



**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE NIGHT-TIME
ECONOMY OF LONG STREET**

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**Dissertation presented as part fulfilment of the degree of
Masters of City and Regional Planning**

In the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics

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Abstract

This paper investigates the night-time economy (NTE) present in Cape Town, focusing on Long Street as its spatialized case, to ascertain the credibility of it becoming a 24 hour (24-h) city. A diverse and vibrant NTE is seen as the foundation of a 24-h city which is inclusive of the broader community.

The concept, originally developed in the United Kingdom (UK) as the 24-h planning policy-package, sought to create active city centres at night by embracing a neoliberal approach to managing the NTE. This package revolved around getting people into the city centre at night, as well as promoting their participation in the NTE. This was meant to be achieved by the deregulation of liquor laws and some amendment of municipal by-laws. However, the policy-package had the opposite effect, and resulted in the proliferation of youthful adults engaged in acts of transgression and anti-social behaviours. Consequently, the broader community was driven away from city centres at night as they became designated spaces of 'patterned liminality' – when social order dissolved and transgressions were normalised.

The research, conducted using a case study method, is comprised of primary and secondary data. This includes evidence from 16 interviews, a photo essay, and infield observations which together indicate that there are distinct parallels between the alcohol-fuelled and youth-dominated NTEs in the UK and the NTE found in Long Street. The research concludes that Long Street has become a space of 'patterned liminality' where anti-social behaviour is acted out, resulting in an exclusionary effect for the broader community. In light of this evidence Cape Town can make no claim to be a true 24-h city.

The dissertation concludes by suggesting recommendations aimed at creating a more inclusive NTE aligned with the 24-h city ideals. These include: temporary pedestrianisation, the extension of retail trading hours, amendment the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 to include a saturation point for liquor licences in a specified area, investigation of the feasibility of a night market, promotion of cultural events not centred around drinking, and ensuring that Long Street is a well-lit space at night.

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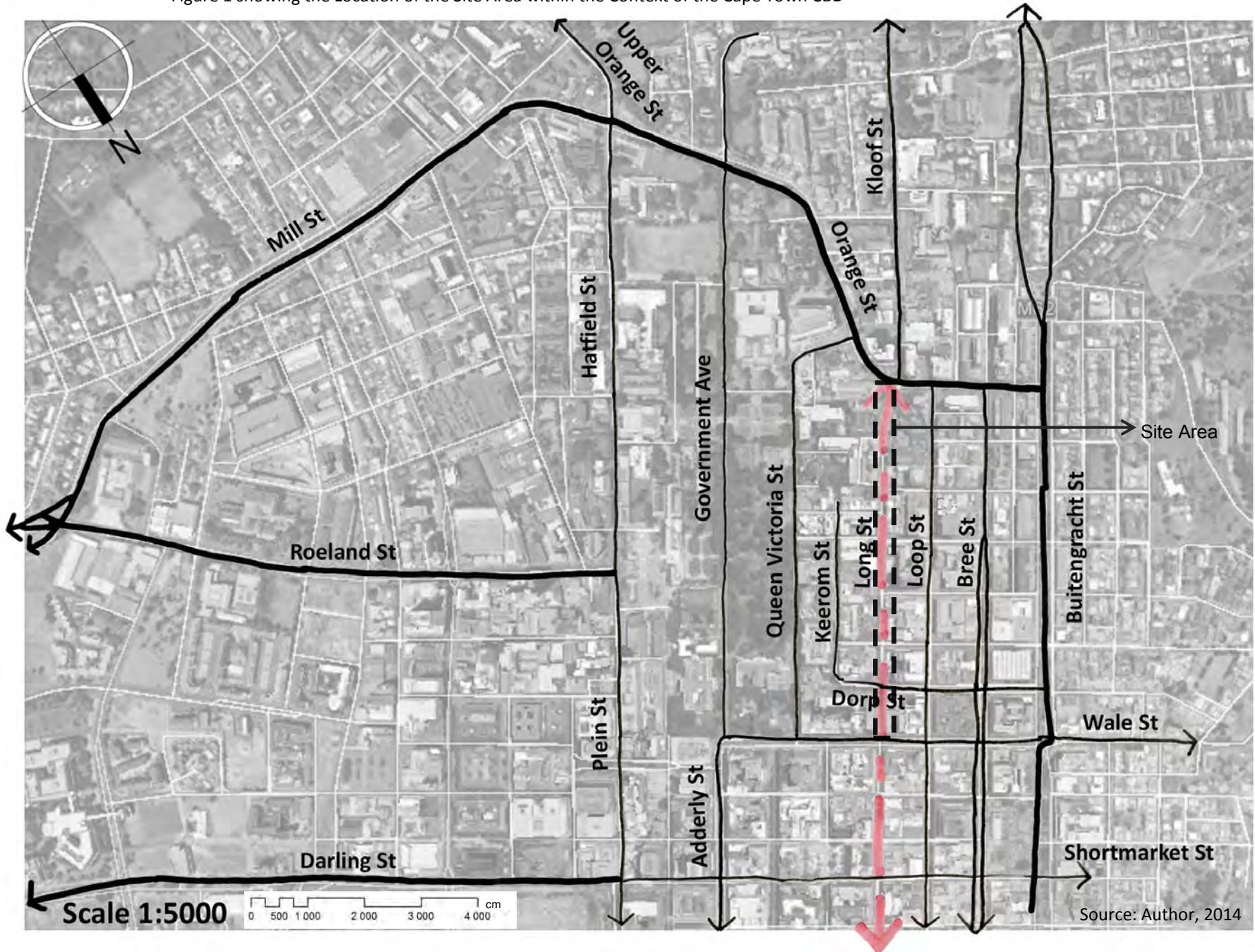
List of Acronyms

- NTE: Night-Time Economy
- 24-h: Twenty-Four Hour
- UK: United Kingdom
- US: United States of America
- SAPS: South African Police Service
- LSRA: Long Street Residents Association
- CBD: Central Business District
- CCID: Cape Town City Centre Improvement District



04 : INTRODUCTION

Figure 1 showing the Location of the Site Area within the Context of the Cape Town CBD



1.1 Introduction

The research presented in this urban planning dissertation is concerned with the inclusivity aspect of the twenty-four hour (24-h) city concept. Developed in the UK and officially introduced into British town planning policy in 1995, the 24-h city concept was supposed to revitalise barren and intimidating night-time city centres. Unfortunately, the policy package backfired, creating homogenised urban playscapes dominated by the alcohol leisure (alco-leisure) industry (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). These new urban landscapes were characterised by youthful drinking practices and produced negative externalities which deterred the wider community from participating in the night-time economy (NTE) (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). This dissertation investigates the current night-time NTE of Long Street, Cape Town, and explores whether the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry in Long Street has created an exclusionary effect similar to that described in the British cases. The outcome of this investigation will indicate if the NTE of Long Street is inclusive and socially sustainable, as necessitated by the ideals of the 24-h city concept.

This dissertation is concerned with exploring the city at night. The night, explain Lovatt and O'Connor (p30 | 1995), presents "such a crucial ordering structure in traditional society- night following day – makes it, as will all boundaries, a site of transgression." Usually characterised by the co-existence of both pleasure and pain, the nocturnal city has always been a focus of hedonism and entertainment (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). The contemporary night-time city has become increasingly associated with the everyday use of space, and the 24-h city concept attempted to re-imagine city centres as places where ordinary urban life could continue after dark. However, current global trends are rebranding the night in order to stimulate economic

growth (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). This - argues Rowe and Bavinton (2011) - is leading to the monopolisation of the NTE by the alco-leisure industry.

The term 'night-time economy' was coined by Hobbs et al (2003) to describe the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry trading later into the night. Locally and internationally, NTEs have come under stricter regulations as the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry has resulted in negative externalities affecting surrounding communities. Australian policy-makers in New South Wales have introduced 8 year minimum sentences for violent crimes where the offender is intoxicated, 3am last drinks in the city centre, and a precinct-wide freeze on issuing new liquor licenses (Government of New South Wales, 2014). In Cape Town, a recent amendment to The Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 mandates that establishments can only serve liquor till 2am, and requires an extended license to trade later into the early morning (CoCT, 2013).

1.2 Research Questions and Necessary Definitions

Cape Town's city centre provides a strong sense of place, attracting people from around the world to enjoy the visual, cultural, social and environmental aspects that characterise it (Makalima-Ngewana, 2014). The Cape Town City Partnership, a public-private partnership operating in the city centre, has called for the development of a 24-h city, as currently - with the omission of select areas such as Long Street - Cape Town's city centre becomes a ghost town after dark (Makalima-Ngewana, 2012). This research chose to present a case study of the NTE of Cape Town - focusing on Long Street - because it has been traditionally seen as the epicentre of night-life in the city. The site area can be located on figure 1 on the previous page. This study aims to ascertain whether the current

development of Long Street's NTE is truly aligned to the ideals of the 24-h city.

Note, in what follows there has been no mention in any NTE in the Cape Town Metropolitan area, apart from the chosen Long Street case. There are in fact other smaller NTEs such as Claremont, Observatory, Seapoint, Camps Bay to name a few. However, the limitations of this study restrict us to the Long Street example.

The main research question guiding this dissertation is: to investigate the current state of the night-time economy in Long Street, to establish if it is promoting an inclusive and socially sustainable 24-h city. Critical to this question are the definitions of the concepts of inclusivity and social sustainability. Inclusivity, in this research paper, means the tolerance of plural ways of life. It relates to whether people feel they can participate equally, without prejudice, and safely, in the activities occurring in a space – the space in this case being Long Street. Social sustainability is a flexible concept used in various ways over a variety of different urban contexts and geographic scales (Yeo and Heng, 2013). Here, the concept is directly related to the inclusivity, diversity and liveability of the site area. It refers to the space-time conceptualisation of the NTE as a common resource, from which the entire community is able to benefit from without undue risk.

Thus, the ideals of the 24-h city used to evaluate the NTE of Long Street are:

- Inclusivity – can the broad community participate, without undue risk, in the activities taking place in the NTE of Long Street?
- Diversity – are the people participating in the NTE of Long Street representative of the broader community?

- Liveability – is the NTE of Long Street impinging upon the rights of the surrounding community?

The combination of these ideals produces a socially sustainable NTE where the benefits of the 24-h city are distributed amongst the broad community. These benefits arise from the vibrant and diverse night-time city and include: a safer nocturnal city centre, fostering a sense of community, maximising the access to and efficiency of public amenities, and widespread economic growth. Economic growth implies employment creation, enhancement of the global competitiveness of the city, attracting specialised service sector labour, boosting the city's rates base, and increasing economic productivity.

The subsidiary research questions are also asked:

- Is the current state of the NTE in Cape Town, using Long Street as a focused case, that of an exclusionary, designated liminal area acting as a youthful (18-35years) urban playscape?
- If so, how can we plan to create a NTE which realises the ideals of the 24 hour city in order to create an inclusive urban nightlife which could help foster social sustainability?
- What are the roles which culture and informality can play in providing a NTE which nurtures social sustainability?

Arising from the first subsidiary question is the concept of liminality. Liminality is the sensation of a heterotopic space being socially unbounded, with social norms and everyday realities being suspended. To some participants this could mean an occasion to revel in the weekend, away from the responsibilities of ordinary life (Robert and Eldridge, 2009). For others, the night is a site of transgressions characterised by the groups who frequent it after dark - youth, prostitutes, drug dealers,

etc. (Lovatt and O'Conner, 1995). In the context of this dissertation, liminality is used to describe the altered states of awareness brought about by intoxication from drink or drugs, leading participants to reconfigure societal norms and to relax their social inhibitions. The risk of participants committing transgressions - such as violence - when engaged in liminal experimentation, is increased when intoxicants are consumed in excess. The impact of this rises exponentially when there are numerous, highly intoxicated participants moving through a space (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009).

1.3 Chapter Outlines

This research dissertation consists of eight chapters, including this one. **Chapter 1** - the introduction is followed by listing of the research questions and necessary definitions.

Chapter 2 - the literature review; details the evolution of the 24-h city concept and the shift from a Fordist city of production to a post-Fordist city of consumption. It explores the neoliberal revitalisation of city centres and subsequent creation of homogenised urban playscapes from this. Contemporary culture-led revitalisation strategies are reviewed, the gaps in the literature are discussed, and the justification for this research is presented.

Chapter 3 - the methodology; examines the strengths and weaknesses of the case study method and provides justification for the selection of the site area as the selected case. The chapter goes on to examine the research techniques employed – interviews and observations - and concludes with explaining how the data was analysed and the ethical considerations taken.

Chapter 4 - the contextual analysis; provides background details on the historic development of the

NTE in Long Street. It then reviews the institutional framework and regulations under which the NTE has developed, discussing the major stakeholders and emerging actors in the site area.

Chapter 5 - research analysis and findings; details the results of the research findings. It starts by presenting and analysing the secondary data consisting of the 2012 CCID User Survey, the 2013 State of the Central City Report, data sourced from two OnLong Business Association Workshops, and three media excerpts. The chapter's focus shifts to an exploration of the outcomes of the primary data; detailing the results of the site analysis; examining the interviews under the themed headings of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality and potential inspired by the literature review; the photo essay and its accompanying observations.

Chapter 6 - the synthesis; draws parallels and highlights differences between the various data sets. It links the results directly with the literature reviewed, analysing data under the same themed as the interview data. Finally, the triangulation technique is utilised to synthesize findings across the four themes, validating the research to be concluded.

Chapter 7 - recommendations and conclusion; outlines the suggested policy implementations for effectively regulating and managing the NTE so that it develops in a socially sustainable manner. It highlights the need to establish a good local evidence base, and describes integrated approaches to policy and management relating to the NTE. It also suggests implementations which could be used to diversify the NTE. Lastly, the chapter provides a conclusion to this dissertation, answering the research questions and indicating what the local findings add to the broader literature.

Finally, **Chapter 8** - the appendix; contains the reference list, ethics forms, list of interview questions, and sections 11 and 12 from the informal trading by-law of 2009.



02 : LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the relevant literature surrounding the concepts of the night-time economy (NTE) and the twenty-four hour (24-h) city. These concepts, which have arisen in the late twentieth century, have largely been written about through a Global North lens and the current literature is focused predominantly on experience in the UK (Shaw, 2010, Yen and Heng, 2013).

The review consists of three sections. The first section provides a guide for the evolution of the NTE and the 24-h city concepts. It addresses how the contemporary NTE in the UK came to be and examines the theorists responsible for the adoption of 24-h city concept into British town planning policy. The second section explores the role that neoliberalism played in creating the NTE present in the UK today, and in addition, briefly discusses the newest form of after-dark city centre revitalisation - late night cultural events. After briefly discussing the omissions from the literature. The chapter concludes with a justification of the proposed research.

2.2 Evolution of the night-time economy and the 24 hour city concept

Scattered amongst the literature are fragmentary accounts of the evolution of the NTE and the introduction of the 24-h city concept into policy in England. This section ties these accounts together chronologically, providing some historical context by drawing from Roberts and Eldridge's (2009) seminal work: *Planning the Night-Time City*.

The development of the NTE that we are accustomed to today has been shaped by specific historical forces - which have not followed a linear path. The history as described in the literature is primarily Eurocentric, and

as mentioned before, largely related to the UK.

The story of the nocturnal city begins in 17th century France with the implementation of the first gas street lighting system, which Roberts and Eldridge (2009) note as the defining moment in the birth of the modern late-night city. They then trace the evolution of the of lighting in European cities. Crude gas lighting paved the way for highly efficient, adjustable gas lamps in the late 17th century, and by 1878 electric lighting was introduced, the expansion of which was dramatic culminating in the brilliantly illuminated cities of today. They see lighting as fundamental to the history of the modern city, enabling security on city streets after dark and therefore allowing residents to partake safety in nocturnal endeavours.

The next major step in shaping our contemporary night-time experience was the primary shift from industry and commerce towards leisure and play. Shorter working hours, urbanisation and a higher standard of living were critical factors in propelling this transition. Another result was the of weakening of tradition sanctions of conduct allowing different class and status groups to intermingle (ibid). Indeed the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the UK were spatially characterised by the intense use of public space (Jayne et. al, 2005). In London the expansion of pubs, coffee houses and gin palaces was exponential, with a recorded 20 000+ public houses and beer shops in 1870. These venues played important social functions and were not just reserved for liminal experimentation. However, in England, these establishments were subject to numerous moral crusades by temperance movements, and were adversely affected by socio-political design of the contemporary industrial labour force - which prioritized production efficiency, strongly relied on a sober workforce (ibid). Jayne et al (2005)

reinforce this point with the astute observation that middle-class England of this era began associating drinking and drunkenness with the misuse of public space. By the late 19th century pubs were licensed and trading hours were introduced as the British government looked to regulate the leisure industry and the NTE (Roberts op. cit.).

The literature now takes a leap forward in time into the late 20th century. The early 1980s in England ushered in the freshly elected Conservative party led by Margaret Thatcher. Britain at the time was in an economic recession brought about by the 1970's oil crises; unemployment was high and industry had started to relocate to more cost-efficient pastures in former colonies. Post-war modernist planning policies such as zoning, the creation of mono-functional areas and the dominance of the automobile created a new urban landscape which crippled town centres across the UK. This was characterised by derelict warehouses and old, abandoned industrial buildings (ibid).

Against this background the new regime, led by the neoliberal agenda of Thatcherism, facilitated the restructuring and deregulation of British industry and commerce. Some of the results of these policies were that property prices rose, unemployment decreased and the economy began to boom. In addition, towards the end of the 1980's, town centres were not seen as prime areas. Developers preferred out-of-town, large scale projects aimed at a car-centric society. Concurrently, the residential population of British cities - including London - had all but retreated into the suburbs (ibid). Thus, despite the economy strengthening, city centre development was not prioritised.

It was against this background of the underdeveloped

and under-utilised UK town centres that the novel ideas of the 24-h city and the creative city - aimed at town centre regeneration - appeared.

The academic origins of the 24-h city concept can be attributed to the seminal work of Jane Jacobs's (1961) *Life and Death of American Cities*, (Montgomery, 1995; Roberts and Turner, 2005; Shaw, 2010) and the analyses of Murray Melbin (1987) who explored the development of a twenty-four hour society (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). Jacobs's arguments for mixed use, high density neighbourhoods found particular resonance with urban theorists in the 80's and 90's as they opposed the mono-functionalism of modernist zoning (Roberts and Turner, 2005). In 1989, the then influential think-tank, Comedia, began researching the causes of the barren and intimidating nature of a sample group of night-time UK town centres. In 1991 the group released their findings in a report titled *Out of Hours: a study of economic, social and cultural life in twelve town centres in the UK*. This report attributed the problem to mono-use of town centres dominated by offices and shops, unused and unfriendly pedestrian areas, exclusionary pubs, lack of night-time public transport, alcohol licencing laws constraining the NTE, and anti-social young males who frightened away older people and families (Roberts, and Eldridge, 2009). It recommended the reintroduction of residential uses in town centres to stimulate demand for mixed-use services, and generation of diversity - thus making town centres more inviting for visitors and tourists. Diversity, Montgomery (1995) claims, has always been a major factor in driving transaction between people across the day and night-time city.

Comedia's authors looked across the channel to European café-culture and strategies of cultural animation as an example of fostering a vibrant city

centre. they emphasised that British cities could re-invent themselves as centres of creativity. They argued that the alcohol licencing regulations of the day were the remnants of the by-gone era of the industrial city, and that increased regulation flexibly, coupled with the promotion of a café-culture, could result in lively, engaging city centres in which human interaction and therefore creativity could flourish (Roberts, 2006).

In 1994, the term 24-h city was coined in a conference in Manchester which exhibited the term The Twenty-four Hour City as its title. The conference was the conclusion of a pilot project in Manchester which saw retailers, pubs and clubs extending their opening hours. The conference was seminal in the adoption of the 24-h concept into policy and was largely guided by three papers which built on Comedia's report findings (Roberts and Turner, 2005). The papers, by Montgomery (1995), Bianchini (1995), and Lovatt and O'Connor (1995), explored revitalising British town centres at night and paved the way for the adoption of the 24-h city concept into policy and a call for the cultivation of a more 'European' lifestyle (Heath, 1997).

The introductory paper, submitted by Montgomery (1995) starts by exclaiming that NTE in the UK has been undervalued, under-researched and more or less unrecognised by government, even though it is centrally important to the life and culture of cities. He provides a critique of modernist planning practices, attacking their inflexibility and bureaucracy in addition to their production of the mono-functional areas, such as the British town centres of the day and emphasises this by saying:

“the complexities of cities and the rapid changes in their economic organisation – from Fordist to post-Fordist in the jargon – mean that old style rational,

bureaucratic planning is increasingly irrelevant” (Montgomery, p102 | 1995)

He went on to address the concept of the NTE in cities, which should - he claims - by the very notion of their urbanity, should offer a NTE. At the time the NTE in the UK was largely defined, where it existed at least, by what it was not. The NTE, he explained, is comprised by economic activities occurring after the traditional hour of 5pm. These activities form a critical mass which gains economic maturity when underpinned by the support structures of transportation, lighting and policing. However, for a few Fordist enthusiasts, an expanding NTE is not viewed positively, but rather as a problem that needs to be controlled (Montgomery, 1995).

His recommendations for promoting a vibrant city centre after dark the themes of:

- *Animation Culturel* - creating interest and activity in city centres through planned cultural programmes,
- Urban Vitality or the *élan vital* of a place - simplified to meaning activity, transactions and diversity,
- The Life of Streets and the Urban Public Realm - understood as a series of sites where transactions can take place.

He concludes by explaining that the opportunities to meet, conduct transactions, and experience diversity and variety make successful urban spaces - which contemporary UK planning policy had lost sight of.

The next paper in the conference by Bianchini (1995), reviews the Italian politician Renato Nicolini's very successful programme of cultural events that was used in Rome to revitalise city centres at night from 1977 to 1985. Nicolini proposed that city centres should be

utilised at night for economic gains as he had witnessed an increasing public demand for going out and have a good time at night in the city. A large part of using culture as a tool was to attract large numbers of people to make use of the night-time city so that the night became safer for everyone. He unpacks the economic potential that the NTE has, in promoting a vibrant nocturnal city, by effectively doubling a city's economy and maximising access to urban facilities from a wider catchment area. He also speaks of the social strengths of the night explaining that:

“It is freer than the daytime from social constraints, conventions and persecutions” (Bianchini, p124 | 1995)

The paper concludes by looking at strategies for facilitating the promotion of the NTE so that a 24-h city can be realised. He mentions the importance of attracting families with children to the city at night as well as extended shopping hours. And in accordance with Montgomery, Bianchini denounces modernist planning policy stating that:

“In the 1990s, we have to let the live cultures of cities change the way town planning and urban policies are formulated. This means that town planning and urban policies ought to be... more flexible, open-ended, holistic, pluralistic, and innovation-orientated” (Bianchini, p125 | 1995)

The last paper in the series, by Lovatt and O'Connor (1995), highlights the re-emergence of city centres as focal points for an urban way of life. The authors systematically review the factors that led to this shift. Firstly, as previously mentioned, de-industrialisation associated with the free-market economics of Thatcherism left large portions of city centres derelict. However, the prestige of centrality began to return as

the economy began to boom in the 80s leading to the revalorisation of the city centre. This phenomenon was compounded by the rise of city-to-city competitiveness in a globalising world where a vibrant city centre was deemed crucial in the global market-place. Occurring congruently with these factors was the reorganisation of city centres around consumption rather than production. The transition was increasingly promoted by market forces calling for deregulation and helped birth a new urban landscape concerned with the organisation and exploitation of consumption. The increasingly primary role ascribed to leisure and the arts in city centres heralded the re-invention of urbanity as a secure zone to experience culture and consumption.

The role of culture and its relationship with the NTE is then discussed by Lovatt and O'Connor (1995). They explain that strategies looking to use culture to regenerate urban centres into a vibrant open space need to focus inwards towards their citizens and develop in line with their changing needs and desires. And, as mentioned, the major change was from an economy of production to one of consumption and this permeated the NTE. The paper then addresses calls for deregulation, specifically with regard to alcohol licensing legislation of the NTE. It explores the fact that the night-time has always been a time of transgression, and this potential for transgression, marginal in the Fordist city of work, is central to contemporary consumption. To conclude, the authors left the attendees of the conference a warning of what an unregulated and market-driven NTE could evolve into:

“If we are not careful the city will turn out to be no different from the bland consumerist playground of chain stores and fast food outlets which punctuate the day-time economy.” (Lovatt and O'Connor, p133 | 1995)

The 24-h city policy package included:

- physical improvements to the public realm
- the reintroduction of residential use in city centres
- promoting and subsidising festivals and evening entertainment
- increasing safety in city centres using the introduction of CCTV
- encouraging evening and late-night entertainment by relaxing alcohol licensing restrictions

(Roberts and Turner, 2005)

These recommendation proved to be very popular with local government municipalities who were looking for means to revive city centres which would not require large redevelopment projects (Heath, 1997).

