 sexual orientation and other aspects of night mayors' background and identity. These insights will
36 hopefully guide new cities interested in joining this movement and encourage them to adopt a more
37 participatory approach to planning urban life after dark.
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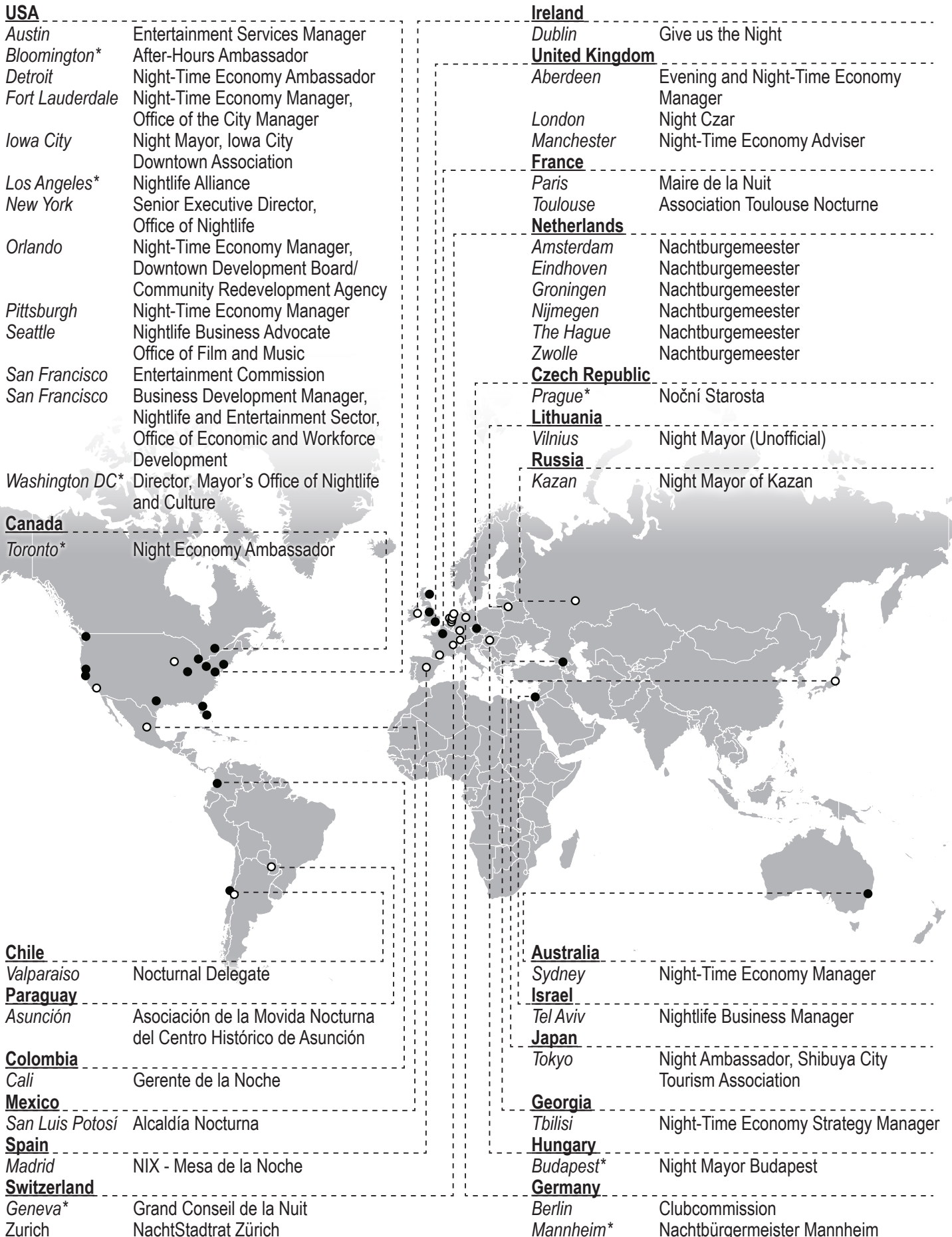
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Table 1: List of experts interviewed as part of the study.