Once enacted these policy changes brought about huge increases in the residential population in city centres across the UK, and also caused the NTE to boom, with the leisure industry benefiting greatly (Roberts and Turner, 2005).

By the turn of the century the first dissenting pleas to the 24-h city concept were being voiced. These arrived from two sources. Firstly, residents started to complain about their neighbourhoods playing host to a greatly increasing number of revellers who, with the relaxation of licensing laws, were staying ever-later into the night. These revellers of the NTE were accused of noise pollution, anti-social behaviour and violence (Roberts and Turner, 2005). Secondly, academics researching youth culture and the night-time leisure industry such as Chatterton and Hollands (2003) found that the industry was becoming increasingly dominated by large vertical drinking establishments selling alcohol to 18-35 year olds and this was driving out other commercial uses in city centres. These establishments intended to cram as many consumers as possible into their

respective venues, by selling alcohol at excessively low prices (Shaw, 2010). This effect, brought about by the relaxation of regulation and the supremacy afforded to market forces, was exactly what Lovatt and O'Connor (1995) had warned about, and indeed city centres were being transformed into homogenised 'youthful playscapes'. Consequently, this was depressing the desire of other social groups to use the city centre at night, creating an exclusionary effect. Thus, instead of creating a European style café-culture, the 24-h city policies had backfired, producing a 'yob' culture infamously labelled by mass media as Binge-drinking Britain (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002).

British planners and academics clamoured to explain why their policies and theories failed to produce the civilised café-culture enjoyed in the city centres of their continental counterparts. Protagonists initially involved in punting the 24-h city concept as the primary approach to city centre regeneration were humble and willing to debate the consequences of their recommendations (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). Theorists such as Bianchini and Montgomery unanimously voiced objections about the 24-h city concept because of its implementation in the UK (Roberts, 2005). Warpole (2003), who was one of the authors of Comedia's *Out of Hours* report exclaims that the 24-h city which started as a project to extend cultural democracy "was in danger of being a means to extend commercialisation of city centres across 24 hours" (Roberts, p489|2009). Montgomery (2007) citing Roberts (2009) eventually blamed the British, in their individual capacities, for their excessive drunkenness.

The next section of this literature review explores the theme of neoliberalism and its relation to the development of the NTE and 24-h city. This has become

a major component of academic focus in understanding and explaining why the 24-h city concept resulted in an exclusionary NTE.

2.3 Neoliberalism and the Night-Time Economy

Over the last 30 years, British city centres have been transformed by two interrelated economic and political processes (Hobbs et al, 2005) into spaces of consumption with their economies increasingly centred on the service sector and knowledge economies (Jayne et al, 2006). The first is the shift from the industrial Fordist city characterised by production towards the post-Fordist capitalist city concerned with consumption. This shift is discussed in the following sub-section and focuses on the link between neoliberalism and the creation of consumerised cultures of transgression. The second, more politically centred process, is concerned with the adoption of neoliberal policies by local British governments - a decision that has been blamed by academics (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hobbs et al, 2005) for creating homogeneous landscapes at night where alcohol-fuelled activities and anti-social behaviours fragment the city into socially and spatially segregated urban districts (Yeo and Heng, 2013).

This is an appropriate point to remind the reader that the literature is particularly sparse regarding research into the NTE at a global level, and as Chew (2010) and Yeo and Heng (2013) remark, the lion's share of what exists is focused on English cases. However, my review of the academic writings into this surprising niche aspect of the urban planning field has led me to discover some literature detailing the NTE in some Asian cases. In China, literature on the NTE is still a fledgling field which Chew (2010) reviews. He explains that the Chinese NTE is diverse compared to its Western counterpart, being enjoyed by the broad

community and enjoying a positive reflection in mass media. He remarks: "Since the late 2000s, the Chinese night-time economy has been commercially successful, culturally vibrant, and conspicuously present all over the country" (Chew, p4|2010) and importantly notes with regards to neoliberalism that "corporatization of the nightlife industry, which is found as a primary agent that undermines the progressive sociocultural impacts of contemporary club culture in the West, may not be present in China" (Chew, p12|2010).

Another Asian case especially critical to the present body of work, is the evaluation of the NTE of a particular street in Singapore by Yeo and Heng (2013). They emphasize that it is the everyday ordinary users of the NTE that make it extra-ordinary. They describe the everyday 'mundane' interactions between the community and the NTE which - they conclude - constitute the central component in constructing a Singaporean NTE which is socially and economically diverse and vibrant. Interestingly, in this respect, Yeo and Heng (2013) are the only authors who address informality in the NTE.

It must also be noted that both these authors consider that environmental factors such as climate play a major role in the NTE. It is unfortunate that this has been addressed in the available research, as it would certainly have influenced the historic development or retardation of the NTE in cities around the world.

2.3.1 Towards post-Fordism: from the Production City to the Consumption City

The global change from industrial to post-industrial capitalism is distinguished by the transformation of the social and economic order of cities from entities based primarily on production to ones based on consumption. The expansion of the NTE is also synonymous with this

change. The move away from the production city which was characterised by a Fordist rationale that strictly regulated the NTE, towards a NTE that acts as a crucial site of post-industrial consumption has allowed for city centres to be transformed into places of exclusionary consumption (Hobbs et al, 2005). Fordism brought with it relatively stable class-based identities which were delineated via the production process that a citizen was part of. However, contemporary urban identities are not shaped by the production process; rather, the fragmentation of work-based identities has given rise to lifestyles characterised by the consumption of certain commodities (Rowe and Bavinton, 2011), and as Shaw (2013) explains, neoliberalism has emphasised the need for all responsible citizens to be consumers. This section explores the effects this change has had on the consumption of the NTE, the exclusionary effect these changes have had and how it has affected the 24-h city concept.

Consumption has replaced experience in the 21st century city (Brabazon and Mallinder, 2007). The consumers who now dominate the British NTE described in the literature are youth aged 18 -35 who engage in liminal experimentation, transgression, anti-social behaviour and violence linked directly to alcohol consumption and abuse (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). This, as mentioned before, has created an exclusionary effect, forcing the broader community to refrain from participation in the NTE. Consequently, academic critiques of the NTE after the introduction of 24-h city policies, and in particular the deregulation of alcohol licensing, have come increasingly from criminologists (see Hobbs et al, 2005) (Shaw, 2010). Roberts (2009) describes how Hayward and Hobbs (2007) blame planners for their implicit involvement in the proliferation of a NTE which encourages the reckless growth in alcohol related entertainment and has

created designated liminal zones where anti-social behaviours associated with excessive alcohol consumption are acted out. She counters this accusation claiming that the neoliberal policy agenda removed the power of planners, allowing for market forces to dominate. However, these theorists all agree that these new spaces of aggressive hedonism have become prevalent and are a danger to the diversity of the NTE, thus threatening the vibrancy that the 24-h city concept aimed to achieve. Indeed the NTEs active in these spaces have acquired their own taxonomy, being labelled 'drinking streets' by revellers, 'no-go areas' by the broader community, 'hot spots' by the police and 'entertainment zones' in the US (Roberts, 2009).

In fact, the literature is awash with pejorative critiques of how the post-industrial city's focus on consumption, encouraged by a neoliberal NTE, has aided in the creation of neoliberal subjectivities who create an exclusionary city after dark (Shaw, 2010). These subjectivities, as Shaw (2010) explains, become microfascist when they endanger the existence of other subjectivities in certain spaces. This is a consequence of the subjectivity of the hedonistic free individual engaged in acts of transgression which create a socially fragmented nocturnal city centre. But how has this transformation come about? Shaw (2010) points towards the effects neoliberalism has on the consumer in the NTE, which he claims has involved the "individualisation of social risk, the dismantling of social rights and the subjection of people to self-regulation" (Shaw, p898 | 2010). The transition away from Fordism to neoliberalism is seen by Hobbs et al (2005) as a shift from collectivism to egotism where consumption and disorder in the NTE are central to the current economic model's generation and proliferation.

One aspect of the dominance of the alco-leisure industry which seems implicitly exclusionary and relates to the socio-spatial fragmentation of the NTE by neoliberal subjectivities engaged in acts of liminal experimentation, is with regard to Muslim communities. This group through religious practice often do not consume alcohol and in many cases vehemently avoid it (Valentine et al, 2009). These explain the agency alcohol has as a non-human actor, exploring its ability in generating new social fissures and exclusions. Consequently, they conclude that: "alcohol structures the use of urban public space in the NTE through normative social codes of behaviour predicated on drinking which implicitly determine whom the place is for and how the space should habitually be occupied and used" (Valentine et al, p17 | 2009). Thus, the process of contemporary urban renaissance driven by neoliberal principles has been found to degrade levels of urban diversity and marginalise alternative consumers and subjectivities and the spaces they inhabit in favour of mainstream consumption patterns that are selected for by profit margins (Valentine et al, 2009).

It is accepted that neoliberalism does affect diversity in the NTE, but a central debate in the literature concerns the extent to which it occurs. Jayne et al (2006) indicate that alcohol and 'drinkertainment' have become central to neoliberal urban regeneration strategies which attempt to compete on the global stage. This is a consequence of would-be knowledge-economies attempting to attract footloose service sector labour and entrepreneurs who see a thriving NTE as a precondition for cities wanting to make a statement concerning their progressive status (Hobbs et al, 2005). Jayne et al (2006) argue that urban drinking is a diverse and heterogeneous practice, and quoting Latham (2003), they explain that: "drinkers

might be rethought as numerous and active citizens who legitimately occupy public space” (Jayne et al, p462 | 2006). They deduce that a new form of public culture has emerged in which consumption has helped construct a new world wherein cafés, bars and pubs act as conduits for a new way of inhabiting the city. Jayne et al (2006) also question the use of case studies by Chatterton and Hollands (2003) and Hobbs et al (2003), exploring the weakness of the case study method when trying to formulate and apply generalisation. Rowe and Bavinton (2011) continue this argument. They put forward the suggestion that there is an overemphasis on alcohol consumption as the independent variable structuring problematic nightlife behaviour and instead, the variable of culture needs to be assessed more closely to ascertain its relation to subjectivities found in the NTE.

2.3.2 Neoliberal Revitalisation and the Creation of Homogenised Urban Playscapes in the NTE

The political shift from the industrial city into the post-industrial capitalist city was distinguished by the contraction of government services, embracing of free market ideologies, the decline of the welfare state and the birth of entrepreneurial, profit driven municipalities. This shift as described by Hobbs et al (2005) is concerned with a movement in urban governance from the management of core social support services towards a distinct focus on economic growth. These authors further develop this idea by describing how traits usually associated with business, such as riskiness and profit motivation have become entrenched in the character of local governments. They eloquently summarise contemporary neoliberal urban governance by exclaiming that:

“Neo-liberal policy promoting local governments to move away from Keynesian orthodoxy towards the

fluidity of market economics as a way of revitalising economic and private autonomy has led the ideological rationale of local governments to increasingly embrace the free market” (Hobbs et al, p162 | 2005).

The erosion of the welfare state and its repositioning as an entrepreneurial one can be described by two stages of neoliberal policy adoption. Firstly, roll-back neoliberalism is introduced. This contracts state spending and reduces social support systems which are implicit in previous regimes. This is known as deregulation. Secondly, roll-out neoliberalism follows deregulation. This is essentially concerned with placing an increasing amount of responsibility on individuals, thus promoting entrepreneurship and market-based solutions to the inevitable welfare crisis which emerges as a result of deregulation and the dismantling of social support structures (Shaw, 2010). Thus, through promoting the NTE to achieve the 24-h city ideals and culture-led regeneration, entrepreneurial local governments consider deregulation as a means of revitalising city centres (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). It is important to remember that a vibrant NTE was seen as a prerequisite for attracting the footloose employees of knowledge industries and the service sector, which is essentially what cities were competing for (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). Subsequently, as Hobbs et al (2005) recall, urban fortunes became increasingly bonded to consumption, leisure and tourism as market-led regeneration reinvented the city centre as primary sites of consumption.

Unsurprisingly, local governments concerned with maximising growth entered into relationships competing for inward investment. It was under this fog of city boosterism that a NTE based primarily on the consumption of alcohol and the production of homogenous urban playscapes was able to develop

(Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). In the UK, alas, the product of the 24-h city approach had diverged horribly from its intended creation of a sophisticated ‘café society’ and proliferating instead into mass-drinking venues. Roberts (2009) sadly notes, that the proliferation and promotion of the alcohol entertainment industry in city centres is an unprecedented phenomenon in planning history.

This has led to the seemingly paradoxical and schizophrenic nature of the contemporary NTEs guided by neoliberal policy agendas (Roberts and Turner, 2005). This ‘schizophrenic’ nature is well documented (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002) and is concerned with the nature of governance and regulation in the night-time economy. Summarised briefly, neoliberal policy seeks to allow for market-led forces to dictate the development of the NTE - this is the stage of roll-back neoliberalism or deregulation. In the UK a major component in deregulating the NTE came from 2003 Licencing Act which devolved licensing powers to municipalities, away from central planners. This led to the permitted number of licensed premises being driven by market forces as local municipalities further embraced the contemporary neoliberal ideal (Roberts, 2009). The most profitable practice and thus the market determined direction for development is the proliferation of mass drinking establishments (Hobbs et al, 2005). These establishments, because of their economic reliance on the consumption of alcohol, produce environments where liminal experimentation, anti-social behaviour and transgression are normalised and acted out. This often transpires in public space and results in vandalism, violence and other illicit activities such as prostitution (Roberts, 2009). Hence, the public realm is greatly affected as consumers circuit from one bar to the next (Roberts, 2006) and public tensions and private conflicts are both generated and exposed

(Hobbs et al, 2005). Hobbs et al (p168 | 2005) further expand on this: “the aetiology of alcohol related violence links development of consumerized cultures of transgression and the targeting of young, high-spending consumers by the alcohol industry, and is supported by the neo-liberal forces now dominant in urban governance”.

Transgression in the NTE creates the perception of crime and disorder, fuelling fears about the moral corrosion of the nocturnal city. This perception is as much of a deterrent as crime for the broader community and furthers the exclusionary effect of a NTE dominated by the alco-leisure industry (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009).

The consequence of these anti-social behaviours has forced a swing back to a Fordist-type of regulatory policy. This is the explicit need for regulation in the NTE so that these transgressions are mitigated (Jayne et al, 2006). The authors explain, the re-regulation of the NTE arises from Fordist concerns to impose social control as the broader community is brought into a moral panic about the perceived state of the city centre at night. Regulation takes the form of punitive measures, an example of which is zero-tolerance policing, with the state now actively trying to punish over-consumers of the NTE (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). These consumers are rational actors who are individually responsible for their actions as per the agenda of roll-out neoliberalism, even though their rationality has been severely altered by the consumption of the NTE prescribed by the market (Shaw, 2010).

The implications of the proliferation and clustering of alcohol establishments was alluded to by Jacobs (1961), the result of which is crime and disorder (Hobbs et al, 2005). However, Jayne et al (2006) express concern of

the overemphasis placed on the city centres which are described as being “out of control” and the apparent failure of 24-h city policies to revitalise city centres. They highlight the diversity apparent between drinking activities and social mixing of people that their research has uncovered. It is even suggested by Jayne et al (2006) that the concentration of the alco-leisure industry into a ‘quarter’ is advantageous for regulators who now can focus their resources into a specific area where they know transgression is practiced.

Since neoliberal municipalities attempt to withdraw from regulating the NTE, the market is expected to replace the facilities provided by the state. Regulation in the neoliberal NTE is frequently reduced to punitive policing. However, the local police forces are incapable of dealing with the rapidly expanding designated zones of liminality. The market, in response, frequently adopts two distinct mechanisms to protect business interests (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). Firstly, the adaptive neoliberal policy of the Business Improvement District (BID) which is private-public partnership between businesses in the city centre and the local government is introduced. This is investigated by Shaw (2013) and Roberts (2009). Originally used as a policy tool in Canada (Roberts, 2009), BIDs have quickly become the neoliberal policy adaption for city centres where the consequences of deregulated services such as crime have begun affecting the profit margins of businesses (Shaw, 2013). Thus, they are concerned with the promotion of business interests. They assist local municipalities with the provision of certain services because deregulation strips local governments of their capacity to continue to provide these services at the required standard desired by these business interests. BIDs have drawn strong criticism, being accused of the exclusion of the homeless and other marginalised groups from the city centre, especially since BIDS are

explicitly involved in the gentrification of public space (Roberts, 2013) as they attempt to create an environment which attracts the desired consumer subjectivities (Shaw, 2013). Secondly, the market introduces its own security personnel in the form of bouncers. This is investigated extensively by Hobbs et al (2005) who discuss how the market domination of the night becomes final when commercial security agencies act as the dominant providers of social order. In this regard, bouncers are the “gatekeepers of the liminal zone” (Hobbs et al, p169 | 2005).

2.3.3 Take back the Night: Events and the Night-Time Economy

In further attempts to revitalise city centres and as a response to the exclusionary effects of the dominance of the alco-leisure industry, local governments have promoted the rise of branded, night-time cultural events, such as *Nuit Blanche* (White Night) and *First Thursdays* (Evans, 2012). The concept of all-night cultural events focusing on the cultural assets that cities possess is investigated by Evans (2012) and Jiwa et al (2009). These events usually involve art galleries and museums opening late into the night with their entrance fees waived, as well as public art displays, special lighting events, music and other activities. Evans focuses on the importance that these cultural events have in re-introducing a wider demographic to the NTE, providing an alternative to the exclusionary activities of youth drinking practices. Jiwa et al (2009) speak of the importance of participation in cultural activities which helps foster community relations, adding to their standard of living and helping to construct more sustainable communities - culture can be used to nurture social cohesion. Evans (2013) does remark that these branded, place-marketing initiatives can lead to the further serialisation and commodification of city spaces.

2.4 What is missing from the literature?

The literature on NTEs and the 24 hour city concept is still very new - approximately 20 years old - resulting in much unexplored academic territory. As previously mentioned, the major constraint on contemporary NTE research is its predominantly focus on British cases (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009); and as Chew (2010) notes, it is not academically sound to draw parallels from the conclusions of English NTE research with other NTEs, which are controlled by many different variables. Therefore, noting how much socio-economic and environmental factors differ between the UK and the rest of the world, especially the global south, it is apparent that extensive research on the NTE of developing countries is urgently needed, precisely because the nurturing of a vibrant and diverse NTE can provide a critical platform to foster social sustainability and economic growth.

There are also large gaps in the literature reviewing British NTE. Jayne et al (2006) argue that the relationship between drinking, drunkenness and urban public space is under-theorised, leading to the overemphasis placed on the creation of homogeneous urban playscapes dominated by the alco-leisure industry. Rowe and Bavinton (2011) argue that some method of cultural disaggregation is necessary to present a means of understanding cultural complexity, which they argue is an important factor in understanding the transgressions associated with mass alcohol consumption.

Chew (2010) expresses some surprise when he exclaims that the relationship between the NTE and urban tourism is almost non-existent in international scholarship. This certainly constitutes a huge gap in the literature that must be explored in order to understand the impact tourism can have on the NTE. Some

research by Roberts and Eldridge (2009) does examine the concept of 'party cities', when cities are marketed for their designated liminal zones, especially with regard to stag and hen parties. However, this does not address the more nuanced effects of urban night-time tourism.

Lastly, the lived experiences of the night-time denizens, who through their regular night-time activities shape the NTE, is a greatly neglected field of study (Yeo and Heng). Yeo and Heng (2013) investigate urban informality and how the seemingly banal and insignificant routines of everyday users of the night-time city have great magnitude in shaping social life and public space after dark.

2.5 The justification for my research

This literature review has made it clear that in depth research into the NTE of Cape Town should be conducted in order to determine the impact which the alco-leisure industry has, and to ascertain if, as indicated from the UK, its dominance and subsequent exclusionary effects on the city centre after dark, are present in Cape Town. As Roberts and Eldridge (2009) meticulously document, the rise of the neoliberal agenda positively correlates with, and has been indicated to cause, the creation of homogenous urban landscapes which in the NTE manifest into the mono-use, youth-dominated urban playscapes. This, in turn, creates designated liminal zones where consumers are engaged in the mass consumption of alcohol, leading to ultimately leads to transgression, anti-social behaviour and violence. The exclusionary impact generated from this dominance of a youth culture perpetually 'in drink' creates a NTE that is neither diverse nor vibrant, and although it may be profitable, it certainly leaves a sour taste for planners' rueing what could have been had the 24-h city policies delivered their desired effects. It is

then, my responsible duty - as a study of urban systems - to uncover the effects, if any at all, of the neoliberal agenda on the NTE in Cape Town.

2.6 Conclusion

This section has provided a detailed review of the literature exploring the 24-h city concept and the NTE, describing their evolution and the relation these concepts have had with the rise and adoption of neoliberalism. The focus of this work has had to be limited to research conducted in the UK, as this is where the majority of investigations into the NTE have taken place. The review has allowed me to engage with the theory necessary to undertake the research outlined in the methodology which is discussed in the following chapter.



03 : METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the methodology used in this research. The investigation into the current state of Cape Town's NTE requires that a spatialized component. Figure 1, in chapter 1, shows the site area which is located at the top of Long Street down to its intersection with Wale Street. The case study has been adopted as the appropriate research method for this study as it has been widely employed in similar empirical studies undertaken by academics (Roberts and Turner, 2005 ; Yeo and Heng, 2013) in this field.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques have been used to add detail and richness to the data.

The quantitative evidence has been derived from mapping the NTE in the study area, counting the number of premises operating in it and determining their activities and their relation to the NTE. This focuses strongly on the identification and categorisation of the alco-leisure industry in order to develop a better understanding of its spatial impact and also of the different types of establishments present in this industry.

The qualitative element, forming the larger component of the research, utilises three research techniques:

- interviews with a variety of stakeholders who have an interest in the NTE of Cape Town
- observations presented in the form of a photo essay which capture the essence of the NTE
- applying infield observations to understand better the concomitant social relations

The qualitative methodology employed will be further discussed to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of

the case study method and to examine the adequacy of the eventual recommendations. The chosen research techniques will also be investigated to discern the accuracy of the findings presented and the legitimacy of the final recommendations. Following this, the chapter explores the methods used by Roberts and Turner's (2005) investigation into the conflicts of liveability in London's Soho area over 48 hours, and Yeo and Heng's (2013) study of the NTE in the neighbourhood of Toa Payoh Central in Singapore. Both these studies make use of the case study method to generate empirical evidence and employ similar techniques to those presented in this chapter. Lastly, after exploring the process of data analysis, the ethical precautions taken will be discussed briefly.

3.2 The Case Study Method

The case study method is the appropriate research tool to evaluate the NTE in Cape Town, because it allows the researcher to gain an in-depth and real-life context of the phenomenon under investigation – the proliferation of youth-centred drinking venues creating an exclusionary NTE. Research into using the case study method to conduct academically rigorous investigations has prompted a review of the works of Yin (2004) and Flyvbjerg (2011), both of whom are in agreement on the major advantage of the case study method – its ability to gain an in-depth view into the real-life context - adding richness and completeness. The choice of this method is strongly reinforced in the works of these two authors. They are used to discuss the strengths, weaknesses and misunderstanding regarding this method of research.

Yin (2004) suggests that a screening process be conducted on the potential case prior to its final selection to ensure that the case does indeed contain the data relevant to the hypothesis. Screening for the

Long Street case has been conducted by the author over numerous years of active participation in the NTE present in the site area.

The definition of a case study is open to various interpretations, however Flyvbjerg (p301 | 2011) opts for the following: "A case study is an intensive analysis of an individual unit stressing developmental factors in relation to environment". He then dissects this definition:

- the 'individual unit' is a reference to a bounded system, thus requiring boundaries which - which is this case are constituted by the spatial confines of Long Street to its intersection with Wale Street
- the 'intensive analysis' highlights the in-depth and rich nature of the data recorded and presented
- the 'developmental factors' points to the fact that the study evolves over time as a string of interrelated events - as the photo essay presented captures the NTE in the study area over a weekend
- 'relation to environment' refers to context of the case, and thus the NTE of Cape Town.

The case study method is an ideal tool for answering the questions of how and why the NTE in Cape Town developed into its contemporary state, because it produces a first-hand understanding of the phenomenon under review. Yin (2004) describes the basic steps in designing a case study. The initial step is to define the case - which was done during the initial proposal - and by the virtue of the case study method was redefined after reviewing the literature more extensively. The following step is to decide whether a single or multiple case study are required. A single case study was employed here because it requires the researcher to engage very deeply with the material. Objections have been raised to this choice because of

its apparent inferiority to multiple cases, since these supposedly provide a greater overview of the phenomenon under investigation, and a greater ability to make generalisations. However, this criticism is misguided as even single case studies can be matched with various other similar studies with ideas and evidence linked in many different ways (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

3.2.1 Potential Limitations of the Case Study Method

In adopting theory derived largely from British case studies, there was concern over the legitimacy of transferring the conclusions and generalisations presented in global north cases to the global south. This again raises the question of generalisability from the case study method. There has been much academic furore over the apparent value of qualitative studies such as case studies and the ability of case studies to produce generalised theory which can be applied to cases across the board. In a discussion of misunderstanding about case study methods Flyvbjerg (2011) explores five major corrections that he makes to the misguided criticisms.

The first misunderstanding and subsequent correction stems from the scholarly mistrust of concrete case knowledge as inferior to general theoretical knowledge. However, within the field of the social sciences there exists only context-dependent knowledge, thus removing the possibility for this academic field to recreate the generalised 'hard' theory so highly regarded in more analytic disciplines. Furthermore it is understood by academics that to reach an expert level of understanding one must move from rule-based theories guiding beginners towards context-specific case knowledge which is central to human learning and is the hallmark of a virtuoso expert. Human behaviour cannot be understood as simple rule-governed acts,

and, since social science has not succeeded in producing any general context-independent theory, it can therefore only offer context-dependent knowledge. Thus, concrete context-dependent knowledge has value and the futile quest for predictive theories and universals in social science can be viewed as misplaced academic insecurity (ibid).

Secondly, the illogical notion that one can not generalise from a single case study - implying that it cannot add to scientific development - has been proficiently debunked by Flyvbjerg. He does this by using the example of the critical case of Galileo disproving Aristotle's theory of gravity by conducting a single experiment which changed the course of science (see Flyvbjerg, p304 | 2011). Thus, the strategic choice of a case can drastically improve the generalisability of a case study. This is what has been attempted by selecting Long Street as the case study, because evidence strongly suggests that it's a critical case, having strategic importance in relation to the NTE in Cape Town.

Formal generalisation is also overrated as the primary measurement of scientific progress, and, as discussed above, it cannot always be achieved in social science, so that case studies must perforce encourage the knowledge accumulation process. If universal theory existed in social sciences, then case studies would certainly be used to test them. Therefore, single case studies can be used to form strategic generalisations central to scientific development. However, generalisation is overvalued and the transferability of case studies as well as the 'force of example' is undervalued (ibid).

Thirdly, Flyvbjerg contests the conception that case studies can only be used to generate hypotheses - not

to test them. This misunderstanding is seemingly derived from the previous misunderstanding about the generalisability of case studies. As that was discredited it now stands that case studies can be used both for generalising and hypothesis testing. This can be further explained by choosing critical cases which are known to be richer in information than average cases, and thus allow for a deeper understanding of the causes behind the given problem and their consequences rather than aiming at uncovering mere symptoms and frequency patterns. Critical cases are defined by their strategic relation to the general problem, and as mentioned before, help with generalisability as they allow a measure of falsification or verification via the 'most likely' or 'least likely' respective outcomes. They allow for the logical deduction of whether the outcome is (not) valid for this case, and then outcome does (not) apply for all cases (ibid).

Therefore, Long Street was selected as a critical case because of its strategic relation to the general problem which was identified in the hypothesis as: The NTE in Cape Town is becoming increasingly dominated by the alco-leisure industry and this creates homogenous, youth-dominated, urban playscapes which are exclusionary to the broader community; and also because it is rich in information which is a crucial aspect of a critical case. This case study has sought to test the hypothesis against falsification and has asked the question of 'most likely' - aiming to verify the hypothesis for all cases, rather than disprove it in a 'least likely' scenario. Both are equally sound academically.

The fourth misunderstanding and one of the perceived weaknesses of the case study method is the idea that researchers have a bias towards verification, so that their conclusions are scientifically unconvincing. This

stems from the assumption that qualitative data does not provide the same rigorous scientific conclusions as quantitative data. However, case studies provide their own rigour of equal academic standing by allowing researchers to close in on real-life situations and test assumptions directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice. In reviewing case study research, Flyvbjerg (2011) claims that researchers are more likely to report that preconceived notions and assumptions were incorrect which then allows them to either disprove or revise their hypotheses. This being the case, it is indeed falsification which characterises the case study method and not verification. Additionally, factors of bias and subjectivism appear not only in case studies but are endemic to all research methods. Thus, case studies involve no more bias for verification than any other method of inquiry, and indeed case study researchers are more likely to cast off any preconceived notions which are disproved, leaning towards falsification of hypotheses rather than verification (ibid).

Finally, there is the narrative fallacy which infers that case studies are poor resources since they are hard to summarise and cumbersome when trying to develop general propositions and theory on the basis of a single case study. The narrative fallacy is a researcher's human inclination to summarise data and present it in an over-interpreted way which betrays a preference for creating compact stories instead of presenting complex data sets. However, case study researchers prefer a dense narrative as it is usually a sign of depth and richness of information as this proves more valuable to social theory than factual findings or high-level generalisations. It is recommended that researchers leave cases open, exploring narratives in their complete diversity, allowing stories to unfold from their complex - and sometimes conflicting - many-sided sources. This

stems from the understanding previously mentioned, that expertise is only gained once one moves up from reduced formulae which characterise theory towards an intimate understanding of many cases, allowing them to use a more nuanced approach to understanding phenomena, rather than simply reducing them into formulae (ibid).

Flyvbjerg (p312 | 2011) expresses this aptly saying: "Narrative inquiries do not –indeed cannot – start from explicit theoretical assumptions. Instead they begin with an interest in a particular phenomenon that is best understood narratively. They then develop descriptions and interpretations of the phenomenon from the perspective of participants, researchers and others."

Therefore, while it is correct to suggest that case studies are hard to summarise, the recommendation from social scientists is that they should not be summarised or generalised and instead should be utilised in their entirety (ibid). Consequently, this is what the author has attempted in this case study by presenting the data in its entirety with as little interpretation or over-simplification as possible so that the reader is independently able to clarify his interpretation of the data as correct (Yin, 2004).

There are more obvious weaknesses in using qualitative data, however these stem from the lack of statistical inference that can be achieved. Case studies generally produce a weak understanding of incidence in the population of the phenomena being reviewed as well as unknown or unclear statistical significance levels (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

3.3 Research Techniques

Multiple research techniques have been selected, both quantitative and qualitative, as is in accordance with

the case study method. The qualitative techniques to be discussing are interviews and observations. In using a variety of research techniques, it their aim to be able to triangulate and establish converging lines of evidence in the data in an attempt to present the most robust findings by linking independent sources to point towards the same conclusions (Yin, 2004).

3.3.1 Interviews

The bulk of the research was undertaken by conducting 16 interviews with stakeholders who have a direct and/or indirect involvement in the development of the NTE - with varied insights into participation, infrastructure, policy, legislation and statistics. There are many types of interviews, such as phone interviews and text-based interviews. However, it was decided that face-to face interviews would be most suitable, since these personal interactions allow for the acquisition of the deep insights necessary in capturing, as accurately as possible, the phenomena under investigation. These personal interviews adopted a semi-structured format so that the discussions could be guided by certain specific questions, but were not constrained by only wanting to ask certain predetermined questions.

The people interviewed included: active participants in the NTE on Long Street– Julian and Stuart; a former resident – Luana; Muslim non-drinkers participating in the NTE – Aisha and Hafeeza; a current resident – Nina; a senior researcher at the African Centre for Cities specialising in the informal economy – Caroline Skinner; the founder and head of Open Streets Cape Town – Marcela Casas; a previous employee of the Cape Town Partnership and current employee of the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership – Jodi Allemeier; the senior researcher at the Cape Town Partnership – Andrew Fleming; current ward councillor of the site area - Dave Bryant; former ward councillor for the site

area – Belinda Walker; the co-founder of First Thursdays – Gareth Pearson; project manager at the Safety Lab and current resident – Alex Jongens; the imam at the Palm Tree Mosque and current resident – Feroek Kamalie; and the communications and marketing manager of the Cape Town Partnership - Carola Koblitz. The range of interviewees may appear eclectic, however they were in fact carefully selected so that specific stakeholders with critical understanding of the NTE in Long Street and its many layers could be included. It is important to note that a stakeholder representing the alco-leisure industry was sought without success. These interviews provide the research with qualitative substance, and were employed to answer the research questions. The process of interviewing allows the researcher and interviewee to co-construct data (Roulston et al, 2003).

The art of conducting a good interview is a complex process. Emphasis was placed on important elements which shape a good interview such as deep, active and meaningful listening - as stressed by Roulston et al (2003). Great effort must go into ensuring that the participant is relaxed. Interviewees who are not comfortable are more likely to answer questions quickly and less likely to open up. Engaging in a friendly manner and allowing the interviewee to speak their mind, even if they were not directly answering the questions - is important in the process of making them feel at ease and in control. Participants open up because of the level of trust established. Thus, building a rapport with participants allows the researcher to gain a deeper insight as well as richer descriptions of the case under investigation.

A list of interview questions are attached in appendix 3. Because of the nature of the study all participants were asked the same general questions pertaining to the NTE

- as well as specific questions for particular interviewees to ascertain data relating to their area of interest in the NTE.

3.3.2 Observations

A photo essay was made of images capturing the night-time activity over the first weekend of October (the 3rd and the 4th). This was done in order to gather the infield data necessary for the research to capture the phenomenon of the NTE as accurately as was possible. Strong primary data collected on site capturing the impact of the alco-leisure industry in the public realm was required to test objectively the inclusivity and social sustainability of the NTE in Long Street. The outputs from this exercise add significantly to the weighting of the conclusion of Long Street as an exclusionary night-time environment.

A photo essay was selected as the appropriate observation technique as it provided the data output necessary to represent visually the essence of the NTE in Long Street in an efficient and accessible way. This technique was selected when brainstorming possible means of visually presenting to the reader the *genius loci** of the site area in an attempt to capture data related to testing the hypothesis regarding the exclusionary nature of the NTE. Initially, it had been planned to produce a time-lapse video detailing the NTE over the weekend. However, due to safety concerns, cost implications and filming permits problems, it was deemed not feasible. Therefore, the photo essay attempts to draw on the concept of time-lapse footage by presenting images at different times from the same locations along Long Street over the course of a single weekend. This meant that comparisons between times can be more rigorously displayed. Presenting a visual catalogue like this allows the reader to observe the data in a straightforward

manner minimizing the risk of bias or over-interpretation of the evidence on the part of the author.

In addition to the photo essay, infield observations were recorded on the same weekend. These further enhance the depth and richness of the data collected so that the most rigorous case can be composed. The infield observations add extra detail such as captions for the photo essay.

Measurements were taken of noise levels at specific points and times along Long Street. This was done in order to gain an understanding of noise pollution emanating from the site which can subsequently be used to understand the residential appropriateness of the area. This idea is borrowed from Roberts and Turner's (2004) study which is discussed below in section 3.4.

3.3.3 Regulatory Review

A review of the legislation pertinent to the Long Street NTE was reviewed. This provides a good grasp of the legal statutes protecting residential and community rights from the specific negative externalities of the NTE; such as noise, nuisances and anti-social behaviour. Included in the review are the criteria set out by which liquor licenses are awarded, as well as a brief summary of the regulations relating to informal trade. It also sets out a framework of legal parameters within which recommendations can be suggested.

3.4 Comparison of Methodologies Used in Global Research on the NTE

The prolific urbanist Jane Jacobs documented life in her own street over 24 hours:

“The way to get at what goes on in the seemingly

mysterious and perverse behaviour of cities is, I think, to look closely, and with as little expectation as possible, at the most ordinary scenes and events, and attempt to see what they mean” (Roberts and Turner, p175|2005)

Roberts and Turner’s (2005) study sought to imitate Jacobs’s own studies of her street which she described as a ‘street theatre’ - using film and time-lapse photography in order to study human behaviour. This investigation into the liveability of London’s Soho district over a period of 48 hours provided me with great theoretical insight as well as an insight into a case study which draws strongly on both qualitative and quantitative data to produce very convincing outcomes regarding the effect of a NTE dominated by the alcohol-leisure industry. This case was chosen because Soho was the first neighbourhood to operate as a ‘successful’ 24 hour area. The study was designed to observe the causes of residents complaints about noise, crowding, traffic, and anti-social behaviour, and attempted to discern whether there were specific groups causing the disturbances or whether it was the general pattern of activity which produced these negative externalities of a 24 hour district.

The video recording technique used in this case was run through computer programmes to determine valuable quantitative data such as pedestrian densities and traffic levels. A decibel meter was also used to measure and record noise levels. Qualitative data in the form of interviews and observations taken from the video recording served as alternative data sets with which to test the quantitative findings as parallels between the evidence sets were sought. This triangulation technique proved very successful, making for rigorous empirical evidence, ultimately leading to academically sound conclusions and justified recommendations.

This case made clear the methodology being used by UK planners to observe and investigate the NTE. It gave an example of how much rich content could be gained from 48 hours of observation. This was the inspiration for the current Cape Town study with the site being observed over the temporal scale of a weekend. Note that the prudent use of quantitative data in Roberts and Turner’s (2005) study is a good example of how mixed data analysis can display even greater scientific rigour.

Yeo and Heng (2013) conducted their case study on the Toa Payoh Central neighbourhood in Singapore which boasts a healthy, inclusive and diverse NTE. Their study took a ‘view from below’ perspective allowing them to observe closely and in depth the activity taking place which led them to become acutely aware of the nuances of their site area. The research techniques adopted in their case were: *flânerie* (aimless, idle behaviour: the act of strolling), photography and narration (interviews). The combination of these techniques gave them a means to embody the role of the so called “walking methodologist”, traversing the city streets and engaging with the real lives of ordinary people, as well as participating in the phenomenon taking place. This study was conducted over 18 months with observations and interviews being conducted between 7pm and 12am, as well as time-lapse video recording capturing 96 hours of footage. The outcome of this was a montaged account detailing everyday urban nightlife.

This Singaporean study has strong parallels with the case presented. By using similar research methods of interviews and infield observations both studies were able to capture the essence or energy of the phenomenon under review. The images both studies

produced are, as Yeo and Heng (p717|2013) powerfully describe them: “aesthetic compositions of fleeting spatial and temporal realities that articulate our subjective encounters with the observed”.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data produced from each research technique, as well as quantitative data, have been analysed separately to minimise the chance of over-interpretation or bias. The data derived from the interviews have been analysed by a system of categorisation whereby interviewees’ responses were coded and grouped into different themes which arose from the literature review. These themes are: safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality, and potential. Interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed to ensure accuracy so that adequate attention and reflection can be made with reference to each statement, thereby ensuring the process of active listening. Transcription also allowed the researcher to code the data accurately into the themes outlined above, and their occurrence can be used in the triangulation process, as explained by Yin (2004) and outlined earlier in this section.

The observational data, in the form of the photo essay was analysed by simply observing the events unfolding in the sequence of pictures. This allows for conclusions to be formed about the phenomenon taking place over space and time. Infield observations, which were recorded by photographs and infield observations, assist in establishing a nuanced understanding of the NTE in Long Street. The amount of participation by the author in the activities taking place was limited to minimise the risk of bias and prevent misinterpretation. The noise levels were recorded over the course of the weekend with a decibel meter. These were analysed in accordance with the acceptable legal level of noise

outlined by the common law on nuisance.

By using a variety of research techniques it became possible to employ the analytical technique of pattern-matching when analysing the data. Thus the collected evidence can be matched with the stipulated pattern dictated by the theory and themes found in the literature review (Yin, 2004). This helps when attempting to make generalisations as it shows how the evidence relates to the theory, allowing for parallels between cases to be drawn.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

In conducting any research there are ethical considerations to consider. Qualitative research needs special consideration as you are directly engaging with people, thus ethical clearance was achieved via written consent prior to interview. The participants were asked to consent to being recorded, whether or not they would allow their names to be used and whether or not they could be quoted directly. It was made explicitly clear to each interviewee that they could stop the interview at any time. If they felt that their contribution should not be included then it would be omitted, especially if they felt that the use of their interview would discredit or defame them in anyway. These consent forms can be found in appendix 2.

3.6 Conclusion

This section has described the methodology used in the research on the NTE present in Long Street, Cape Town. It outlines and explains the use of the case study method to answer my research question, detailing this method's perceived strengths and limitations. The research techniques of interviews and observations are explained along with examples of other case studies investigating the NTE. Ethical considerations are duly discussed.

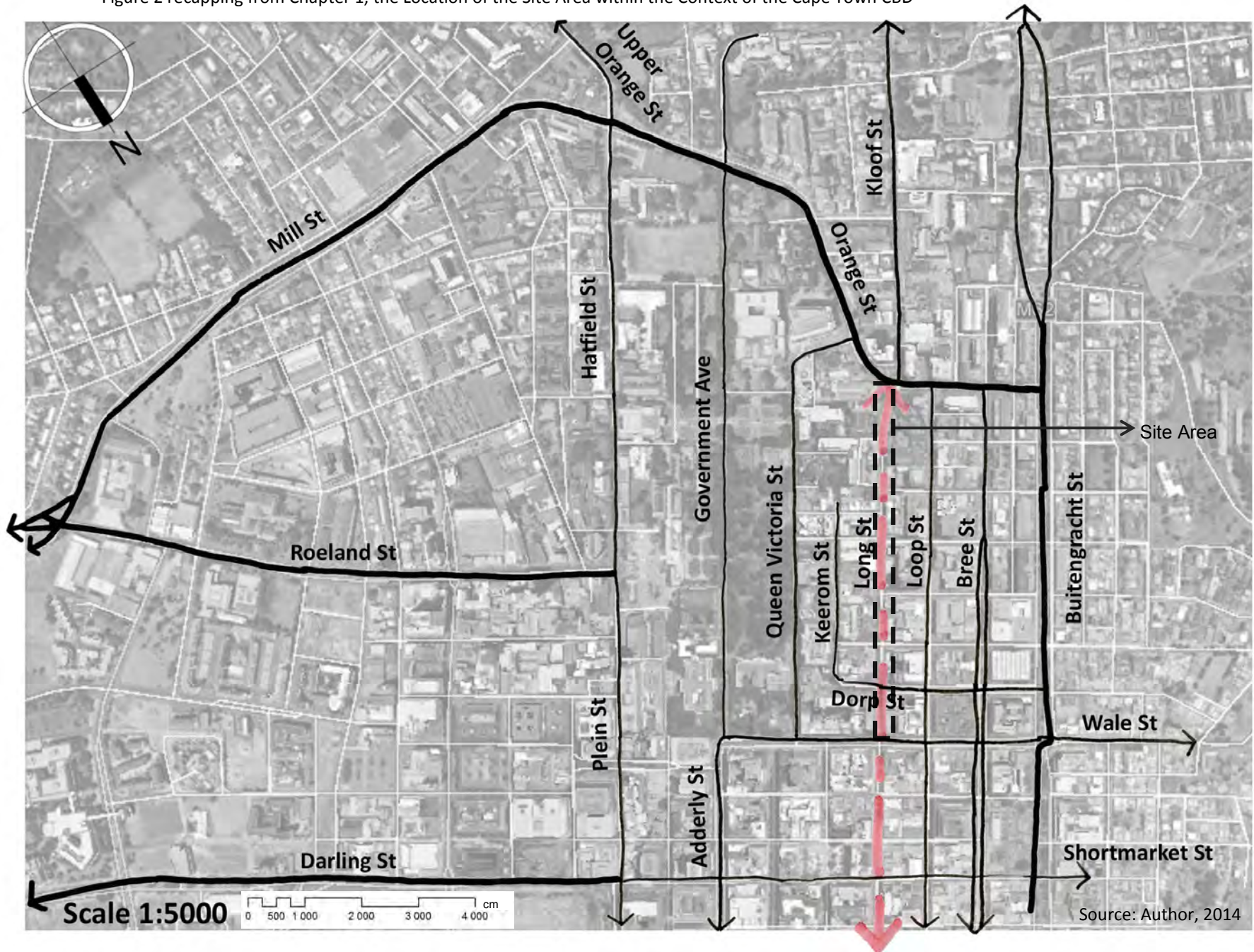
The next chapter presents a contextual analysis of Long Street.

*the unique 'spirit of a place' or 'sense of place' found in the site area



04 : CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Figure 2 recapping from Chapter 1, the Location of the Site Area within the Context of the Cape Town CBD



4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the context of the case study, exploring its history as well as the institutional framework in which it exists and the municipal regulations key to understanding the NTE. It then analyses the collected quantitative and qualitative data in order to draw conclusions about whether or not the NTE present on Long Street is inclusive of the broader Cape Town community. This will allow us to assess whether the NTE is socially sustainable in terms of the 24-h city ideal.

4.2 Conceptual Analysis of Long Street

The site area, as displayed in figure 2 on the previous page, runs from the top of Long Street till its intersection with Wale Street - half a kilometre in length. The site exists as the epicentre of Cape Town's NTE boasting a variety of bars, restaurants and nightclubs whose combination attracts revellers into the city at night. Historically, Long Street was a place distinguished by its lack of conformation to the norms of the ultra-conservative apartheid government (Tredoux and Dixon, 2009), and now - as investigation explores - a space that has now become a designated area of patterned liminality, where aggressive hedonism and transgressions are acted out. The next section aims to elaborate on the history of Long Street.

4.2.1 A Brief History of Long Street

Lawrence Green, a South African author who spent his childhood in Cape Town, describes Long Street in the 1920s as: "a place of free music entertainment, comic papers, doughnuts, sweets and the call of the waterfront" (Högdahl, p86 | 2006). During the 1960's, coinciding with the counterculture revolution taking place in the US, Long Street became a popular hangout for alternative (mostly white) youths. The mood of the street at this time was imbued with anti-apartheid

undertones. It also boasted a strong Muslim community, with the Dorp Street and Palm Tree Mosques situated in Long Street. Black and coloured people lost their rights to live in Long Street, following the enforcement of the Group Areas Act in the early 60's. These groups were supposed to have vacated the area by 6pm; however, Long Street became an informally designated grey zone, where these rules could be flouted (Tredoux and Dixon, 2009).

The architecture in Long Street is a mix of old Victorian buildings dating back as far as the 1700's, and newer modern buildings representative of Cape Revival, modernist, art deco and art nouveau styles. There are also certain Cape Dutch elements present such as large wooden doors and wooden flooring. The architectural rhetoric of the Victorian era, with cornices, parapets and iron-casted second-floor verandas, make the street very pleasant for the pedestrian (Rennie, 1978). Verandas give shade and the big windows of shops and restaurants along the street allow for an active edge, enabling a semi-public domain, so that the pedestrian is not isolated on the pavement.

The street is approximately 11m wide, making it narrower than Loop Street (13m) and Bree Street (20m), which are the streets running parallel to Long Street, and can be located in figure 2 on the previous page. The city-block size in the central city is 60m². The site area also displays this traditional footprint that allows permeability and ease of movement for pedestrians - characteristic of a more fine-grained urban fabric.

Image 1 showing the Victorian Architecture in Long Street



Source: Author, 2014

Image 2 showing the Contemporary Architecture in Long Street



Source: Author, 2014

During the 1980's and 1990's, Long Street, along with the rest of the central city, suffered from capital flight to the periphery where land was cheaper and considered safer. Buildings in the CBD had become dilapidated and had left the inner city in a state of general squalor. Media at the time painted the picture of the collapse of policing and cleansing in the CBD (Pirie, 2007). Pavements were said to have become overrun with the homeless and informal traders, while streets were jam-packed with lawless traffic. The vandalism of property, both public and private, was routinely reported. On Long Street, Senator Park - located on the corner of Green and Long Streets - which had been constructed in the early 1970's to provide low-cost long-term housing, had become the city's sole multi-storey slum' (Pirie, 2007). To address the plummeting property values, businesses, property owners and local government coordinated the creation of a City Improvement District in the central city (Pirie, 2007).

Formed in 1999, the Cape Town Partnership was to oversee the transformation of the crime and grime that characterised the CBD into an attractive city centre boasting efficient civic management and a high rates base. Thus, the Partnership was, and remains, a shadow of local government, providing essential services such as security and cleaning, as well as managing public space (Pirie, 2007). The City Partnership will be further discussed in the following section. For the conceptual context of Long Street it is important to understand that as the central city came back into prominence as a place to live, work and play, Long Street with it, was transformed into its contemporary state.