Name	Title and Affiliation
Philip Kolvin	Former Chair, London Night Time Commission (United Kingdom)
Rafael Espinal	Council Member Brooklyn, New York City (United States)
Charles Landry	Founder, Comedia Consultancy (United Kingdom)
Will Straw	Professor of Urban Media Studies, McGill University (Canada)
Jim Peters	President, Responsible Hospitality Institute (United States)
Luc Gwiazdzinski	Researcher, Department of Urbanism and Geography, Université Grenoble (France)

Figure 1. Global distribution of night mayors and night-time advocacy organizations

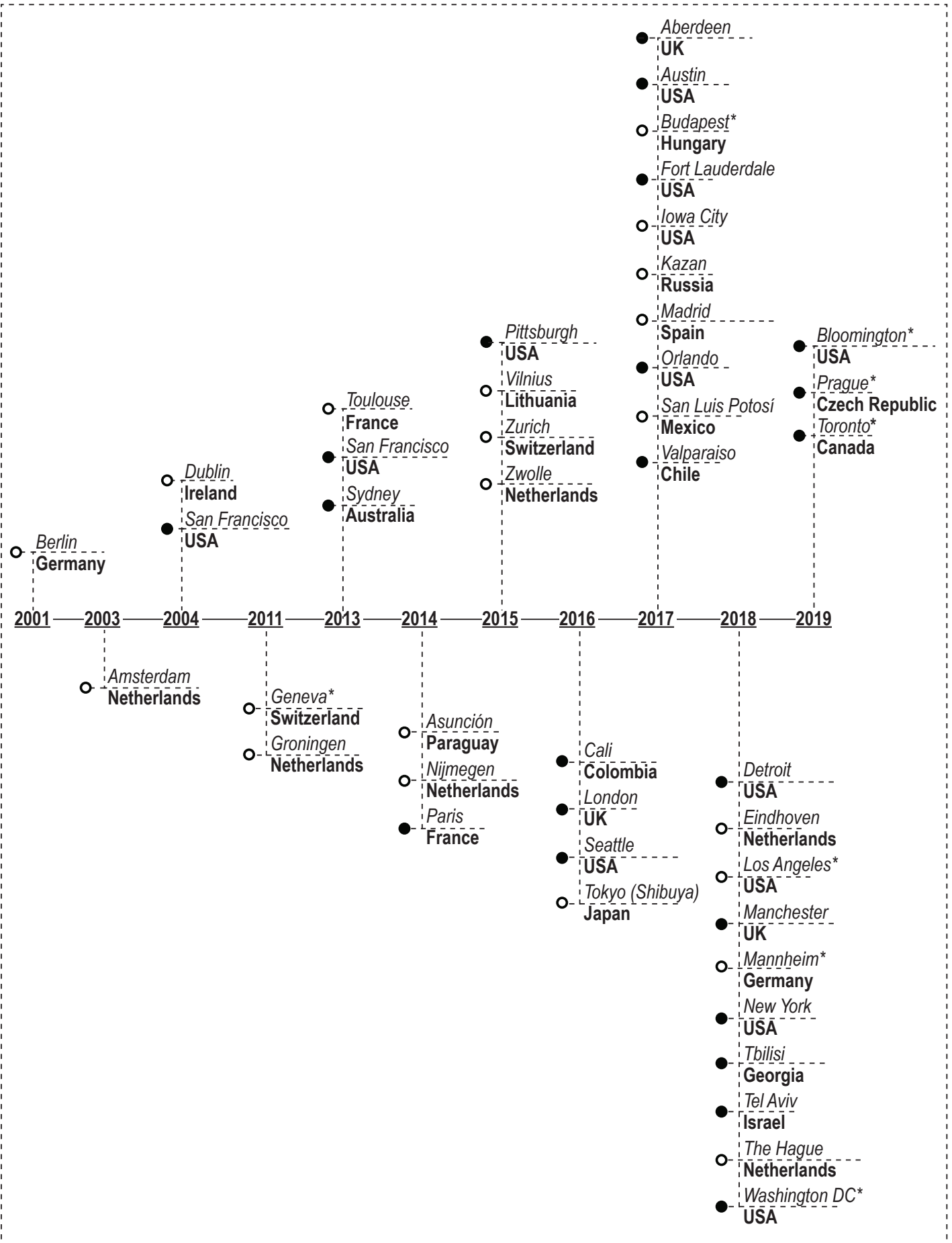
Relation to local government: ● Inside ○ Outside



Note: Cities indicated with an asterisk, (*) did not participate in the study.

Figure 2. Night mayors and night-time advocacy organizations by year they were created

Relation to local government: ● Inside ○ Outside



Note: Cities indicated with an asterisk (*) did not participate in the study.