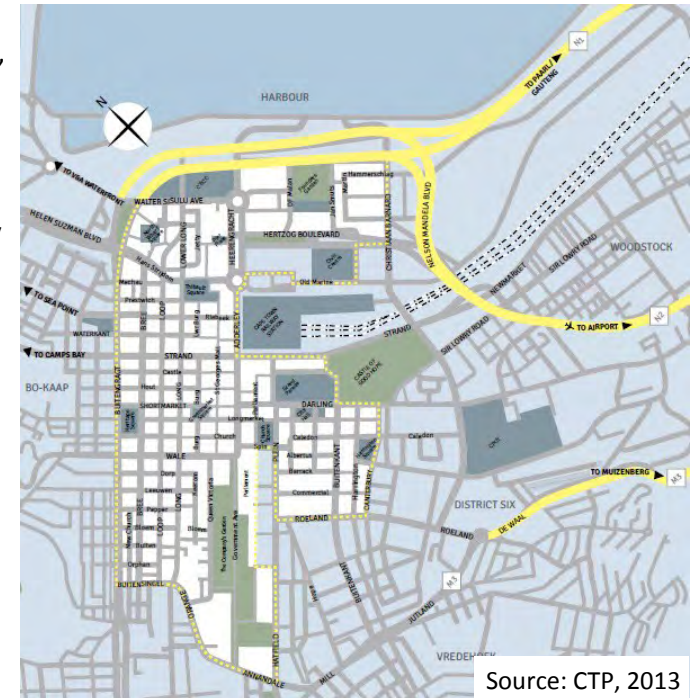
4.3 A Brief Review of the Institutional Framework of Cape Town and the Central City

Cape Town's institutional framework has changed

significantly from the era of racial-welfare-based post-Apartheid ANC government into that of a neo-liberalist one focusing strongly on entrepreneurship. Broadly put, the transformation, as described by Watson (p1 | 2002) and quoted in McDonald (p130 | 2008), was: "from urban policy based on integration and redistribution to 'global positioning' and 'entrepreneurial' government". Thus, the local municipality - currently administrated by the Democratic Alliance (DA) - has become mainly concerned with punting Cape Town in the global marketplace as a lucrative place for investment. This is highlighted in the current political rhetoric, with Cape Town being touted as a 'World City' (McDonald, 2008) and Cape Town named 'World Design Capital' 2014.

A central component of neoliberal policy reform is the decentralisation of governmental powers, and the privatization of services. In the transformation from the previous governing ideology toward a neoliberal one, the phases of roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism are manifest. Firstly, during the roll-back phase of neoliberal reform in Cape Town, there was a dismantling of the traditional governmental structures through decentralisation, leading to reductions in public expenditure with the shrinking of public employment. The roll-out phase was initiated to mitigate the negative effects of the roll-back phase that was implicated in creating the crime and grime which characterised Cape Town's central city in the 1990's. Subsequently, the creation of public-private partnerships was rolled out, and the Cape Town Partnership was founded in 1999. This public-private entity, with its interest firmly vested in securing higher property values and attracting investment in the pursuit of capital growth, undertook the task of providing civic services in light of governmental inefficiencies caused directly by neoliberal reforms (McDonald, 2008).

Figure 3 showing the operational area of the CCID



The Central City Improvement District (CCID) was created in 2000 as the implementation arm of the Partnership. Figure 3 shows the delineated area in which the Cape Town Partnership, through the CCID, aims to enhance and supplement municipal services produced by the City, to facilitate investment, and to help council fulfil its developmental duties. Essentially, this translates to the *de facto* scenario whereby the interests of business are now directly dictating the developmental course of the central city into a 'World Class' investment node, potentially catering exclusively for the interests of the elite (Pirie, 2007). This becomes important in terms of the development of the NTE. For the neoliberal 'World City' pundits, it is essential that the city possess a thriving NTE so it can compete globally to attract the footloose service-sector labour and entrepreneurs who form the basis of a knowledge-

economy (Hobbs et al, 2005). Thus, it must be considered that the NTE present in Long Street is indirectly or directly supported by the City Partnership. This is precisely what happened when British NTEs were allowed to develop into alcohol dominated homogenized urban playscapes under the fog of city boosterism (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009) - as described in the literature review. This may indeed be the case in Long Street, however, the research does not aim to investigate this directly.

As mentioned, the City Partnership can be critiqued for serving the interests of the middle and upper classes. It possesses powerful tools to reconstruct the public spaces of the central city under the premise of moulding the CBD into the heart of a world class city (McDonald, 2008). Unfortunately, this can result in potentially exclusionary scenarios, as less desirable elements of central city living such as the homeless, car-guards, street children and people who generally do not suit the specified vision of the city are subject to marginalisation. This specific potentially exclusionary effect could be transferred into the NTE, but is not the focus of this investigation.

4.4 Regulatory Review

Regulations - local legislation in the form of by-laws, local ordinances and policy - are critical in understanding the current nature of the NTE, as well as helping to identify the complex balance between residential and entertainment uses. The by-laws of particular importance to this research relate to noise and nuisances, liquor-license regulations, and informal trade. The following brief outline of these regulations will foster a deeper understanding of the legal parameters in the NTE.

4.4.1 Noise and Nuisance Regulation

The regulation of noise and nuisances, specifically relating to the NTE, is covered in the National Liquor Act 59 of 2003 and the By-Law Relating to Streets, Public Places and the Prevention of Noise Nuisances of 2007.

The National Liquor Act of 2003 makes provisions for people's rights to reasonable noise levels to be upheld - referring specifically from noise generated from on-site consumption sites, such as a restaurant, bar or nightclub. It states that establishments with liquor licenses shall take all reasonable steps to ensure that the noise emanating from any such establishment should remain within its walls. It states that loitering outside establishments is prohibited, as well as that the owner of any on-site consumption establishment is responsible for ensuring that no litter accumulates directly outside the premises. All sales and consumption of alcohol are also confined to the premises. The Act also puts forward the following standards for establishments: must provide free-issue condoms, must provide free drinking water, must provide ablution facilities, and should have safety and evacuation measures (RSA, 2003).

The By-Law of 2007 sets a more rigorous framework directly dealing with noise and nuisance in public spaces. The nuisance described in this by-law is comparable to the anti-social behaviour discussed in the literature review. Section 3 of the By-Law is critical to regulating the NTE, stating:

No person shall in a public place—

(a) cause or permit to be caused a disturbance by shouting, screaming or making any other loud or persistent noise or sound, including amplified noise or sound; or

(b) permit noise from a private residence or business to be audible in a public place, except for the purposes of loudspeaker announcements for public meetings or due to the actions of street entertainers.
(CoCT, p5 | 007)

Thus the legal parameters of noise regulation regarding people in public are very clear as to what is not permitted.

Section 2 of the By-Law also sets out a list of prohibited behaviours for people in public spaces. Of particular relevance to the NTE are:

- *use abusive or threatening language;*
- *fight or act in a physically threatening manner;*
- *urinate or defecate expect in a toilet;*
- *spit;*
- *perform any sexual act;*
- *solicit prostitution;*
- *consume any liquor or drugs;*
- *be drunk or under the influence of drugs;*
- *and beg from a person or closely follow a person after the person has given a negative response to such begging*

(CoCT, p4 | 2007)

The listed prohibited behaviours - all considered anti-social - can manifest in an NTE which has become dominated by the alco-leisure industry and has produced a designated space of patterned liminality.

4.4.2 Liquor License Regulation

The liquor license regulations most important to the NTE are concerned with trading hours as well as the granting of liquor licenses. The Liquor Act 59 of 2003 is the original legal document governing trading hours, but this has been amended by the Control of Undertakings that Sell Liquor to the Public By-Law of 2013. This recent amendment reduced trading hours to

2am on Fridays and Saturdays; this greatly affected the alco-leisure industry. However, establishments were allowed to apply for extended licenses that would push their trading hours to 4am. The acceptance of the application is subject to a number of conditions; of particular relevance to the NTE are the following:

- *the proximity of the licensed premises to surrounding residential zoned area, cultural, religious and educational facilities;*
- *outcome of community consultation and the recommendation of the relevant ward; the potential impact on the surrounding environment;*
- *whether it is in the public interest to approve and grant an extension of trading days or hours;*
- *or a motivation from the applicant dealing with the impact of – (i) the risks to and nuisances on the surrounding community; (ii) mitigation measures to assist the control of risks and nuisances; and (iii) possible benefits of extended liquor trading hours and days on the surrounding community.*

(CoCT, p8|2013)

Also in the 2013 By-Law is a clause on nuisance:

A licensee selling liquor to the public must take reasonable steps to ensure that the residents of the surrounding community are not unreasonably affected and inconvenienced by noise or other nuisances emanating from the premises.

(CoCT, p10|2013)

Thus, the liquor regulations seem to make it explicit that residential and community rights shall not be infringed upon by the alco-leisure industry. The granting of liquor licenses is further regulated by the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008. The Act mandates the creation of the Western Cape Liquor Board which is subsequently in charge of administering liquor license regulation in the province. The Act also

promulgates the creation of the Western Cape Liquor Tribunal. The criteria for granting a liquor licenses are as follows:

The Liquor Licensing Tribunal may not grant a licence, unless it is satisfied on a balance of probabilities that:

- (a) *the granting thereof is in the public interest;*
- (b) *the applicant is of good character, and not disqualified from holding a licence in terms of section 35;*
- (c) *the premises on which the sale or consumption of liquor will take place are or will upon completion be suitable for use by the applicant for the purposes of the licence;*
- (d) *the applicant has the right to occupy the proposed licensed premises; and*
- (e) *the granting of the application does not prejudice—(i) the residents of a residential area; (ii) the residents of an institution for the aged or frail; (iii) the learners of an educational institution who are under the age of eighteen (18) years; (iv) the patients of an institution for drug or alcohol related dependencies; or (v) the congregants of a religious institution located in the vicinity of the proposed licensed premises.*

(WP, p17|2008)

Therefore, there is congruity between the By-Law of 2013 and the provincial Liquor Act of 2008. Both seek to mitigate the nuisance caused to the surrounding community by the alco-leisure industry.

4.4.3 Informal Trade Regulation

Informal trading in Cape Town is regulated by the Informal Trading By-Law of 2009. It has since been amended in 2013. The By-Law explains that there is to be a round of public participation before trading bays are demarcated and allocated. This is done to ensure

that the surrounding community's rights are not infringed upon. The process followed requires the city to produce first a public notice requesting comments and objections, secondly to hold a public meeting with interested parties, and lastly, to consider all options prior to implementation of a trading plan. The regulation also sets out a framework for issuing permits which include that the applicant to pay a trading fee, an application fee and a fee to be determined by the city in its sole discretion in respect to the additional service costs incurred by the city (CoCT, 2009). Important aspects of the amendment of 2013 are that it allows for informal traders "and those desiring to become informal traders" (CoCT, p2|2013) to apply for permits, and that trading stands "producing foodstuffs much obtain a certificate of acceptability from the city" (CoCT, p4|2013). The By-Law is full of general prohibitions and restrictions on informal trading - which can be found in sections 11 and 12 of the Informal Trading By-Law of 2009 in appendix 4.

Cape Town's informal trading regulation is considered to be the most rigid of any South African city (Skinner, 2013). The By-Law appears to create a large barrier to entry for would-be informal traders. No mention of night-time trading is made in the By-Law, however, it does specifically state that no person shall stay overnight at a place where informal trading is conducted, and that carrying on business as an informal trader in any manner which creates a nuisance, damages or defaces a public road or public place or any other property belonging to the city, or creates a traffic hazard (CoCT, 2009). The intention of these regulations to protect the public and the city from the negative externalities that could occur is clear. However, this also limits the proliferation of informal trade and the positive effects it can bring, such as increased participation by lower income groups in the city centre

and an increased sense of inclusivity as informal trade attracts a diverse range of clientele (Yen and Heng, 2013).

4.5 Major Stakeholders and Emerging Actors in the NTE of Long Street

This chapter has already described the introduction of the Cape Town Partnership in 1999 and the subsequent creation of its implementation arm, the CCID in 2000. These two linked actors are major stakeholders in the NTE of the central city. The City of Cape Town is the other major stakeholder in the site area which is administrated under ward 77 and includes the Cape Town City Centre and its immediate surroundings. The ward councillor is Dave Bryant who has been interviewed with regards to this research. He has a critical role, facilitating debate amongst various emerging actors and stakeholders, as well as directly influencing the development and management of the NTE in the city centre and Long Street.

Emerging actors in the NTE of Long Street include the OnLong Business Association, the Long Street Residents Association (LSRA) and the religious institutions in the street.

The OnLong Business Association was first established in 2003. However, with the exception of two book shops, all the other businesses have re-located away from Long Street. The Beer House, a prominent establishment in the NTE of Long Street, has sought to re-establish the OnLong Business Association by hosting two workshops in March 2014 for businesses to meet and discuss the formal re-establishment of the association (Casas, 2014). The outcomes of these workshops are discussed in the next chapter.

The LSRA was formed in 2009 by residents, hotel

owners and religious practitioners and is administrated through their website (found at: <http://lsra.co.za/>). As of June 2012, they had 120 members. The LSRA's primary objective is to promote a balance between the interests of business, development and the wellbeing of the residential and religious components of the street. The website provides members with a platform on which they can voice their concerns as well as keeping up to date with the developments affecting them (LSRA, 2014). A former resident and two current residents were interviewed to understand better the relationship between the residents and the NTE, in addition to reviewing the information found on the LSRA's website. These are presented in the following chapter.

The religious institutions in the street include one church and two mosques. Although these actors' interests are expressed through the mandate of the LSRA, they do act independently in an attempt to secure the sanctity of their institutions in the midst of the negative externalities arising from the NTE in Long Street. The next chapter discusses these externalities in depth. To gain some insight into these actors the imam at the Palm Tree mosque, Faroek Kamalie, was interviewed and his opinions and thoughts are presented.

4.6 Conclusion

This section provided the contextual analysis of the site area, exploring its historical development and its regulating institutional framework. In doing so, this section has indirectly explored the enabling factors for the development of the contemporary NTE, the restrictive parameters steering the NTE along its current path and has also begun to introduce the major stakeholders as well as some emerging actors. The next chapter will present the research analysis and findings.



05 : RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the research and its findings.

The analysis begins on a broader scale discussing the results of secondary survey data and media reports regarding the NTE of Long Street before the focus narrows to discuss the primary research data. The latter includes a mapping exercise which highlights the dominance of the alco-leisure industry in the site area, the analysis and discussion of 16 interviews under the themes of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality, and potential, and the analysis of a time-lapse photo essay capturing the NTE of Long Street over an 'active' weekend. The results of the analysis of the various data sets will allow justified conclusions to be drawn regarding whether or not the NTE present on Long Street is inclusive of the broader Cape Town community. This will permit the assessment of whether the NTE is socially sustainable in terms of the 24-h city ideal.

5.2.1 2012 CCID User Survey Results

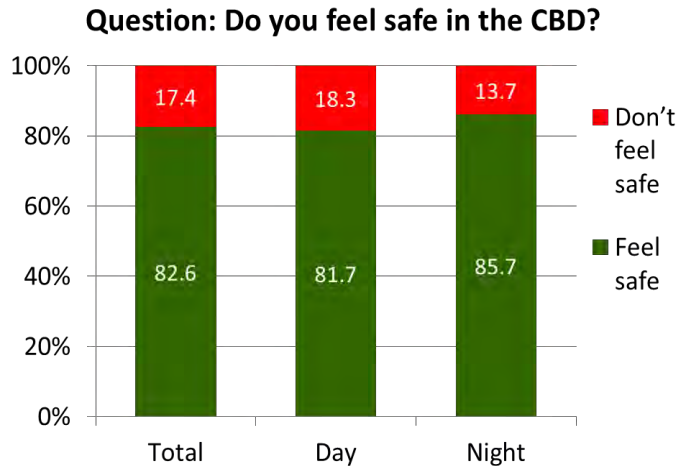
A 2012 survey conducted by the CCID into users of the CBD provided insight into how users feel about the city at night. There were a total of 1567 respondents to the survey and 293 of those were surveyed at night. The survey highlights: the perception of crime in the city centre at night is low at 13.8%; 78% of night-time users habitually make use of the NTE; 65.5% of respondents believe anti-social behaviour to be an issue; and 80.7% regard the night-life to be inclusive (CCID, 2012). These results are graphically represented and discussed below.

5.2.1.1 Perception of Safety in the CBD

From figure 4 we can determine that the levels of perceived safety in the CBD are high at 82.6%. This

perception of safety is even higher at night than during the day – 85.7% compared to 81.7% respectively. However, the sample size of daytime respondents is significantly higher with 1274 compared to 293. Thus, in 2012, survey results suggest that the majority of Capetonians feel safe moving around the city centre during the day and at night.

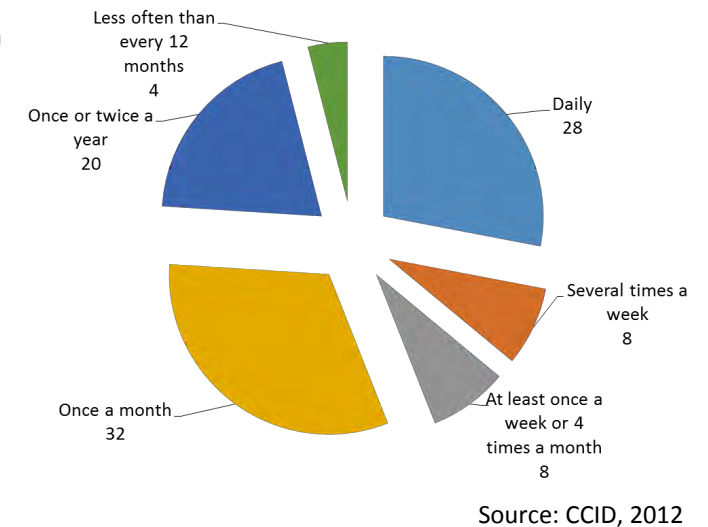
Figure 4 showing the Perception of Safety in the CBD



5.2.1.2 Frequency with which Participants Engage with the Entertainment and Retail Aspects of the NTE

From figure 5 we can determine that 28% of night-time respondents use the entertainment or retail components of the NTE nightly. 48% of these users visit of the NTE at least once a month, with 16% of these recording frequencies of at least once a week. 24% of night-time users rarely make use of the NTE. Therefore, we can determine that the NTE of the CBD has a fairly loyal patronage with 76% of users interacting economically with these components of the NTE at least once a month.

Figure 5 showing the Frequency whereby Entertainment and Retail Outlets are visited by Night-Time Users



5.2.1.3 General Perceptions about the CBD at Night

This section refers to figure 6 which can be found on the following page.

From figure 6 we can determine a number of important insights emerge regarding the CBD at night. 51.8% of people agreed that parking is generally easy to find at night. However, since 26.4% of people neither agreed nor disagreed and 21.8% of people disagreed it appears that opinion is divided on whether it is or isn't easy to find parking. The ambiguous 26.4% of people could rely on public transport and thus parking was not a relevant issue.

Anti-social behaviour is regarded as an issue by 65.5% of night-time respondents. This, however, provides no insight into the causes of anti-social behaviour, nor does it specifically implicate the alco-leisure industry or Long Street.

58.7% of respondents did not believe noise levels to be a problem in the CBD. This, however, does not specifically relate to Long Street. Hence, the majority of the CBD is regarded relatively quiet at night.

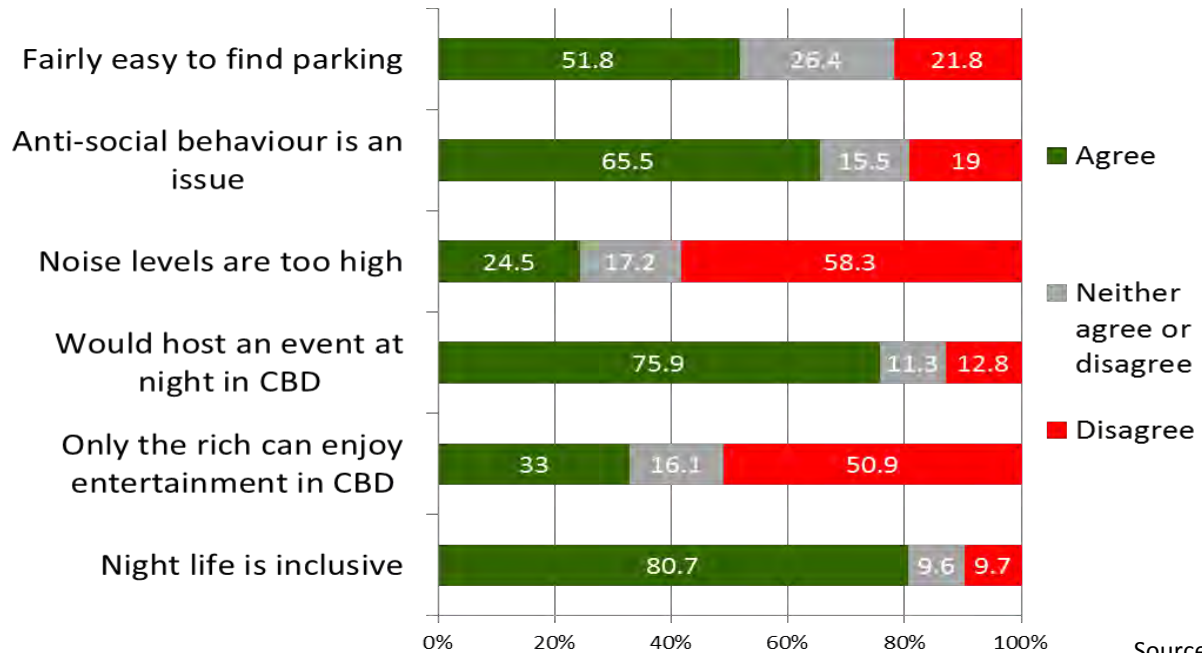
The large majority of respondents, 75.9%, would host an event in the CBD, indicating that the city centre is indeed a space which people feel is appropriate for hosting events.

The issue of inclusivity is dealt with in the last two rows of figure 6. Asked whether the city's entertainment options can only be enjoyed by the rich, 50.3% of respondents rejected this statement, 30.4% agreed and 16.1% were ambiguous. These responses reflect the diversity of entertainment options to different income groups, but does not provide any insight into the multiplicity of entertainment options available: i.e. there are many bars - some catering for the low other for the middle and also for the upper income brackets. 80.7% - the vast majority of respondents - believe the nightlife of the CBD to be inclusive. Although this number appears convincing, it is also misleading, as the data is representative of night-time respondents in the CBD as a whole - and as figure 5 showed, 76% of these particular users are active in the NTE. Whereas, people who feel excluded would have been unlikely to have been participants in the NTE or in this survey itself.

5.2.2 State of Cape Town: Central City Report

The 2013 report documenting the state of the CBD uses a variety of data sources, but relies heavily on the 2011 census data, as well as internal surveys conducted by the CCID. Accordingly, the report communicates the following useful statistics relevant to the NTE: 5286 people live in the CBD, which is a 300% increase from 2001; 350 000 people move through the CBD everyday; and 661 events were held in the CBD over a one-year

Figure 6 showing the General Perceptions about the CBD at Night



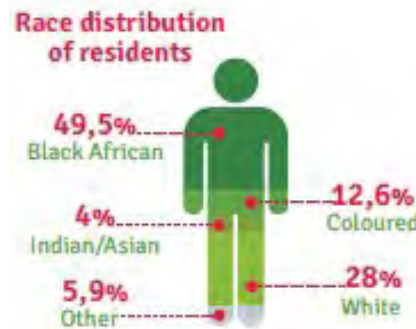
This data only includes night-time respondents (N = 293).

Source: CCID, 2012

period which equates to 13.5 million participants (CPT, 2013).

Figure 8 showing the Top 3 Reasons for Living in the CBD

Figure 7 showing the Race Distribution of Residents in the CBD



Source: CTP, 2013



Source: CTP, 2013

These statistics allow for some useful deductions relating to life in the CBD. They indicate a massive increase of people living in the CBD, highlighting the trend that central city living is once again popular.

The CBD has a high level of movement through it and hosts numerous events. This is crucial to any attempt at creating a 24-h city. The race distribution infographic shown in figure 7 on the previous page, indicates that there is inclusivity of races roughly aligned with the national ratios for South Africa. Lastly, having a diverse range of entertainment options as displayed in figure 8 on the previous page, was the second most selected reason for living in the CBD (CTP, 2013). This demonstrates the popularity of the entertainment industry, as well as its ability to draw people into the city centre.

5.2.3 Business Owner's Perceptions of Long Street

The OnLong Business Association (referred to as OnLong) represents a large number of businesses operating in the Long Street area. Championed by the Beer House, a popular bar specialising in beer, the association ran two workshops in 2014, the first on the 27th of February, and the second on the 5th of March, to determine the perception which businesses had of Long Street. The subjects of these workshops were the image and the identity of Long Street. Real Concepts, a design studio operating from Long Street and part of the association, produced four infographics illustrating these perceptions. They are presented and discussed below.

5.2.3.1 Perceptions of Long Street in Workshop 1

Figures 9 and 10 show the perceptions of business owners regarding the identity and image of Long Street. Figure 9 shows that initially, 39.4% of participants thought that *fun* was the primary component driving the identity of the street, with 'vibrant' and 'nightlife' being the key words. This was followed closely by 24.3% believing that it was the *people* frequenting Long Street which gave it its identity. *Safety* only accounted for 15.1%, and *history*, 12.1%. Participants were very clear as to what they thought the perceived image of the street was, with 40.6% of them deciding that the image was *negative* linking this perception to the street being 'noisy', 'dangerous', a 'drug haven' and 'dirty'. 28.1% perceived the street to have a *positive* image that was linked to it being cosmopolitan and vibrant. Only 14.1% perceived *party* to be the main perception of the street.

Figures 9 and 10 showing the Business Owner's Perceptions of Long Street's Identity and Image in Workshop 1



Source: RealLife Concepts, 2014

5.2.2.2 Perceptions of Long Street in Workshop 2

Workshop 2 allowed the participants, who had now discussed the previous perceptions of Long Street, to reflect and to reassess their perception of the street. Figures 11 and 12 show the revised perceptions of the identity and image of Long Street respectively. Upon re-evaluating their perceptions of the identity of the street, 54.2% of participants now believed *safety* to be the primary component, which represents a 39.1% increase. *Safety* was linked to 'drugs', 'drunkenness', the street being 'run-down' and it feeling 'unsafe'. *Fun* had now become the second component in the perceived identity of the street, with 'vibe' and 'atmosphere' being key elements of this perception. The perceived image of the street also changed, with 26.6% believing it to be inclusive, and 25.3% believing *party* was an accurate description. The *potential* for Long Street to evolve is also captured, with 20.3% thinking it an important component of the street's image. Pedestrianisation is an important point that gets raised as it could seriously affect the future of the street.

5.3 Brief Analysis of the Media catalogued on the Long Street Residents Association's (LSRA) Website

As mentioned in chapter 4, the LSRA's website provides a platform for members to interact and discuss the management of the street, so that the most appropriate balance between the interests of community and business can be sought. The interface gives members quick shortcuts to access the legal and policy documents which are at the centre of their queries and complaints. These include information on the city legislation regulating events, noise, entertainment licenses and liquor licenses. It also gives property owners and rate payers a set of guidelines for ascertaining if their monthly levy paid to the CCID is being effectively spent.

The website also provides a catalogue of the media coverage of Long Street, as well as related notifications to members. The media items are sourced from newspapers and local news agencies, and the topics relate to complaints, development concerns, regulation, policing and a variety of other miscellaneous items. Three of these excerpts will be briefly discussed in order to demonstrate the media's representation of Long Street as well as highlighting the problems facing residents.

Figures 11 and 12 showing the Business Owners Perceptions of Long Street's Identity and Image in Workshop 2

ONLONG WORKSHOP 2 - IDENTITY



ONLONG WORKSHOP 2 - IMAGE



Source: RealLife Concepts, 2014

“Don’t ask me, ask them!” the cop snapped back (Hlongwane, 2013)

The above is the heading of an article written by journalist Siphon Hlongwane following the events that transpired during a Saturday night on Long Street in September 2013. Hlongwane reports that he and his girlfriend, whilst walking back to their hotel in Long Street after a theatre performance, witnessed what he describes as a riot in Long Street, involving youth from Nyanga. During the chaotic activity which ensued, they witnessed a gang of young males viciously attack and stab three men, whilst the police present in the area seemingly did nothing. Subsequently, Hlongwane relates meeting a foreign tourist who had had their phone stolen and a separate group of tourists who apparently “were so immobilised with fear and trauma that we had to repeatedly ask them to get off the street and to safety before they would move”.

Hlongwane goes on to conclude: “I can deal with the indifference of the police and I saw enough of it in Marikana to last me several lifetimes, but it blows my mind that — apparently — Long Street gets ragged to this degree and it can pass for just another incident that we will quickly forget about. It is not that tourists and pretty white girls got hurt (hello media, this is where you step in, right?). It is the fact that we can accept this as normal lived experience and be okay with that.”

Although this seems to be one of the more surreal instances of lawlessness on Long Street, it presents a very real example of what can transpire when the potentially combustible element of youth drinking is allowed to manifest by neglectful policing.

Residents flee Cape Town CBD as nightclubs are above the Law (Duval, 2012)

This article describes how residents are ‘running scared’ as nightclubs operating without the legal requirement are seriously infringing on their rights as residents with regards to noise. When asked for further comments, residents were reluctant to provide additional details and asked to remain anonymous as they claimed they had been victimized by nightclub owners. Thus, since they were unable to get nightclubs to comply with regulations, they have been forced move home, with an anonymous resident saying: “The issue is that nightclubs in the CBD are above the law. They open without having the necessary licences and cause hell for nearby residents. We have all read the reports about the clubs owners and as individuals we cannot put ourselves in the line of fire so for our personal safety we are opting to leave.”

The LSRA convenor, Brian Qually, explained that residents have been relocating increasingly frequently because of noise pollution caused by nightclubs, and commented: “Last year Long Street residents, who had lived in an apartment for over 20 years, left because of unresolved nightclub noise and intimidation from the nightclub.”

The problem of noise pollution is a major component of residential complaints, with numerous other articles relating to it on the LSRA website. Intimidation from nightclub owners is also well documented on the website’s media catalogue. However, there is no mention of police assistance being provided to protect residents and hotel owners from these threats.

City can’t close unlicensed clubs (Dolley, 2012)

This piece refers to an investigation into the legality of the 19 nightclubs operating in Long Street circa December 2012. It found that a third of the clubs operating on Long Street were doing so without the necessary licenses. The mayoral committee member for health, Lungiswa James, explained that: “the Business Act did not authorise city officials to close an unlicensed club. The city must therefore fine or summons errant owners to court where a magistrate may decide to close the premises while the owner obtains the applicable licence. In terms of the city’s Streets, Public Places and the Prevention of Noise Nuisance By-Law we have no authority to close licensed or unlicensed premises”.

This investigation highlights the distinct lack of effective regulation to deal with the nightclub industry. It also gives some indication of how easy it is for nightclubs to remain open, regardless of the complaints of residents.

5.4 Site Analysis

This section provides a site analysis of Long Street which includes the results of a mapping exercise conducted to establish the land use present in the street and an examination of the zoning regulations dictating the required land use. In doing so, this section details the presence of the alco-leisure industry in the site area. This cumulative evidence leads to the conclusion that this industry has come to dominate the site area, with the zoning regulations permitting the piecemeal development of contemporary Long Street.

5.4.1 Land Use in Long Street

Figure 13 shows the presence of the alco-leisure industry in Long Street. It must be read in conjunction with table 1.

The map only shows the premises which constitute the street face of Long Street. The dotted lines either side of the street denote the separation of the first and second floors. Third floor or higher uses were not included, although often the second floor use is extended upward.

Establishments in the alco-leisure industry often diversify their types of use as the evening progresses, as restaurants and bars turn into nightclubs as tables are moved and music volumes increase. This has also been captured in figure 13.

This mapping exercise shows the extent to which the alco-leisure industry has come to dominate Long Street. There are 40 premises selling alcohol in a 565m stretch. In and amongst this, are 39 retail shops of various nature and four small retail shops mostly selling only airtime, cigarettes and basic items.

There are three long-established religious institutions in the site area, even though the Western Cape Liquor Act makes direct comment regarding awarding licenses to outlets near religious institutions. This underlines the vulnerability of neoliberal planning practices which fail to restrain the piecemeal development of a liminal zone. The business-as-usual approach to planning with regards to the alco-leisure industry as described by Roberts and Eldridge (2009), allows for an area to become inundated with establishments selling liquor. This is the result of industry clustering which is effective because it allows for circuit drinking to proliferate, extending the 'party' on the street which

Figure 13 showing the Presence of the Alco-Leisure Industry in Long Street

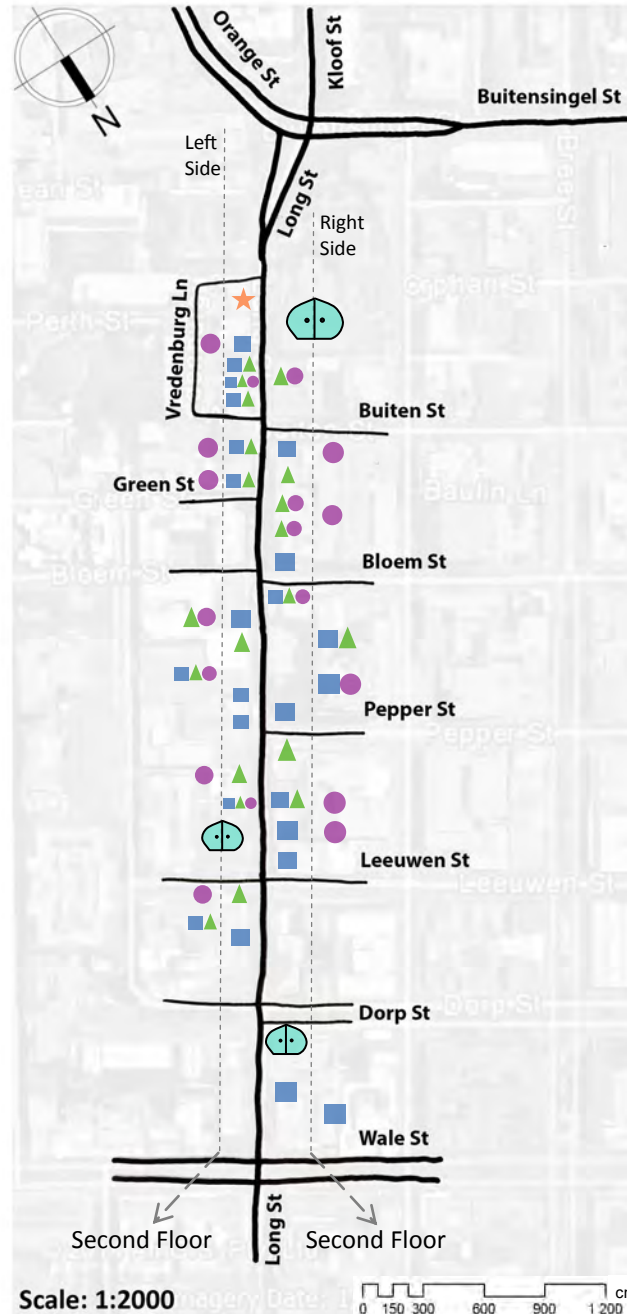


Table 1 showing the Establishments Present on Long Street

Establishments	Legend	Left Side	Right Side	Total
Backpackers		5	1	6
Hotels		1	2	3
Retailers		29	10	39
Small Retailers		2	2	4
Bars		2	3	5
Nightclubs		4	5	9
Restaurants		5	4	9
Restaurants & Nightclubs		1	0	1
Bars & Nightclubs		3	1	4
Restaurant & Bar		2	5	7
Restaurant, Bar & Nightclub		1	3	4
Bottle Stores		0	1	1
Total Number of Liquor Outlets		18	22	40
Coffee Shops/ Cafés		1	0	1
Religious Institutions		1	2	3
Government Buildings		1	2	3
Informal Traders		1	3	4

Source (figure 13 and table 1): Author, 2014

in turn attracts more merrymakers. This is a positive feedback loop of profit generation. As more partygoers equal more profit and therefore increase the commercial success of the alco-leisure industry, further promoting its growth in the affected area. However, the increased level of pedestrian density associated with the increase in licensed premises, has potentially negative effects. These are exposed when an ever-growing number of highly intoxicated participants move through the liminal area, leading to rising levels of risk with regard to anti-social behaviour and transgressions.

Furthermore, the mapping exercise highlights the potential for retail in the street. With 43 retailers, all of various natures - from clothing, books and food to adventure tours and an internet café - retail adds a another attractive dimension to the NTE. Extending retail trading hours into the evening could decrease the extent to which the alco-leisure industry dominates the space.

5.4.2 Land Use Regulations: Zoning

Figure 14 shows the zoning regulations guiding land use in Long Street. The associated use are predominately General Business (GB) 6 and 7, and Mixed Use (MU) 3. These land uses categories indicate that the site area of Long Street has been zoned to provide for general business activity and mixed-use development of a medium to high intensity (CoCT, 2012). These land uses share similar primary uses as well as consent uses.

The following use restrictions apply to property in these zones:

- (a) **Primary uses are** business premises, dwelling house, second dwelling, boarding house, flats, place of instruction, place of worship, institution, hospital, place of assembly, place of entertainment, hotel, conference facility, service trade, authority use, utility service, rooftop base telecommunication station, multiple

parking garage, private road and open space.

- (b) **Consent uses are** adult shop, adult entertainment business, adult services, informal trading, expo centre, motor repair garage, warehouse, freestanding base telecommunication station, wind turbine infrastructure, transport use, helicopter landing pad and service station. (CoCT, 2012)

Therefore, the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry is permitted by the zoning regulations. However, there are conflicting uses which are represented under these zoning schemes. The presence of places of worship and resident uses in and amongst entertainment uses inevitably creates tensions. These tensions between uses are drastically increased by the unmitigated, piecemeal development of the alco-leisure industry with its negative externalities.

Figure 14 showing the Zoning Regulations Guiding Land Use in Long Street



Source: CoCT Zoning Viewer, 2014

5.5 Analysis of Interview Data

A total of 16 interviews were conducted for the purposes of the research. To recap from the methodology chapter, the people interviewed are shown in table 2 below.

Table 2 showing the List of Interviewees and their Relevance to the NTE of Long Street

	Interviewees	Relevance
1	Aisha	Active participant in the NTE & Muslim non-drinker
2	Hafeeza	Active participant in the NTE & Muslim non-drinker
3	Luana	Active participant in the NTE & former resident
4	Nina	Active participant in the NTE & current resident
5	Stuart	Active participant in the NTE
6	Julian	Active participant in the NTE
7	Caroline Skinner	Researcher at the African Centre for Cities, specialising in the informal economies of developing countries
8	Marcela Casas	Co-founder of Open Streets Cape Town Initiative
9	Jodi Allemeier	Former employee of the Cape Town Partnership & Current Employee of the Western Cape Economic Development Partnership
10	Andrew Fleming	Senior researcher at the Cape Town Partnership
11	Belinda Walker	Former Ward Councillor of the site area
12	Dave Bryant	Current Ward Councillor of the site area
13	Gareth Pearson	Co-founder of First Thursdays Cape Town
14	Alex Jongens	Project manager at the Safety Lab & current resident
15	Faroek Kamalie	Imam at the Palm Tree Mosque & current resident
16	Carola Koblitz	Communications and marketing manager of the Cape Town Partnership

Source: Author, 2014

These 16 interviews will be discussed under the themed headings of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality and potential.

5.5.1 Safety

The theme of safety is of crucial importance in determining whether the NTE operating on Long Street is performing in a way that is socially sustainable. Safety concerns are a major component of the potentially exclusionary effect generated by the dominance of the alco-leisure industry. Added to this, the perception of crime or anti-social behaviour leading people to feel unsafe is just as bad at deterring people from participating in the NTE as actual crime or anti-social behaviour (Roberts and Turner, 2004). Increasing the perception and actual level of safety in central cities after dark is one of the tenets of the 24-h city, and the most effective way to do this is to increase the number of people on city streets after dark (Heath, 1997). Adding to this, how well-lit a street is has a positive correlation to how safe people feel on it (Bianchini, 1995).

Questions:

Would you say there is a perception of crime in the city at night/in Long Street?

Every interviewee responded that: Yes, there was a perception of crime in the city at night and particularly in Long Street. However, it does seem that this perception is much worse than the actual amount of crime occurring, which for the most part, is petty crime. Alex from Safety Lab explained:

“There is a high perception that Long Street is incredibly unsafe, but in terms of the stats, Long Street is one of the safer places when it comes to criminal activity.”

Carola from the CCID expanded on crime in Long Street at night:

It’s opportunistic crime- you have inebriated people walking around and they’re soft targets. Long Street is by no means the highest crime area in the CBD, but the perception is that it is.

Faroek from the Palm Tree Mosque and Andrew from the City Partnership highlighted the fact that crime was a factor in the CBD at night, but the appearance of the CCID safety officers had gone a long towards curbing this.

Thus, there seems to be a belief amongst all of the interviewees that the city at night - and specifically Long Street - is unsafe. Residents and active participants report that they have felt threatened or uncomfortable walking down Long Street at night, and they all know someone who has been a victim of crime there at night. Dave Bryant, the current ward councillor, believes that it is because Long Street is a very prominent space in the city and that is why it receives the exaggerated negative media coverage concerning criminal activity. Regardless, perception of crime is a direct deterrent for groups wanting to use the city centre at night, although Andrew notes that:

Again, it’s [the perception of crime at night] part of any city. If everyone thinks its super safe then it’s probably lost its vibe.

Do you feel that there is enough visible security in Long Street at night?

For the most part, respondents believed that there is enough visible security present on Long Street at night. The introduction of the CCID safety officers with their

distinct neon green bibs, has been judged as very successful in significantly reducing crime on Long Street and in the CBD at night. However, both Stuart - a participant - and Luana - a former resident - thought that the number of visible security could be increased. Faroek, although agreeing that there was a visible presence of security in Long Street, lamented the fact that the CCID officers were poorly armed and underpaid, adding that there was a visible presence, but not an active presence. He noted their response times to problems was sometimes fantastic, but admitted when he observed something happening, the CCID officers were usually unable to assist effectively, even exclaiming that he'd witnessed CCID officers receiving 'klaps' (slaps) on numerous occasions by groups of men.

Carola explained that because of the perceived high crime levels and the large amount of people in Long Street, the CCID had to deploy more safety officers, especially over weekends. She explained that of the 70 officers operating in the CBD at night, about 25 of them are situated in or around Long Street. 45 additional officers are employed over the festive periods. Added to this, there is a CCID operations station situated near the top of Long Street where CCID officers can be found, and complaints or transgressions can be reported. Andrew commented that if you add too many police people feel that there must be a real threat of crime, and that in itself detracts from the street's energy. The good thing about the CCID officers is that they are not police. This sentiment is echoed by Aisha who says that she feels more threatened by the police because of their seemingly aggressive nature. Andrew points out that:

A lot of the issues you come into contact with on Long Street at night are part of being in big

city. You want Long Street, and this is Long Street. A lot of the problems are around social development. You can't just get rid of people, that's policing and Apartheid.

Thus, it does seem that there is an adequate presence of security officers on Long Street at night. The ability of the CCID safety officers to deter crime is expressed in the decreased levels of crime on Long Street, although Carola does exclaim that numerous petty crimes such as pick-pocketing go unreported. The effectiveness of the CCID officers to respond to real threats has been called to question.

Would you consider Long Street to be a well-lit space at night?

Long Street was deemed by the interviewees to have adequate but not sufficient lighting. Alex from Safety Lab remarks that:

It has pockets of darkness. The cars being parked obstruct your line-of-sight, so in term of passive surveillance, eyes on the street - it could be better.

The CCID, as Carola explains, does realise that the lighting situation on Long Street can be improved and they are working with businesses in the day-time economy, whom have very little incentive to light up their stores at night, to help ameliorate the situation. She goes on to say that:

The more light the less crime – always.

Street lighting is a primary component of creating a night-time city which feels safe and can begin to explore the potential advantages of the 24-h city.

However, too much light can also have a negative effect, as Faroek describes the lighting outside his mosque as carnival-esque, attracting revellers like moths to the flame.

5.5.2 Inclusivity and Diversity

The diversity of Long Street is directly depended on the inclusivity of the space. Inclusivity means tolerance of different cultures, plural ways of life. In practice, Inclusivity tents to includes tolerance of local practises that deviate from local by-laws and regulations, such as turning a blind eye to patrons drinking alcohol on tables placed in the public realm on the street. Inclusivity in the NTE is paramount to the pursuit of a 24-h city which is socially sustainable (Yen and Heng, 2013). An exclusive NTE, such as is identified in the literature review, is not aligned with the healthy everyday nightlife which characterises a successful 24-h city. Diversity is not the same as inclusivity, although they are closely related concepts. Diversity in this sense, refers directly to the opportunities for various socio-economic groups to participate in the NTE. There is undoubtedly much diversity in the NTE taking place on Long Street, but it can only be truly diverse if it is inclusive.

Questions:

If you had (have) a family would you take them walking down Long Street at night on a weekend? (where having family implied having young (7 -15 year old) children)

This question was asked to discern indirectly whether or not the NTE on Long Street was inclusive. The majority of respondents proclaimed that they definitely would not take their families walking down Long Street on a weekend at night. Jodi, a former employee at the City Partnership, stated bluntly:

No, definitely not. It's not a family destination. It's a party destination.

Farook was rather more expressive, exclaiming:

No. I don't think any sane person would do it. The pavements are clustered; the traffic is clustered like NYE. There's nowhere to walk. You won't get harmed, but it is uncomfortable.

Julian and Andrew were the two outliers who both explained that because they felt safe walking down Long Street at night, they thought it would be fine to take their families too. Julian equated the uncomfortable feeling he got when walking down the street with that of being in a crowded street in any city in the world.

Alex from Safety Lab, understanding that this inherently meant the space was then exclusionary, explained:

At night time it is not family orientated. I suppose it is exclusionary to some degree. But I don't think a place has to be inclusionary all the time, because you're not going to suit every market every hour of every day.

This feeling that a space does not necessarily have to be inclusionary all the time was echoed by Carola:

It's a night-time party scene, and it's more suitable for young adults - I'd say it's more inclusionary of young adults.

Therefore, this question provides a simple answer to the question of whether the NTE on Long Street is inclusionary. It is not. The majority of the interviewees insisted that it would not be the best idea, not

appropriate, or just down-right dangerous to take their families walking down Long Street at night - although, as we have discussed, the perception of crime on Long Street was much worse than it actually was. Not being able to participate in the NTE because you are with your family, is a clear indicator that is exclusionary.

Who do you think are the main participants (age group) of the NTE in Long Street?

This question was asked primarily of active participants of the NTE, since they have contemporary experiences of Long Street at night. The CCID were also asked because, as perhaps the most active organisation in Long Street, they could be expected to have the greatest insights into the NTE. They all agreed that the main age group engaging with the NTE was youthful adults, aged between 18 - late 20's. Carola noted the prominence of youthful adults with money to spend. There was also a general understanding that there were also older groups (35-50years) active in Long Street, but not on nearly the same scale as the prevalence of youthful revellers. This is the first piece of evidence suggesting that Long Street has become a youth-dominated urban playscape. Carola emphasizes this point:

If you have a night-time economy predominantly supported by clubs, where alcohol is served, it's very difficult to consider it to be a family entertainment place. No night time economy in any city really is.

There was unanimous agreement across respondents that the people active in Long Street at night were highly diverse in their racial, social and cultural demographic. Additionally, there is a definite variation in their socio-economic circumstances. Long Street is

described as a 'melting-pot' or 'cosmopolitan mix' of people and cultures by Belinda, the former ward councillor of the site. This perception is matched by the OnLong Business Association as shown in Figure 12. Thus, Long Street is definitely inclusive to a range of Cape Town's young adults.

Do you think the night-time economy in Long Street is inclusive of the broader Cape Town community? (i.e. do you think the broader community can participate in it?)

The responses to this question were mixed. The Muslim respondents believed that the prominence of alcohol in the NTE made it exclusionary to the broader Muslim community - they all thought that many young Muslims would still participate. Hafeeza, a Muslim participant in the NTE, explains that:

The broader community can (be included in the NTE) if there are more events or activities which do not involve drinking as their primary function.

Carola, Alex, Dave and Belinda NTE all thought that the did not necessarily need to be inclusionary all the time. Carola expanded on this idea saying that she did not feel excluded when going for a meal on Long Street and that:

Long Street only comes alive at 11pm onwards- exclusionary for who? Exclusionary after 11pm, how exclusionary is that?

Still, on the whole, it can be concluded that Long Street at night becomes an exclusionary space. This undermines its ability to promote the NTE to the broader community and to attract a truly diverse group which would be representative of the wider Cape Town

community. Therefore, Long Street at night, fails in the category of inclusivity with regards to the 24-h city ideal.

5.5.3 Patterned Liminality

Determining whether Long Street has become a designated space of patterned liminality which manifests in the proliferation of a youthful urban playscape, is one of the core concerns of this research. Liminality expressed in the display of anti-social behaviour - be it the overtly boisterous nature of an intoxicated participant or the cunning of the local pick-pocket – produces a space which is inherently exclusionary. This is not necessarily accepted but rather expected. If Long Street has become such a space, it has then moved away from the ideal of the 24-h city as discussed in the literature review. Spaces of patterned liminality can be diverse and vibrant, but in this Long Street case this diversity and vibrancy have become corrupted and thus exclusionary.

Questions:

Do you think Long Street at night exists in a legal grey area where people can transgress as they please? Do you see Long Street at night as a place where anti-social behaviour is acted out and normalised?

This question was asked to determine if the respondents believed that Long Street had become a liminal space for transgression and allows us to compare it to the evidence presented in the literature review. The interviewees consistently agreed that Long Street was a grey area where transgression had become normalised. The active participants, Julian and Stuart, who regularly engaged in alcohol consumption in Long Street, were very clear about the boisterous nature of merry-makers at night there. When asked about

whether he had acted in a way that would be seen as anti-social, Stuart (22) replied:

I certainly have had many boisterous nights when I've been very obnoxious and sort-of can let my hair down.

Faroek was a bit more explicit about the behaviour which he was accustomed to, stating blankly that:

Once people are intoxicated they perform. They don't mind coming out of the bar and urinating in front of the mosque, in front of the tree. There is the abuse. If the people come to the mosque for the morning prayers and if you ask them [drunken participants in the NTE] to quiet down - that's the wrong thing to do - because then they attack you.

Dave, Belinda, Alex, Andrew and Carola all felt that the feeling of being a 'grey zone' was implicit in the identity of Long Street. The politicians accept this to be part-and-parcel of the city. Andrew thought that there is a distinct feeling of freedom on Long Street. Carola answered the question honestly, explaining:

Bottom line is restaurants and clubs will serve alcohol. Anywhere in the world, a night-time clubbing scene is going to bring out the adventurer in someone. You're going out to have a good time. They're not going to town to act anti-socially, but when you mix alcohol and the youth then you probably will end up with some anti-social behaviour.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Long Street has become a 'grey area' where transgression is an expected norm. Given this expectation, the broader

community will be less inclined to participate in the NTE, affirming the exclusionary effect created by the alco-leisure industry.

The question - is important for a 'grey area' to exist, or if it should be further regulated - was met with a variety of mixed responses. Dave informed us that the idea of turning Long Street into a 'Red Light District' not new, but was probably a bit extreme. Both he and Belinda admitted that government turned a blind eye to some by-law infringements such as drinking alcohol outside some establishments. Alex felt that stricter regulation in Long Street, especially with regard to punitive measures, would detract from the iconic status of Long Street, as well as hurting the commercial interests in the area. Andrew explained that:

I don't necessarily think government has a goal of saying: 'OK, now we're going to let it fester.' I don't think that's ever an approach of government. They're very much focused on keeping it safe and regulating laws.

Would you say that the alcohol leisure industry is dominating the night-time economy in Cape Town?

There was a definite understanding among respondents that the alco-leisure industry dominates the NTE in Long Street. All the participants who drink alcohol stated that when they visit Long Street they drink some alcohol. However, there was a distinct mismatch between the various understandings of what kind of drinking was occurring in Long Street. Belinda explained that she believed the binge drinking which was a mentioned in the literature review, was more equivalent to the blotted-out drinking found in illegal township shebeens. Julian and Stuart, however, paint a different picture. Both of them agree that circuit

drinking - which involves moving from one drinking venue to the next - is the order of the day when going out in Long Street at night. Both of them have participated in pub crawls which Julian describes:

A pub crawl is a fun way of making a sport of binge drinking for the night in a more deliberate way than we'd usually go about the night.

The dominance of the alco-leisure industry can be seen as the market adjusting supply to meet demand. Restaurants are also a large feature of the NTE; the overwhelming majority of these do serve liquor. Faroek believes that opening up a restaurant in Long Street which did not serve alcohol would be a commercial flop. Gareth, the co-founder of First Thursdays, exclaims:

What else goes on in the city at night? When First Thursdays finishes around 9, most people do just go to bars.

Jodi perhaps had the most insightful answer into why a space of patterned liminality could be developing in Long Street, saying that:

There is quite an Apartheid mentality with regard to alcohol regulation. There is a mentality that we want Town to be happening, what's wrong with a big party street with everyone getting drunk in Long Street, its ok, its middle class and upper income people. But we really need to shut down shebeens and stuff like that [sarcasm]. There is a bipolar understanding between the relationship of drinking and crime.

When participants were asked if they had engaged in any cultural activity in the city at night, which did not involve drinking, most of them couldn't think of an example. And those that did, all pointed to First Thursdays.

The dominance of the alco-leisure industry and its ability to inundate an area has been described in the literature review, as were the consequent negative externalities. Faroek was blunt in his explanation of how this came to be, claiming that local government issues liquor licenses too cheaply and easily without consideration of the additional resources needed to regulate the affected area. Carola stresses the importance of looking at regulation which would limit the density of liquor licenses in a specified area.

The externalities such as anti-social behaviour have been discussed under the previous question. The noise problem, which is one of the biggest problem areas associated with the alco-leisure industry in Long Street, was invariably raised by residents. Faroek explained very sincerely, that living in Long Street was an ordeal that you can't get used to, something that you just get on with. He says:

There is no respect for the sanctity of the mosque. The verbal abuse goes on continuously. People shout continuously. It's not pleasant to be here at night. You wake up in the middle of the night and you hear it from all sides, and you have to live with that. You can phone SAPS but that doesn't help. There's absolutely no control.

Nina, another resident living near the top of Long Street, says:

Living here I hear lots of stuff, I hear drunk people all the time, but I suppose it comes with the territory of living here.

Thus there is some understanding that living in a downtown is going to be noisy, something that residents have to accept. However, there must be some level when it becomes unacceptable.

In conclusion, the evidence strongly suggests that Long Street at night has become a place of patterned liminality where transgressions are normalised. There are strong parallels with the literature review, which describes how the practice of youthful adult drinking creates spaces where anti-social behaviour is normalised. This in turn has a strong exclusionary effect on the broader community.

5.5.4 Potential

The future potential of Long Street is of much concern to the development of a NTE which incorporates the key mandate of the 24-h city, which is to provide a NTE that is socially sustainable and can be enjoyed by the wide community. A large proportion of the community should feel that they have access and can participate in a way in which they feel fully included. The inclusion of some groups should not exclude others. The future of Long Street is uncertain. There are ongoing debates as to the feasibility of pedestrianisation and the possibility of increased informal trade, both of which would have dramatic effects for the NTE.

Questions:

Should there be a drive to include more cultural events in Long Street - an attempt to create a more inclusive city at night?

Cultural events are seen as an effective method of

bringing people into town centres at night and should be utilised in the pursuit of the 24-h city ideal (Montgomery, 1995). Bianchini (1995) stressed the importance of cultural events in attracting families with children into the city at night. The respondents agreed that cultural events could be used to create a more inclusive night-time city. Andrew elaborates on the importance of cultural events:

Cultural events add huge value. Gives people a reason to come out and see their city and then by doing so explore a bit more. Activating the city at night in different ways, sparking people's imaginations is critical to this.

When asked about cultural events in Long Street, Belinda did acknowledge that the Cape Town Carnival used to go down Long Street. However, she explained that because of the natural amphitheatre-like quality of the city-bowl, the city had to stop hosting events in Long Street at night because of noise complaints.

First Thursdays, which happen on the first Thursday of every month, is a cultural event which sees galleries staying open till 9pm. The streets around the galleries fill with animated people and there is a tangible feeling that the surrounding areas have become activated. It was the only cultural event the majority of the respondents could think of, with the City Partnership, the CCID and the local politicians all voicing their strong support for it. Gareth, the co-founder of the event, explains:

First Thursdays fits into a bigger vision of a much more liveable city... It's a great introduction to the city for people who might keep to the suburbs or have a perception that the city is dangerous at night, or that there's

nothing there, or that if they're not going to Long Street then why go. For them to actually come is a great introduction to the city and the galleries, bars and restaurants that are there.

When asked what the end goal for First Thursdays would be, he replied:

The end goal of First Thursdays is for it not to exist anymore, for it to become a part of the city, it's just what you do. For it one day to be part of the culture of the city.

Thus, night-time cultural events can be seen as an effective means with which to create an inclusive NTE - representative of a true 24-h city. Investment in cultural events, or the production of platforms from which cultural events can flourish, constitutes an effective means through which inclusivity in the NTE could be sought.

*What part do you think the informal economy can play in creating a more inclusive night-time economy?
Would you consider the idea of a night-market on Long Street a good idea?*

The interviewees all agreed that the informal economy could play a role in increasing the inclusivity of the NTE. However, the actual implementation of a night-market or even increased informal trading on Long Street at night was met with mixed responses. Caroline, an expert on informal economies, explained that the reason Cape Town's informal economy was small compared to that of other cities in the country was because of harsh regulations and high barriers to entry. Cape Town's CBD, Caroline reports, only has 800 demarcated trading bays - and only 8 of those are found in Long Street. When asked whether informal

trade could be used to activate the city at night she exclaimed:

Your work points to the absolute missed opportunity. Huge, huge missed opportunity.

Dave and Belinda agreed that it could increase the inclusivity, but they strongly reaffirmed that it would have to be regulated properly. Dave highlighted that regulating the informal traders in the daytime was already a drain on resources, and that it was not possible to regulate a night-time market efficiently with the current amount of resources. Belinda complained that the informal traders operating in Cape Town lacked a service ethos, and accused them of leaving a large amount of mess for the city and the CCID to clean up, saying:

Our informal traders are messy, and consider it someone else's job to clean up after them. They have a huge sense of entitlement that the city must provide them with a water connection, an electrical connection, a cleaning service.

Dave pointed out that introducing increased informal trade in Long Street could have the adverse effect of driving people out. He claimed that some people already felt uncomfortable walking past the informal traders operating in Adderley Street during the day, and that during the night it could create an environment which breeds crime.

Therefore, the idea of increasing informal trading in the city at night, and the possibility of a night market in Long Street should be investigated with due consideration of the difficulties. This could present a good opportunity to increase not only the inclusivity of the NTE, but also to enhance any night-time activities

already occurring. A healthy informal economy at night, as described by Yen and Heng (2013) can be a powerful asset in creating a 24-h city.

What do you think about the idea of pedestrianizing Long Street? Do you think this would have a positive effect on the NTE?

In fact, part of Long Street was temporarily pedestrianized with the OnLong Business Association managing to get a portion of it temporarily closed for New Year's Eve 2013/2014 (Casas, 2014). The future pedestrianisation of Long Street is currently being discussed by various stakeholders. Some are for and some are against. Pedestrianisation, explains Andrew, makes the businesses operating in the daytime economy of Long Street nervous because it could risk them losing their traditional customers. The other reason pedestrianisation of Long Street is considered risky, is because it may well just turn into a big party. Marcela, the founder of Open Streets Cape Town, an initiative which seeks to pedestrianize city streets temporarily so that people can take ownership of public space which is usually given over to the car, explicitly stated that she would never run an Open Streets event on Long Street during the night. She explained that:

It would make sense to pedestrianize Long Street, but not at night, especially not at night on the weekend, because it would just be delivering the wrong message (because it would turn into a party).

Andrew explains that from the City Partnership's perspective, temporary pedestrianisation - which does not necessarily mean that the whole street is pedestrianized - is an exercise in urban experimentation. The exercise of temporary

pedestrianisation allows for the realisation of long-term goals based on short-term trial and error. On pedestrianizing Long Street he says:

Of course it will be a bit more of a street party, perhaps that's not a bad thing if we're talking about a 24-h city. Walking the street wouldn't necessarily turn it into a giant party; it would just result in more people being able to walk freely around the streets resulting in more fun on the street I suppose. This is where you have to work out the balance of safety and enforcement versus a more laissez-faire approach to street management.

Part of the effect of a move to pedestrianize Long Street would be the reduction of the suspected criminal activity taking place in numerous taxi cabs operating along the street. It has been suggested that these, often unmarked, taxi cabs play host to various illicit activities on the street.

Therefore, the temporary pedestrianisation of Long Street could prove a useful experiment to establish the feasibility of long-term pedestrianisation. It would be advisable that any attempt to pedestrianize the street should preferably take place during the day; and if it were to be done at night, all necessary steps should be taken to ensure that it does not become unmanageable.

5.5.5 Overall Results of Interviews

The 16 interviews conducted allowed for an in-depth understanding of the nature of the street. The issue of inclusivity in the NTE has been addressed through the four themes of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality and potential.

The perceived level of safety is much worse than the reality. However, the perception is just as bad at deterring the broader community, creating an exclusionary effect. Under the theme of inclusivity and diversity, the NTE on Long Street was found wanting, with a definite dominance of youthful participants whose behaviours created an exclusionary effect. Thus, it was concluded that Long Street had become a space of patterned liminality where anti-social behaviours have become normalised. The potential for Long Street to become more inclusionary was discussed. Investment in cultural events, promoting the informal economy, and temporary pedestrianisation could all be used to increase the inclusivity of the NTE on Long Street.

5.6 Photo Essay: Long Street over an 'Active' Weekend

The photo essay presented captures Long Street over the weekend of 3rd and 4th of October, 2014. An 'active' weekend refers to Friday and Saturday nights, which are the traditional nights in Cape Town for engaging in the NTE.

The photo essay acts a time-lapse record of the weekend nights, starting from roughly 6pm till about 4am each night. The photos were taken from fixed and random positions - shown in Figures 15 and 16 (on the following page respectively) - and aims to give the reader a view into the activities occurring over a random weekend in Long Street. A decibel (dB) level was taken at each position at the time of capturing the images.

Each image is discussed using the accompanying in-field informal notes, taken during the same period. Please note, that the in-field observations remain largely unedited to preserve their authenticity.

Figure 15 showing the positions from which and directions in which photos were taken on Friday Night

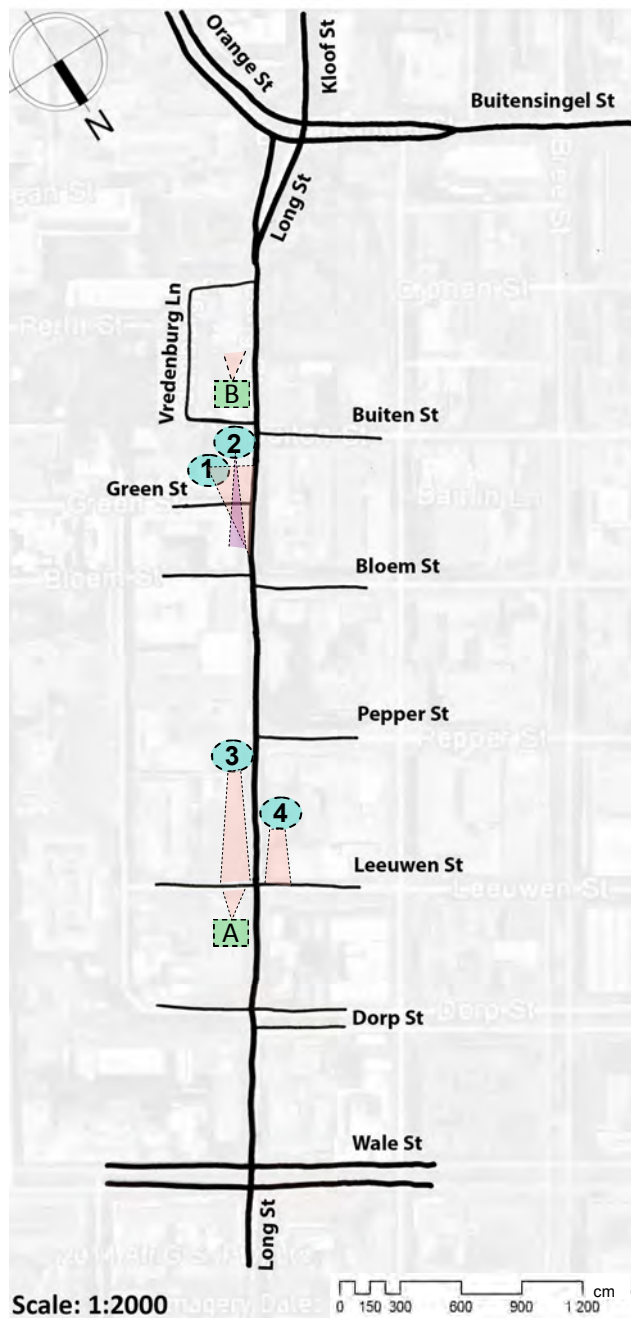


Figure 16 showing the positions from which and directions in which photos were taken on Saturday Night



Images were taken in 7 separate time periods over the course of each night. Thus, the photo essay presents a picture from each period to show the progression of the activity generated in the public realm by the NTE. The location of the 7 positions were:

- 1) From the balcony of Carnival Court Backpackers, opposite Fiction Night Club. The camera was aimed at the opposite pavement.
- 2) Outside Long Street Café, on the corner of Vredenburg Lane and Long Street, pointing down the pavement.
- 3) Outside Space Bar, opposite Pepper Street, facing down the pavement and onto Bob's Bar.
- 4) Outside Burger Shop, facing down Long Street and onto Stones Pool Lounge and Nightclub.
- 5) Next to the CCID station, outside the Long Street Superette and across Green Street from the Dubliner. Images were taken both up and down the street as this is a relatively open area.
- 6) Outside Journey, a clothing retailer and Mama Africa a restaurant. The camera faced up the street towards Cappello Lounge.
- 7) Outside Long Street Café, facing the opposite side of the road - various angles were employed.

Legend	
	Fixed Position & Direction
	Random Position & Direction

Source (figure 15 and 16): Author, 2014

Friday the 03 of October 2014: First day of the 'Active' Weekend

Period 1 Time: 18:30 Position 1 dB Level: 75

Period 1 | from 18:30 - 19:30

Observations

The street is fairly empty and there is not much activity. This is shown in the image alongside. Restaurants and bars are starting to fill up. There are some people outside at the tables and chairs provided. People recognisable as possible tourists are walking the street. Some venues have started playing music.

Analysis

The daytime economy's cycle is ending. The NTE is in its initial stages. There is no indication of liminality.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 2 Time: 20:10 Position 3 dB Level: 84

Period 2 | from 19:30 - 20:30

Observations

It's getting a bit fuller. The sun has set. There is an audible increase in the amount of music spilling into the street. Still relatively empty though. There are a mix of people about and no one particular group seems to be dominating the space.

Analysis

The few people that are about are starting their night out with a meal and light drinks. Bouncers have appeared and have set up tables and railings outside establishments. In the picture alongside you can see a bouncer from Bob's Bar who has moved a barrel into the middle of the pavement, effectively reducing the amount of pedestrian space to about 2 feet.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 3 | from 20:30 - 21:30

Observations

The street is getting a bit more active as shown in the image alongside. Restaurants and bars are filling up. There is a steady stream of participants coming into the area now. There are a fair number of people out-and-about. They all seem well-behaved and do not seem intoxicated.

Analysis

The public realm of Long Street is definitely busy, but not full, and not uncomfortable. The noise level has also started to increase. Traffic has increased considerably.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 4 | from 21:30 - 22:30

Observations

The image alongside captures groups of people circuiting from premise to premise. There is a very jovial atmosphere. All the nightclubs have started playing music and the traffic is slightly heavier. The street is definitely active with pavements swollen with people outside the entrances to various establishments. The demographic of the street is becoming more youth-dominated.

Analysis

The NTE is in full swing. Bars and clubs are all full, and the noise volume has increased to a level which can cause hearing loss (Dangerous Decibels, 2014). The risk of liminal experimentation has increased creating a slightly anxious energy for more sober participants.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 5 | from 22:30 - 24:00

Observations

The picture alongside shows the first scuffle witnessed, breaking out between two groups of inebriated young adults—between 18 and 21. Long Street is in full swing, the majority of bars and clubs are packed. Traditional restaurants are all closing up. Everyone who is passing-by is visibly drunk. There is a lot of shouting and swearing as people cluster around venues where music spills out. Police have started to direct cars as traffic swells.

Analysis

There is a definite feeling of liminality in this period. Anti-social behaviours are being acted out without fear of repercussions. The space has become dominated by drunken debauchery.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 6 | from 24:00 - 01:30

Observations

The accompanying picture alongside shows that someone has vomited all over the pavement. Just prior to discovering this, I was accosted and verbally abused for taking photos in position 2. Many CCID officers and police are present. All the participants seem way over the alcohol limit and the atmosphere has definitely changed completely from the light-hearted merrymaking earlier in the evening to full-on aggressive hedonism. The noise is very loud and the traffic is heavy. The entrances of some clubs and bars need to be circumnavigated as they have become too chaotic to walk through.

Analysis

Long Street has transformed completely from its usual relaxed daytime shopping atmosphere into a space of patterned liminality as described in the literature. Transgressions and anti-social behaviours are manifesting in the public domain, creating wild scenes of pleasure and pain.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 7 | from 01:30 - 02:30

Observations

Outside Zinzar Cocktail Lounge, the party has completely taken over the pavement as is shown in the accompanying image. People have been drinking on the street for a while. The CCID guards rushed past chasing someone in the opposite direction. There has been no shortage of evidence of anti-social behaviour.

Some areas have begun to empty out as bars are beginning to close. Inebriated participants are milling around socialising, jostling, shouting, urinating, and drinking. Most establishments have moved all the outside tables and chairs back inside. Traffic is being halted further by the presence of numerous drunks crossing the street.

Analysis

A youth-dominated urban playscape has been created. The space has become carnival-esque.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 8 | from 02:30 - 04:00

Observations

People are making their way home. There is a further increase in police presence. Clubs are beginning to close and there are very drunk people spilling on to the streets—people are literally falling over their own feet. Everyone wants their photo taken as is demonstrated in the accompanying image. Traffic is heavy, but the noise levels have dropped a bit.

Analysis

Long Street at this hour seems highly volatile. The risk of transgression is extremely high. Liminality is assured given the environment created by the alcohol-leisure industry clustering in the space.



Source: Author, 2014

Saturday 04 October 2014: Second day of the 'Active' Weekend

Period 1 Time: 19:30 Position 6 dB Level: 78

Period 1 | from 19:00 - 20:30

Observations

Pretty empty, not very loud and the traffic is quite light. Parked cars line the street. Some people are enjoying sitting outside restaurants as the weather is pleasant.

Analysis

The NTE is in first gear. The first of the night-time revellers are starting to arrive. The space seems safe and comfortable.



Period 2 Time: 21:10 Position 6 dB Level: 82

Period 2 | from 20:30 - 21:30

Observations

Definite increase in activity. Mostly young adults and suspected tourists. The vibe is still chilled, but it has become louder and traffic is slightly heavier.

I have been offered drugs twice already.

Analysis

The increase in activity has been steady. The NTE is still warming up and the situation on the street is very much like the previous day. Jovial party-goers are starting to mingle harmlessly in the street.



Period 3 | from 21:30 - 22:30

Observations

Crowds of people circuiting the street. The participants seem very young, some look barely 18. People are still streaming into the street and it has become much louder. Music is pumping from all directions as establishments compete for customers.

Analysis

The party has officially started. The evidence of Friday night suggests that the atmosphere is about to shift as participants become further intoxicated.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 4 | from 22:30 - 23:30

Observations

The street is full, the party is roaring. Very lively, very loud. People are starting to display some interesting drunken behaviour. The street ebbs and flows from jam-packed to comfortable—the tides of Long Street. The accompanying picture shows that the opposite pavement is completely full with people partying and drinking on the street.

Analysis

The space has completed its metamorphosis. Scenes of debauchery are taking place wherever you look as the image alongside documents. The street has become completely dominated by young adults getting very drunk and behaving in a manner which ultimately makes the space unusable for a large portion of the community.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 5 Time:12:24 Position D dB Level: 93

Period 5 | from 23:30 - 00:30

Observations

Full-on drunken debauchery and aggressive hedonism. The joys of consumer culture running amok. Three CCID officers just ran down a side street to stop two groups of young men fighting. There are mostly young adults 18-28, but there also seem to be a high number of underage participants.

Analysis

It appears that club capacities have been reached. Music is spilling out into the street and the party has fully extended to encompass the pavement and parts of the street. The noise level around this time is only safely permissible for 1 hour (Dangerous Decibels, 2014). Transgression has become commonplace; public urination and drinking occur without any fear of repercussions.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 6 Time: 01:52 Position 6 dB Level: 87

Period 6 | from 00:30 - 02:00

Observations

Every person that walks past is highly intoxicated. Most people are loud and obnoxious (vying for attention in front of the camera). A young lady is crying next to the CCID van because her valuables have been stolen. Heavy petting and public displays of affection between couples and groups seem to have been normalised. There has also been a visible increase in prostitution. The scene can only be described as intense.

Analysis

Liminality in Long Street is normalised as scores of young adults filter into the streets as bars begin to close. The space has become highly exclusionary, dominated by drunks who seem intent to cause some amount of havoc on their way down the street.



Source: Author, 2014

Period 7 | from 02:00 - 03:30

Observations

Bars and clubs are closing, leaving people to mingle and jostle in the street as shown in the image alongside. People look laboured as they stumble around, there are also lots of drunk pedestrians in the streets. There are no CCID guards at their station, but it is open, so it must be assumed that they are all patrolling. The traffic is very heavy as people leave the area.

Analysis

The investigation into whether or not Long Street is a liminal zone is answered by the images and observations presented. The space has become unrecognisable from its daytime character.



Period 8 | from 03:30 - 04:30

Observations

Long Street has emptied out considerably. People are generally just trying to go home. There are still large groups of people milling about clubs which have just closed as can be observed in the distance in the image alongside. The street does not feel safe as establishments have turned off their lights, casting large swathes of darkness under unlit verandas.

Analysis

The events which have transpired have been characterised by liminality expressed through drunken mayhem. This has been actively encouraged by the alco-leisure industry punting cheap drinks and not regulating their patron's behaviour. The CCID and police officers on duty were completely overwhelmed by the amount of transgressions taking place. This means they were only able to regulate the most serious of these - for example fighting. Thus, public drinking, urination, shouting, littering, prostitution and drug dealing are acted out and normalised because there is no risk of being penalised.



5.6.1 Analysis of Photo Essay

The photo essay presented captures the transformation of Long Street from a daytime retail and restaurant orientated street, to a jovial party space and lastly a liminal zone fraught with transgressions and anti-social behaviours. This transformation is the reason that the NTE in Long Street is deemed to have become an exclusionary space. The photo essay derived its methodology from Roberts and Turner's (2005) study into the liveability of the 24-h city where they used London's Soho area as a case. There are distinct parallels between the cases. The photo essay attempted to capture the atmosphere created when the street became filled with drunken participants. That in turn produced a space wherein people feel unsafe in the locality. In the cases of both Long Street and Soho, this feeling was created when groups of young men and women were stumbling around in the middle of the night shouting, urinating and vomiting – often in residents' doorways, and displaying generally unsocial behaviour (Roberts and Turner, 2005). This behaviour was demonstrated by the participants in the NTE over the designated weekend and was displayed not only by certain minority groups, but rather by the majority. However, the observations of a single random weekend cannot justify broad generalisations be confirmed by just observing a single random weekend.

The observations taken add detail to the images and provide a more nuanced understanding of the transformation playing out in the space (Yeo and Heng, 2013). Largely unedited, these observations represent exactly what the researcher was witnessing. Although there is a certain amount of subjectivity when detailing observation, the introduction of a decibel meter to measure the noise levels provides some objective calibration. The noise levels on the street at times reached 97dB. The organisation Dangerous Decibels

provides educational information regarding noise-induced hearing loss. They explain that at 90dB the permissible time for safe exposed is 1 hour; at 97db it is 15min. This is direct primary evidence highlighting the noise pollution created by a NTE dominated by the alco-leisure industry. Observations also noted large spikes in traffic when the bars and clubs closed as people try to get themselves home.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the secondary and primary research analysis and findings. It began by adopting a broad analytical framework exploring the secondary data from the 2012 CCID User Survey, as well as the results of the 2013 State of Central City Report. Following this, the media's representation of the NTE in Long Street was detailed by discussing three excerpts from the LRSA's website. This permit understanding of public opinion about Long Street.

The analytical framework became more focused by presenting the primary research data. This was initiated by an analysis of the site area which allowed current land use to be explored, highlighting the dominance of the alco-leisure industry in the street. Next, the 16 interviews were discussed under the themed headings of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality, and potential. Lastly, a time-lapse photo essay produced over an 'active' weekend was presented which captured the effect the alco-leisure industry has on the study area. Using the results of this data, the research question of whether the NTE operating in Long Street is socially sustainable in relation to the ideals of the 24-h city can be answered.

The next chapter aims to do this by synthesising the data in order to formulate justified conclusions.



06 : SYNTHESIS

6.1 Introduction

This section synthesises the research analysis of the previous chapter, in order to formulate a conclusion concerning the social sustainability of the Long Street NTE. The research thus far has focused with investigating whether the NTE in Long Street is inclusionary of the broader Cape Town community. The result permits a judgement as to whether the NTE is representative of the 24-h city ideal.

The research findings have been synthesised systematically under the theme headings of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality, and potential. These arose from the literature review and were used to analyse the data sets of interviews, photo essay and accompanying observations, site analysis, 2012 CCID User Survey, 2013 State of the Central City Report, OnLong workshops, and media reports. Following this, the triangulation technique was used to test for parallels between the respective data sets in order to reach justified conclusions.

6.2 Safety

The initial reasoning behind the 24-h city concept, was that it could be used to counter the trend of barren and intimidating town centres that characterised Britain in the 90's. The literature review suggested that a combination of night-time cultural activities, the extension of retail trading hours and better lighting in the city centre can be employed to attract people into the nocturnal city to remedy this trend. It was theorised that it was this 'barren and intimidating' nature – the perception that the night-time city was sinister and full of danger - that was the primary reason for people in the UK not venturing out into their cities at night (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). Therefore, improving the negative perception of safety, is a critical component of any attempt to attract people into the night-time city.

The perception of the unsafe night-time city is only likely to change when people activate the space, claim ownership over it and provide eyes-on-the-street surveillance (Shaw, 2013).

However, as the literature review details, when the people gathering in the night-time city happen to be predominantly young adults participating in the consumption of the alco-leisure industry - then as was the case in the UK and Long Street - the perception of the city as an unsafe space at night can proliferate. This is a consequence of these young revellers acting out anti-social behaviour and committing transgressions which creates an uncomfortable atmosphere laced with fear. Subsequently, this deters the wider community from participating in the NTE as it is perceived as unsafe.

The perception of Long Street as an unsafe place during the night emerged during the interview process. All 16 interviewees thought that there was a general perception of Long Street being a dangerous place at night. The photo essay, along with the accompanying observations, was able to capture the chaotic nature of the street over the dedicated weekend. As the night-time atmosphere deteriorated from jovial into full-on drunken debauchery, a clear parallel could be drawn between Cape Town's Long Street and the liminal NTEs described in the literature.

Unsurprisingly, given this decent into liminality as the photo essay and observations detailed, petty and opportunist crime as well as aggressive behaviour are present in the NTE of Long Street. The introduction of the CCID safety officers has been praised as the most successful implementation in reducing crime in the central city, and corresponding interview data suggested that these safety officers do improve the

perception of safety. When asked about the visible presence of safety personnel, 14 of the 16 interviewees responded that they thought the number was adequate. Unfortunately, in practice, their effectiveness has been brought into question, and as was observed over the documented weekend. The CCID officers were unable to maintain control of the street because of the sheer number of intoxicated revellers committing transgressions.

With regards to lighting, Long Street was judged adequate, though it has been strongly suggested that increasing lighting would help mitigate perceptions of danger.

Image 3 showing the CCID safety officers at their operation station in Long Street



Source: Author, 2014

The 2012 CCID User Survey data indicate that the majority (85.7%) of people feel safe to move around the city centre at night. This is not directly indicative of Long Street - as it refers to the entire city centre - but it does suggest that the intense clustering of the alcohol-leisure industry on Long Street creates a hotspot that is directly responsible for the perception of it as an unsafe space.

The outcome of two workshops gauging business owners' perceptions of the street, was that 54.2% of them believed issues surrounding *safety* were core to the identity of the street. They related this perception to the street being associated with 'drugs' and 'drunkenness', and being 'run-down'. All these factors are directly related to the negative externalities known to proliferate when the alcohol-leisure industry inundates an area. The media's emphasis on this unpleasant state of affairs emerges strongly in all three articles presented: all point to negative aspects of noise pollution, intimidation and violence that surface when an area such as Long Street's NTE becomes dominated by the alcohol-leisure industry.

The conclusion that there is a definite perception that Long Street is an unsafe space at night emerges clearly from the majority of the aforementioned evidence. This perception is fuelled by the negative externalities produced by the alcohol-leisure industry operating in the NTE. However bad the reality is, the perception of crime in Long Street is generally much exaggerated.

6.3 Inclusivity and Diversity

The 24-h city concept was essentially promoted because of its potential ability to attract a wide demographic of the community into the city at night (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). An inclusionary NTE importantly allows for the resulting social and

economic benefits to be maximised as they are shared by a larger proportion of the community (Bianchini, 1995). However, unfortunately as the literature review details, the 24-h city policy package resulted mainly in the proliferation of the alcohol-leisure industry. This in turn creates an exclusionary NTE as the negative externalities of the alcohol-leisure industry, fuelled by consumerised cultures of transgression, deter the broader community from participating in the nocturnal city. Thus, the primary research presented confirms the exclusivity of the NTE brought about by the creation of homogenous urban playscapes.

The interview process directly asked respondents about the inclusivity of the NTE in Long Street. Asked whether or not they would hypothetically take their family (including children) walking down Long Street on a weekend night, 14 out of 16 respondents said they would not - because it would be inappropriate and uncomfortable. This is direct immediate evidence of the exclusionary effect created by the alcohol-leisure industry and alluded to in the literature review. However, some interviewees argued that 'perhaps it is OK for Long Street to become exclusionary at certain times'. While this argument carries some weighting, it ignores public perception. It is true that Long Street only becomes highly exclusionary around midnight. Nevertheless, the perception of it as an unsafe space - a space where anti-social behaviours and aggressive hedonism are normalised - is not restricted to this time frame and the exclusionary effect is affixed to the identity the Long Street NTE. Thus, the response to this question is clearly indicative of the exclusionary nature of this NTE.

The literature stresses that this exclusionary nature results from the domination of the space dominated by young adults engaged in the consumption of nightlife practises centred on the alcohol-leisure industry. This

subjectivity of young adults tends to become threatening as it endangers the existence of other subjectivities in certain spaces, especially practising Muslims and families with children. This was confirmed by both the interview process and the photo essay. The interviewees believed the main participants in the NTE to be young adults aged 18-late 20's and the photo essay confirmed this, with the majority of revellers falling into this category. This must be viewed together with the evidence deriving from the site analysis - highlighting the prominence of the alcohol-leisure industry in the space. Ultimately, this leads to the exclusion of the broader community as the subjectivity of intoxicated youth prevents others from participating in the NTE.

The lack in diversity of participants brought out by this phenomenon has been challenged. Some academics such as Jayne et al (2006) and a handful of interviewees - such as Belinda Walker and Carola Koblitiz - suggest that there is a fair amount of diversity in the drinking cultures associated with participants in the Long Street NTE. This was reinforced up by the unanimous agreement across respondents that the people active in Long Street at night were highly diverse in their racial, social-economic and cultural demographic. This was also captured in the photo essay. Hence, Long Street is correctly defined as a 'melting-pot' or 'cosmopolitan mix' of people. However, this diversity still falls within a specific bracket of young adults aged between 18 - late 20's, which gives a false image of total diversity as large tracts of the wider community are absent. Thus, although the NTE may be diverse within its participant base, its overall exclusionary nature exposes this claim of diversity as a false understanding of a truly inclusive space.

The conclusions of the secondary data gathered varied

slightly from those of the primary data, but this is to be expected, as the former does not specifically intend to gauge the inclusivity of Long Street at night. The 2012 survey data showed that 80.7% of respondents believed the night-life in the city as a whole to be inclusive. Furthermore, 50.9% of these respondents disagreed with the survey's question relating asking whether night-time entertainment could only be enjoyed by the rich. However, this data was taken from night-time respondents only, thereby skewing the data, as it would not have been able to capture accurately the potentially excluded groups.

The 2013 State of the Central City report emphasized that the racial demographic of residents in the central city was diverse - i.e. representative of South Africa's overall racial demographic. In addition, the report also highlights the 2nd most common reason for residents wanting to live in the CBD - having a diverse range of entertainment options; and noted that city centre living has enjoyed renewed popularity, with the residential population increasing tremendously (300%) from 2001.

One of the key perceived aspects of the street's perceived identity and image is the diverse mix of cultures, but in two workshops, only 26.6% of Long Street business owners believed inclusivity to be a big contributor to the streets image - with words like 'diversity' and 'melting-pot' to describe this. Although these perceptions paint a picture of a diverse NTE, it must be restated that there is diversity, but it is only occurring in one particular demographic bracket - that of young adults engaged in the consumption of the alco-leisure industry.

The primary data was specifically calibrated to measure the potential exclusionary effects of the alco-leisure industry and its links to consumerised cultures of

transgression. In light of the evidence presented, the ineluctable conclusion is that the Long Street NTE is neither inclusionary nor diverse in respect to the 24-h city ideal. The production of a designated space of patterned liminality - where anti-social behaviour is acted out and normalised - inherently excludes the majority of the community. This is discussed next.

6.4 Patterned Liminality

The literature review details how the 24-h city policy package that was intended to create diverse and vibrant night-time city centres, resulted in the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry. This led inevitably to the production of homogeneous urban playscapes which played host to young adults participating in an entertainment culture premised on the consumption of alcohol.

These two outcomes - the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry and the creation of homogeneous urban playscapes - form a positive feedback loop with negative externalities. The alco-leisure industry is concerned primarily with increased profit margins which come directly from the sale of alcohol. Participation in the NTE is primarily based around the consumption of alcohol by young adults largely because of the absence in diversity of night-time activities which do not involve alcohol. Chatterton and Hollands (2003) detail the market-led process: the more young adults consume alcohol, the greater the profits, and as a result the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry ensues. Added to this, the alco-leisure industry clusters its economic activity because this engenders a positive returns to scale. As more revellers participate in the NTE of an area, the more attractive it becomes to other partygoers. Thus, the demand for the alco-leisure industry increases. The loop is completed when supply adjusts for demand, and the alco-leisure industry

comes to dominate the NTE of an area.

This phenomenon produces explicit negative externalities which become normalised in an area of patterned liminality. The photo essay and observations were designed to provide evidence of this phenomenon. Perceptions inevitably arise of transgressions and anti-social behaviour, in Long Street at certain times, deterring broader community from participating.

The interview data concluded that Long Street exists as a liminal area - where anti-social behaviour is act out and normalised - directly comparable to those described in the literature review. However, debate arose between interviewees about whether this was necessarily a bad thing. Some interviewees believed that Long Street's identity relies on it being a grey zone where people can experience freedom from regulations. Thus, the liminality of the area as wholly negative is contested.

The researcher wishes to state explicitly that this has been taken into account. Liminality to a degree - as well as tolerance of liminal experimentation - can play an important role in establishing a NTE which has a distinct character and a certain genius loci. Unfortunately, as was the case in the NTEs described in the literature reviewed, Long Street experiences a level of liminal experimentation manifested as anti-social behaviour, violence, prostitution, drug dealing, public drunkenness, and public urination that transcend convivial merrymaking. The photo essay and observations were able to capture this, documenting transgressions such as fighting and hostile behaviour. Adding to this, the 2012 CCID User Survey data reveal that 65.5% of respondents believe anti-social behaviour to be an issue in the city centre at night. Overall, it can

be concluded that Long Street is a liminal zone where transgressions are expected to manifest.

The research interview respondents agreed that the alco-leisure industry dominates the NTE of Long Street, and this was confirmed in the site analysis and photo essay. However, discrepancies arose among the interviewees, surrounding the type of drinking occurring in Long Street. A few thought that it was social drinking that proliferated, and that the binge drinking described in the literature was to be found in overcrowded shanty towns. However, the evidence from the active participants, as well as the photo essay and observations, disprove this, suggesting instead that binge drinking is the *modus operandi* of revellers in the street.

The photo essay captures Long Street as a liminal zone, highlighting the masses of intoxicated participants on the street engaged in acts which symbolise a collapse in social order and a disregard for regulations. This behaviour, on such a large scale and with such high frequency, tends to overwhelm the necessary regulatory responses for maintaining order, such as policing. This results in the unabated proliferation of these transgressions. Subsequently, these liminal acts become normalised in this socio-spatial dimension. This transforms Long Street into an area where the occurrence of liminality becomes patterned – occurring roughly at the same time with corresponding intensities. The domination of the alco-leisure industry, and the proliferation of young adults as its primary consumers, have created a designated space of patterned liminality where circuit drinking results in anti-social behaviour. The consequence of this, as explained by the research, is that the broader community is deterred from using the NTE, and the rights of surrounding residents are impinged upon. This

fosters the exclusionary effect described throughout this paper, making the NTE of Long Street socially unsustainable and discrediting it with regards to the 24-h city ideal.

Image 4 showing church volunteers cleaning up after messy revellers in Long Street



Source: Author, 2014

This phenomenon of patterned liminality is also captured in business owners' perceptions of the street which give us insight into the development of Long Street as a liminal space. In two workshops, 54.2% of owners believed that *safety* issues linked to 'drugs' and 'drunkenness' were paramount in creating perceptions of the street. Correspondingly, 17.7% of business owners believed that the perceived image of the street was negative.

The reported media coverage of Long Street comments that the liminality of the space has become normalised. Three articles variously portrayed: an event likened to a riot, mob-like nightclub owners intimidating residents, and an incompetent local municipality that was powerless to intervene. These are other examples of

the liminality which characterises the NTE of Long Street.

Thus, the research conducted concludes that there are direct parallels between the liminal zones explained in the literature and the contemporary NTE of Long Street. The land use analysis of the site area reveals the extent to which the alco-leisure industry has come to dominate Long Street at night. The interview data, the photo essay and observations, the media reports, and the secondary survey data all provide evidence of the street's transformation from pleasant to intimidating as the night encourages liminal experimentation.

6.5 Potential

The synthesis of findings so far, has focused on the negative aspects relating to the 24-h city concept. The only reason why the 24-h city is still propagated in policy - and popularised by theorists such as Roberts and Eldridge (2009) - is that the potential positive socio-economic benefits are too great to resist (Shaw, 2010). The literature reviewed explains how the 24-h city concept can be used effectively to double the economy of a city by the extension of trading hours and the provision of amenities late into the night. It details explicitly how the 24-h city policy package was supposed to re-vitalise ailing town centres in the UK, transforming them into the sophisticated café cultures found in continental Europe. Regrettably, the outcomes were not as expected. This paper has documented that there are definite parallels between exclusionary NTEs of the UK and the NTE of Long Street. Therefore, the research did attempt to argue for various measures which could be used in order to pursue the potential benefits of the 24-h city ideal.

Cape Town, by the very nature of its urbanity, should be attempting to provide a NTE which is inclusionary

and diverse, promoting access and participation for the broader community. The *potential* of Long Street is perceived by 20.3% of business owners' (attending the workshops relating to Long Street) to be central to the image of the street. This also corresponds with the 2012 CCID User Survey which points to the fact that the city centre is becoming a popular residential choice, and is an attractive place to host social and cultural events.

The interview process highlighted the successes of First Thursdays to activate the city after dark. Night-time cultural events are one of the cornerstones measures described in the literature review, for revitalising night-time city centres. Interviewees agreed with this notion and the idea of increasing the amount and diversity of night-time cultural activities in the city was well received. As well as playing a major part in attracting the broader community into the city at night, cultural events are essential at changing perceptions of the city centre as an unsafe space. They provide a means with which to disrupt the NTE dominance of young adults concerned primarily with the consumption of the alcohol-leisure industry. The success of First Thursdays should pave the way for the addition of more night-time cultural events in the city centre.

Long Street unfortunately lies in the centre of a natural amphitheatre, thus restricting the range of possible street events. However, there are numerous and innovative night-time cultural activities which could be hosted in the city centre, including Long Street, which would satisfy reasonable noise volumes standards.

The site analysis showed that there is a strong retail component to Long Street. Hence, the extension of the retail trading hours could be used as a method of diversifying the NTE. This study also showed the lack of

informal traders operating in the street. The potential recommendation to increase informal trade in Long Street, plus the creation of a night-market, could go a long way in diversifying the NTE. This suggestion was met with mixed responses from interviewees, largely due to the constraints on the municipality's capacity to regulate this effectively.

Yeo and Heng (2013), in the Singaporean context, found that the informal economy played a major role in introducing an everyday nightlife into the NTE, fostering the inclusion of a wider range of the community. This could be true of the NTE in Cape Town and specifically of Long Street. The possible introduction of a night market would add an extra dimension to the NTE here, diversifying it from the mono-use of the alcohol-leisure industry. However, the interview process revealed that the current regulations are probably too rigid for this to happen organically. Policy amendments and special concessions will have to be made if there is to be any growth in the night-time informal economy in the city centre - especially with regards to Long Street.

The most commonly voiced idea in the debate surrounding Long Street's potential is pedestrianisation. Business owners are split as to whether or not it would be advantageous for their profits. There is also the concern that it would result in unmanageable street party because of the prominence of the alcohol-leisure industry with its associated phenomenon of patterned liminality.

Although the photo essay and in-field observations were not specifically designed to capture the potential of the street, they allow for some plausible predications to be made about the street's future development. The issues of congested traffic, crowding outside of establishments, and pavements overflowing with

pedestrians could be alleviated by the temporary pedestrianisation of the street. However, it could also lead to an escalation in the liminal experimentation, potentially turning the site into a free-for-all street party. Obviously, any attempt at pedestrianisation would have to be conducted under strict regulatory guides.

Thus, it can be concluded that there are potential implementations that could be used to mitigate the current negative direction in order to and to guide it onto a more socially sustainable path. These implementations will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.6 Triangulation of Results

The analysis, under the themed headings, has produced interlinked results. Hence, the triangulation technique can validly be used to draw conclusions across these themes.

Under the theme of safety, it was concluded that the NTE of Long Street is perceived as unsafe by the wider community and this deters their participation. This perception relates directly to the conclusions drawn under the theme of inclusivity and diversity. The results of this section indicate clearly that the NTE is neither inclusionary nor diverse, because it has become dominated by young adults engaged in acts of liminal experimentation. This was further confirmed as evidence pointed to the negative externalities created by the positive feedback loop between the alcohol-leisure industry and the incidence of young adults in the NTE. This phenomenon produces a designated space of patterned liminality which was explored under its relevant theme. In its turn, the theme of patterned liminality was shown to link back to the theme of safety, since it is these negative externalities produced

in a space of patterned liminality and primarily committed by young adults, which deter the broader community from participating in Long Street's NTE.

The evidence relating to the potential of the NTE to be inclusive and diverse was also synthesised. The conclusion emerged that there are potential measures which can be implemented to redirect the development of NTE onto a socially sustainable path.

6.7 Conclusion

This study strongly suggests that the NTE of Long Street is exclusionary, socially unsustainable and far from the 24-h city ideal. The research findings presented have been synthesised under the theme headings of safety, inclusivity and diversity, patterned liminality and potential. The triangulation technique was used to draw conclusions across these themes. This highlighted the positive feedback loop between the alcohol-leisure industry and the creation of homogenised urban playscapes. This phenomenon produces negative externalities, deterring the broader community from participating in the NTE, thus fostering an exclusionary effect.

The following chapter discusses the recommendations to be implemented in order to develop a socially sustainable NTE, and ends with the concluding comments of the dissertation.



7 : RECOMMENDATIONS
AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter suggests an integrated approach to regulating the NTE in Cape Town - more specifically Long Street - in order to promote the ideal of the 24-h city. A diverse and vibrant NTE that is socially sustainable and can be enjoyed by the broad community, constitutes an important asset for any city. As this paper has documented, the NTE present in Long Street has become dominated by the alco-leisure industry, consequently producing a socially unsustainable space of liminality and transgression. The following recommendations aim to reduce the negative externalities resulting from the NTE in Long Street and indeed for all NTEs in the entire metropolitan region of Cape Town. The concluding comments answer the research question and describe this paper's addition to the contemporary literature with some indications of possible further research.

The recommendations adopt a proactive rather than a reactive approach hoping to pre-empt NTE problems instead of merely reacting to them. In the case of Long Street, where several problems already exist, several active interventions will have to be taken. It is crucial to understand that the suggested recommendations aim to strike a balance between promoting a vibrant and diverse NTE while ensuring the inevitable nuisance level rising from the night-time entertainment industry does not endanger the vision of social sustainability.

The recommendations are essentially based on this study, but include recommendations given by urban theorist Marion Roberts (2007), who did similar research in the UK. She sets out a best practice guide for managing the NTE in London. The primary research in this investigation draws strong parallels between the NTE of Cape Town's Long Street and those investigated by Roberts and Turner (2005) and her book *Planning*

the Night Time City (2009). Thus, many of her recommendations to achieve social sustainability are strongly appropriate in the Cape Town context.

The recommendations, which may require further research, are set out below:

- 7.2 deals with assembling a local evidence base for efficient management
- 7.3 and 7.4 argue for adopting an integrated policy approach as well as an integrated management approach
- 7.5 suggests strategies aiming to diversify the NTE in Cape Town
- 7.6 comprises the final recommendation proposing a direct intervention aimed at Long Street's sustainability as a social space

7.2 Assembling a Local Evidence Base for Efficient Management

It is important for the various management tools - such as regulations, policy, interventions and implementations - to be employed in a manner which are appropriate and accurate. However, this depends on the availability of relevant local evidence and its effective collection. Locally based evidence is the most efficient and effective means with which to inform insightful policies and regulations that can target actual problems rather than merely perceived problems (Roberts, 2007). This research highlighted the fact that perceptions are crucial in the way society uses space. For example, incorrect perceptions that Long Street is becoming more unsafe will solidified if incorrect policy is implemented which aims to provide a solution where no intervention is necessary.

To manage the NTE, it is important to obtain insight into the nature and scale of local activity. This

investigation is a small-scale example of this. Thus, the stakeholders present in the NTE - such as The City of Cape Town, Cape Town Partnership, the CCID, the OnLong Businesses Association and the Long Street Residents Association - should engage in integrated evidence-based research. This would allow for the creation of the quantitative and qualitative data essential when attempting to manage the complexities of the NTE.

The kind of data this evidence-based research should attempt to assemble would be: pedestrian flow surveys, venue capacities, infrastructural capacities, employment benefits, and detailed mapping of crime data in the relevant area to determine better the relationship between crime and the NTE. This data will allow for a general understanding of the fine-grained nature of the NTE on a local scale, contributing towards greater management efficiency (Roberts, 2007). This present study indicates the critical importance of these steps in informing policy for a sustainable NTE.

7.3 An Integrated Policy Approach

Policies regulating the NTE need to be integrated for effective management to ensure that the positives of the NTE are maximised, while the negative externalities are minimized. The first step towards integrated policy would be to give the NTE recognition. The existing policy documents such as the Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (SDF) and the Integrated Development Programme (IDP), make no direct acknowledgement of the NTE nor do they promote or regulate it in any way. Policy directly focussed at managing the NTE in a proactive manner does not exist in the Cape Town context

This oversight in planning for entertainment and leisure in the NTE and the generally lax attitude of planners

towards the NTE is summed up by Kunzmann as quoted in Roberts and Eldridge (p159 | 2009):

“It is an interesting fact that planners do little for the city as an entertainment space.... One could and must suspect that planners do not like to enjoy life or to be entertained, or to be seen to like entertainment, even occasionally. Most planners, being Calvinist-minded missionaries for social justice and equity or militant warriors for sustainable development, have deleted entertainment from their proactive agendas.”

Thus, it is imperative that the Cape Town municipal SDF and IDP address the NTE as it is the driving component in successfully developing a 24-h city. The ideal NTE provides an extremely powerful tool for social upliftment and economic growth. However, it can also manifest in ways that are exclusionary and socially unsustainable - as strongly evidenced in this research.

7.3.1 Policy to Regulate the Cumulative Impact of the Alco-Leisure Industry

The power of the alco-leisure industry to inundate an area can be directly regulated by the introduction of a policy that seeks to limit the number of licensed premises in a designated area. The cumulative impact of the alco-leisure industry is defined as the collective impact of a number of licensed venues within a small area (Roberts and Turner, 2005). Currently, there is no law regulating the number of liquor outlets in a set area, nor do any of the existing by-laws protect residents from the negative externalities associated with the cumulative impact. Roberts and Eldridge (2009) suggest that it becomes very difficult to manage the piecemeal development of ‘no-go’ areas of patterned liminality without such laws which enable regulation of the cumulative impact of the alco-leisure industry. Unfortunately, as the research showed, Long

Street has already become saturated by licensed venues with the alco-leisure industry dominating the street.

Therefore, it would be prudent that for government to promulgate policy that regulates the number of licensed venues in a certain area. Cumulative Impact policy directly counters the alco-leisure industry’s ability to develop incrementally exclusive spaces of patterned liminality. This regulation would have to set out a methodology to determine the saturation point of a specific area (Roberts, 2009). The saturation point could be calculated by establishing the infrastructural capacity of the area to host a certain number of people, as well as balancing the needs of business with rights of residents and the local community (Beer, 2011).

Thus, the point of saturation needs to be determined using robust local evidence, therefore the collection and assemblage of evidence, as discussed in 7.2, is crucial in implementing cumulative impact regulations effectively. Every area will have a different threshold over which the saturation point will be reached. This is dependent on surrounding land use and the nature of the NTE in the locality. Determining this threshold becomes subjective to an extent, since it is hard to argue that the arbitrary introduction of one more establishment will suddenly transform an area in to zone of patterned liminality. Blanket bans over an area should be avoided unless the negative externalities relating to cumulative impacts are significant (Roberts, 2007).

Municipalities considering implementing cumulative impact policy should be aware of its wide-ranging implications. Demand for the alco-leisure industry may lead to growth being dispersed, causing neighbouring areas to develop NTEs inappropriate in relation to their

dominant land uses. As suggested by Roberts (2007), cumulative impact policy should be employed alongside more finely-tuned policy mechanisms, allowing municipalities to discourage establishments concomitant with the production of anti-social behaviour.

Understanding cumulative effect is also important when protecting the rights of licensed venues in regards to residential intensification. When new residents relocate to an area with an existing NTE, this inevitably leads to tensions between the various parties. Tensions will be especially high if the cumulative effect of the existing NTE has not been regulated. Beer (2011) argues that a certain degree of regulation can hinder the production of uncontrollable urban playscapes; all parties will be more likely to benefit from the resulting harmonious balance created.

7.3.2 Anti-Social Behaviour By-Law

In order to provide the SAPS with the legal means of mitigating anti-social behaviour stemming from the NTE, it is advisable that an Anti-Social Behaviour By-Law be promulgated. In principle, this stems from the British Anti-Social Behaviour Act. The Anti-Social Behaviour By-Law affords police officers clear guidelines as to what is considered anti-social behaviour, as well as establishing mitigating actions. The by-law would allow the SAPS to issue individuals or groups with anti-social behaviour orders (ASBO) and fixed penalty notices for disorder (PND). These behaviours should have clear descriptors as suggested below, preventing an ASBO from being interpreted too widely and thereby having unintended consequences for individuals or groups, or used to prejudice groups.

ASBOs are issued when a perpetrator is, on the balance of immediate evidence, found to be guilty of an offence

that would not usually warrant a criminal prosecution, such as causing nuisance and fear to other people in the immediate environment. The intent of an ASBO is to limit or correct the recipients behaviour. This is done by giving them legal notice that they are mandated to vacate an area or premises, or by restricting their public behaviour. ASBOs should be issued with regard to anti-social behaviours and nuisances such as: aggressive and repeated use of abusive language, noise pollution, aggressive begging, loitering, intimidation and bullying, and drug dealing (CPS, n.d.). Thereafter, if a recipient of an ASBO is once again found to be guilty of committing anti-social behaviours within a specific time-frame, they are liable to a fine or community service. If recipients refuse to vacate an area or premises, then they are liable to be detained and subsequently removed.

A fixed penalty notice for disorder (PND) would be issued when the recipient is engaged in anti-social behaviours more serious than those deserving of an ASBO, but still not severe enough to warrant criminal prosecution. An example of such behaviour would be fighting or re-entering an area after being issued an ASBO. A PND offers a simple and swift way to deal with anti-social behaviour by issuing a spot fine, as well as requiring the recipient to vacate the area or premises. PNDs can only be issued by the police. Recipients are able to appeal their cases in court if they believe they have been wrongfully found guilty. Refusal to pay a PND would result in an increased fine, and eventually a court summons (British Transport Police, n.d.).

The introduction of the Anti-Social Behaviour By-Law should be specifically tailored to address the negative externalities relating to the NTE, and in particular, to mitigate the effects caused by the alco-leisure industry.

7.4 An Integrated Approach to Managing the NTE

The adoption of an integrated approach is ideal for participation amongst many stakeholders in and around Long Street. This could mandate the creation of a specific management body, allowing for the NTE in Long Street to receive a high level of dedicated management attention.

An integrated approach is essential because managing the NTE is a complex task which involves coordinating strategies and actions across a variety of stakeholders. There must be a strong focus is needed on coordination and cooperation between the various stakeholders in the NTE (Roberts, 2007) - in this case specifically in Long Street. One of the best possible strategies to managing the NTE effectively, is to understand the demands of its users. It must be noted that the users of the NTE are not represented by any organised body. If users are participating in the NTE with the consumption of alcohol as their primary objective, then specific management plans need to be employed in order to combat the negative externalities arising from this (Roberts, 2007). The current research confirms the truth of this. Even if this is represented as eating out, socializing, clubbing, dancing, chatting or meeting friends – alcohol is still the major component driving these activities.

A key component of managing the NTE of an area, as indicated by Roberts (2007), is persistence. The management of the NTE is fundamentally a balancing act involving the complex procedures of changing the perception of an area by mitigating the incidence of anti-social behaviours. This will take time. Local government, as well as the surrounding community with its various stakeholders, must be strongly committed to fostering a successful NTE over-time. This demands the creation of a strongly motivated

management body.

7.4.1 Anti-Social Behaviour Strategy

A specific proactive Anti-Social Behaviour Strategy is recommended to curb the negative effects of a NTE - which, as this study has highlighted - is directly influenced by the alco-leisure industry contributing to the proliferation of anti-social behaviour, transgression and nuisance. Such a strategy must involve stakeholder if it is to maximise the effectiveness of action against anti-social behaviour. This would require the coordinated efforts of the CCID, LSRA, OnLong Businesses Association and the SAPS.

This study suggests that The Cape Town Anti-Social Behaviour Strategy adopt the ‘polluter pays’ principle. The ‘Polluters’ are the establishments of the alco-leisure industry who are behind the resulting negative externalities of the NTE. Therefore, this principle puts the onus on the alco-leisure industry to actively participate in mitigating anti-social behaviour. This will allow for the benefits of the NTE to be realised while attempting to minimise its negative impacts. Measures to be taken include extending and enhancing the training of door staff and security personnel to deal specifically with cases of anti-social behaviour, as well as increasing their communication with SAPS through joint training sessions, meetings and infield communication links.

A ‘Best-Bar None’ award scheme should be initiated as suggested by Roberts and Eldridge (2009). This scheme aims to engage directly with the alco-leisure industry by providing incentives for businesses to promote measures to reduce anti-social behaviour and nuisances. These measures include incentivising the discouragement of binge drinking and the rewarding of businesses that adopt such measures to reduce alcohol-

related crime and disorder. Incentives include awarding responsible businesses with a plaque they can display on their premises plus the prestige of being members of the awards scheme. This in turn can be used by business owners to argue for lower insurance premiums in light of their improved safety standards (Roberts, 2007).

7.4.2 The Introduction of an Entertainment Management Zone (EMZ)

It has been emphasised that the NTE should play a major role in promoting the vitality and viability of the city centre (Roberts, 2007). The cultural and economic importance of Long Street as a grey area, as a place of liminality is understood by the author. Therefore the recommendations suggested in this paper are not an attempt to sterilize the space as that would mean destroying its identity. Instead, the strategic importance of the NTE of Long Street must be realised so that it can be protected and supported, ensuring that its development is guided in a way which is socially sustainable.

One way to ensure that Long Street's development is socially sustainable would be to designate the area an Entertainment Management Zone (EMZ). EMZs are a direct response to government's acknowledgement of the importance of the NTE as well as the need to mitigate its negative impacts. The concept involves geographically demarcating an area in which policies and actions aimed at tackling the negative impacts associated with the alco-leisure industry are coordinated. Thus, the concept of EMZs is to provide a robust and comprehensive pro-active approach towards mitigation (Roberts, 2007).

Therefore, the introduction of an EMZ for Long Street would provide a policy platform for the total integration

and coordination of policies and actions aiming to regulate the negative impacts of the NTE while promoting socially sustainable growth. This would allow the recommended policies and implementations of the Cape Town Anti-Social Behaviour Strategy, the Best-Bar None initiative, the NTE management partnership, the Anti-Social Behaviour By-Laws, and Cumulative Impact policy all to be championed under a single management zone. This permits the efficient and effective management of the relevant regulations. It allows for the various stakeholders to gain an increased understanding of how the NTE is being regulated, helping to find the harmonious balance between the needs of business and patrons of the NTE and those of the local community.

7.5 Diversifying the NTE

This section provides five measures that can be utilised to diversify the NTE by promoting the inclusivity of the broader Cape Town community. These measures are:

- the introduction of night-time cultural events
- the extension of retail hours
- the formal introduction of the informal economy into the NTE by exploring the feasibility of a night market
- the temporary night-time pedestrianisation of Long Street as an urban experiment
- the introduction of late-night public transport

These recommendations are not meant to be implemented in separate silos, rather an integrated approach to implementation should be adopted so that the measures are employed congruently.

The investigation into the NTE of Long Street has detailed the lack of diversity in night-time activities on Long Street. This lack of diversity stems from the

dominating effect of the alco-leisure industry which drives out other night-time activities. Theorists such as Roberts and Eldridge (2009), Chatterton and Hollands (2003), and Hobbs et al (2005) have stressed the need to promote a diverse NTE which comprise activities which do not necessarily revolve around the consumption of alcohol - to achieve the ideal of a 24-h city. Contemporary Long Street and the NTE of the city centre do boast a significant range of dining and drinking opportunities. However, it is the significant lack of night-time activities unrelated to the alco-leisure industry which denies the broader community from accessing the NTE. The research of Roberts and Eldridge (2007) reveals that interview respondents repeatedly highlight the need to accommodate families with children.

7.5.1 Introduction of Night-Time Cultural Events

It is recommended that the City government, together with local stakeholders, develop a cultural programme of night-time activities aimed at drawing a diverse range of people into the city centre. Cultural events could originate from the local cultures, could be borrowed concepts like First Thursdays, or be a mixture of both local and international. Live bands, street initiatives, art projects, open cinemas and other cultural institutions should all be considered in the attempt to diversify the NTE through culture (Roberts, 2007). These activities lend support to the cultural animation approach to revitalising town centres after dark (Roberts and Eldridge, 2007).

Night-time cultural events which do not revolve around the alco-leisure industry would also be supported by the recommendations to follow such as increasing informal trade and promoting the extension of retail trading hours. It is duly noted that the alco-leisure industry will still play a large role in the overall success

of these events, as it would be exclusionary to exclude it.

Much support for this measure appears in the literature. Urban theorist Roberts (2007) expresses the need to encourage cultural activity in addition to hosting a variety of restaurants, bars and nightclubs. Bianchini, in his article promoting the adoption of the 24-h city, used the example of the night-time cultural events used to revitalise Rome from 1977 to 1985, and stressed the importance of culture in attracting large numbers of people into city centres at night, especially families with children (Bianchini, 1995). The role of culture in city centre revitalisation was also addressed by Lovatt and O'Connor (1995) explaining that the production, distribution and consumption of culture needs to be used to maximize the use of space for the widest variety of people.

Participation in cultural activities plays a major role in the formation of strong and sustainable communities. This concept is built on by Jiwa et al (2009) as they explore the use of nocturnal cultural activities as an effective means of city centre revitalisation. Importantly, they point to the power of night-time cultural events to change perceptions of a city centre at night. They use the example of Nuit Blanche events which see art galleries and museums staying open late and waiving entrance fees. This is directly comparable to First Thursdays in Cape Town.

This research has documented the success of First Thursdays in activating the city centre at night, drawing people onto the streets and reducing the perceptions of the city as unsafe at night. The event has gathered considerable support. A recent news article ran the headline "First Thursdays: Reclaiming the Night with Art" that explained the concept to readers, emphasising

its ability to assist in reclaiming the public realm of the city at night (Jolly, p14 |2014).

In sum, it is clear that a programme of night-time cultural activities needs to be introduced to act as a catalyst in the attempt to diversify the NTE of Cape Town. As will be discussed below, the night-time cultural activities should coincide with the accompanying recommendations to diversify the NTE.

7.5.2 Promoting the Extension of Retail Hours

Promoting the extension of retail hours is pivotal in bridging the gap between the day and night-time city. With the dominance of the alco-leisure industry being so ingrained, the importance of retail is sometimes forgotten. The gap between the two economies is created when daytime city workers rush home after work to suburbia, leaving the city largely devoid of activity, until the alco-leisure industry picks up later into the night (Roberts, 2007). This phenomenon can be

Image 5 showing how First Thursdays Activates the Streets in the Central City



Source: Author, 2014

countered somewhat by extending retail trading hours so that these daytime workers are encouraged to stay longer in the city centre (Shaw, 2013). To persuade retail outlets to stay open longer they need assurance that there will be potential customers in the city during the night. Therefore, it is necessary to promote some equilibrium whereby both parties are benefit: retail hours are extended and people stay in the city after work; people get to shop before going home and businesses enjoy greater profit. This will create the additional benefit for society as the city will be active for longer with people being present in the physical space, hopefully activating the streets and supporting the creation of a 24-h city and in addition helps to mitigate peak hour traffic.

A push to extend retail hours would mean that businesses would need to engage in discussion with city management. The Cape Town Partnership should strongly encourage this extension of hours. Businesses can be incentivised to stay open later if the city manages to introduce incentives for people to stay in the city longer such as night-time cultural activities. This was the case in Newcastle (UK) where the city ran the 'Alive After Five' campaign - specifically aimed at reinvigorating the city centre after dark, using cultural animation and the extension of retail and leisure hours (Shaw, 2013). The extension of retail hours can be promoted further by implementing such recommendations as improved lighting at night.

A strong residential population in the city centre is also an element which makes the extension of retail hours more feasible. The residential population in the inner city has grown tremendously over the last decade and is projected to keep doing so (CTP, 2013). Carola Koblitz, the communications manager at the CCID, explained in her interview that the current population

of the inner city is around 6000 and to for it to be efficient as a 24-h retail zone they would need a minimum of 8000 residents (Koblitz, 2014).

7.5.3 The Formal Introduction of the Informal Economy into the NTE: Exploring the Feasibility of a Night-Market

It is recommended that a night market be introduced into the central city in order to test the feasibility of the informal economy to enhance the social sustainability of the NTE. This could only transpire if it was conducted under special management and given special permissions as the current by-laws regulating informal

Image 6 showing how retail hours have been extended due to the success of First Thursdays



Source: Author, 2014

trade do not allow for the organic proliferation of the informal economy. A night market should be implemented as a complementary project alongside increased cultural activities, the extension of retail hours, temporary night-time pedestrianisation and additional lighting in the nocturnal city. The addition of a network of informal economy activity – not just the three night-time vendors found on Long Street – has the potential to increase the accessibility, tolerance, diversity and participation in the city centre (Yeo and Heng, 2013). All these things are crucial when striving for a socially sustainable NTE. The introduction of the informal economy via a night market is an attempt to shift from the carnival-esque NTE associated with the alco-leisure industry towards the everyday nightlife of ordinary spaces that contributes to creating a more inclusive city at night, and which is at the heart of the 24-h city (Yeo and Heng, 2013). The informal economy also adds quintessential ‘local’ flavour - providing an attraction for tourists and residents alike.

The informal economy was only addressed in one of the text relating to the 24-h city and the NTE. This is probably the result of the informal economy being a much smaller component of the UK economy. Yeo and Heng (2013) provide a detailed account of how informality promotes social sustainability in the NTE of Singapore. Roberts and Eldridge (2007) briefly mention night-markets as a self-funded activity which has the ability to attract a wider range of the population into the city at night.

The feasibility of a night-market must first be tested through the process of urban experimentation: the city must actually host a night-market, studying its outcomes and effects. As was discussed in chapter 5, city officials are hesitant about increasing informal trade at night because of the difficulty of regulating it.

The contextual analysis of Long Street in chapter 4 noted that Cape Town has some of the strictest regulations regarding informal trading in the country (Skinner, 2013). This being the case, a special managerial agency should be created to regulate the implementation of such a night-market liaising with all stakeholders, the most important of these being the informal traders themselves.

Image 7 is showing how the informal economy is promoted during the night-time cultural activity of First Thursdays



Source: Author, 2014

7.5.4 Temporary Night-Time Pedestrianisation as an Urban Experiment

It is recommended that the temporary pedestrianisation of Long Street, from the top till its intersection with Wale Street, be conducted as an urban experiment. It is suggested that part of the pedestrianized street should be lent to informal vendors, thereby creating the night-market suggested in 7.5.3.

In fact, the possibility of pedestrianizing Long Street is currently being discussed by various stakeholders. The interview process allowed the researcher to understand better the viewpoints of the different stakeholders engaged with this issue. The local ward councillor, Dave Bryant, explained that the city was pushing for pedestrianisation in Long Street, but had come up against resistance from residents and some small businesses (Bryant, 2014). The alco-leisure industry endorses the pedestrianisation of the street, and the Beer House, a prominent bar on the street, employed Marcela Casas from the Open Streets Initiative to conduct an initial feasibility study. However, the study found that before any attempt at pedestrianisation was to be made, there needed to be consensus between all business owners, and that a formal platform was needed in order for business to directly influence change in the street (Casas, 2014).

One possible adverse effect of pedestrianizing Long Street, as was discussed when analysing the interview data, could result in the creation of a giant street party fuelled by the alco-leisure industry. This, although seemingly convivial at first, could follow the same trajectory as Long Street did - over the weekend investigated in the photo essay - and transform into a designated liminal zone. The effects pedestrianisation would have on this can only be speculated about, as the temporary pedestrianisation on New Year's Eve

2012/2013 does not present a good case as it does not represent a standard night in the city.

This urban experiment would allow for any possible inclusionary effects of pedestrianisation to take effect. Pedestrianisation, as was noted in Jane Jacobs's (1958) in an article she wrote entitled *Downtown is for People*, increases access and provides an attractive urban space for a diverse range of the population to explore. This, along with a night-market, could be utilised to promote a 24-h city that is socially sustainable. Because of its temporary nature of the experiment, the city could bypass the need to have complete stakeholder buy-in. Any negative effects on businesses or residents would be minimize as it would be merely a once-off event. If, however, the effects are wholly positive, then the city could continue its short-term experiments to achieve a finely-tuned long-term goal.

7.5.5 Late Night Transport

The research into the NTE in Cape Town - and Long Street in particular - has not engaged fully with the connection that transport has with the night-time city. With Cape Town experiencing high levels of socio-spatial fragmentation, and with the majority of the population living many kilometres away from the CBD (McDonald, 2008), the exclusionary effect transport can have, particularly at night, cannot be underestimated. The implementation of a full-scale night-time transport plan for the CBD would be extremely detailed and digresses into the field of transport planning - which is beyond the scale of this research investigation.

However, when considering promoting the NTE, the City of Cape Town must include some provision for night-time public transport. This could mean the extension of the MyCiti Bus Service later into the night, the extension of train operating hours and the

extension of Golden Arrow Bus services. It is crucial that there is an effective and cost-efficient way for the broader Cape Town community to access the NTE, and for them to make the return journey. Roberts (2007) explains that the provision of transport home can reduce some of the negative externalities caused by the alco-leisure industry, allowing revellers to leave the area quickly and safely. This reduces the risk of anti-social behaviour when intoxicated participants are left loitering around the streets after the bars and clubs have closed for the night. It also means participants are less likely to drink drunk if they are aware that they can return home safely via public transport.

7.6 Immediate Interventions: Improved Lighting for Long Street

Long Street at night is a adequately lit space with numerous street lights and a few spot lights, but improvements should be made in order to mitigate the perception that it is an unsafe space (Koblitz, 2014). This being the case, an immediate intervention promoting the NTE in Long Street could be the implementation of increased lighting. Lighting provides a means to curbing the levels of liminality experienced at night (Roberts, 2007) on Long Street, especially during Friday and Saturday nights. This lighting should be primarily aimed at illuminating the dark patches cast under the Victorian verandas. These spots are dark because they are not lit by the street lights, especially since retail shops under the verandas have no incentive to keep their store lights on at night. Thus, lighting in the street would be significantly enhanced by the extension of retail hours.

The invention of lighting - as explored by Roberts and Eldridge (2009) - gave birth to the modern night-time city, allowing society to engage with the night-time endeavours inherent in the rise to the NTE. Roberts

(2007) explains that lighting adds quality to the built environment, in this case Long Street, and that improving the aesthetic quality of the nocturnal city though lighting, improves the safety of the built environment. An improvement in safety, along with reducing the perception that the city at night is unsafe, is important for attracting people back into the city at night to experience the everyday nightlife which characterises the 24-h city. The use of creative and innovative lighting measures by European cities during events like Nuit Blanche have proved extremely successful. In Barcelona, lighting around buildings provided the illumination for formal and informal activities to take place and be enjoyed (Evans, 2012). Therefore, improved lighting in the central city should be implemented along with the recommendations of increased night-time cultural activities, the introduction of a night-market and temporary pedestrianisation as it will add greatly to the potential success of these initiatives.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented proactive recommendations for reversing the exclusionary effect which the dominance of the alco-leisure industry has produced in the Cape Town NTE, and specifically in Long Street. These recommendations include assembling a local evidence base for good management - as it is important to have up-to-date and accurate information about the NTE in order to create effective policy and regulations to guide its development in a socially sustainable direction. It was recommended that integrated policy and management approaches be employed. This involves the creation of cumulative impact policy and by-laws regulating anti-social behaviour, and the creation of a special managerial body to manage Long Street. A strategy to regulate anti-social behaviour and the establishing an entertainment management zone

around the site area should be implemented and regulated by this management body.

The next set of recommendations suggested implementing a variety of integrated initiatives which aim to diversify the NTE in Cape Town. This included: implementing a calendar of night-time cultural activities, promoting the extension of retail trading hours, establishing a night-market in the city centre, the temporary pedestrianisation of Long Street, the implementation of night-time public transport and the provision of improved lighting in the central city, especially Long Street. These combined recommendations may enable Cape Town to shift towards a vibrant 24-h city which is socially inclusive.

7.8 Concluding Comments

The investigation into Long Street's NTE has revealed that it is not socially sustainable and does not meet the ideals of the 24-h city concept. The NTE in Long Street is exclusive, not truly diverse and does not encourage liveability. The dominance of the alco-lesisure industry produces negative externalities which are normalised in a designated space of patterned liminality. This, in turn, deprives the wider Cape Town community of benefiting from a NTE which is inclusive, diverse and balances the needs of business with the rights of the surrounding community. Potential measures to achieve these benefits were explored, and the evidence suggests that the combined introduction of a variety of interlinked catalytic implementations could foster a socially sustainable NTE.

The research presented in this dissertation adds valuable knowledge to the sub-field of urban planning concerned with the night-time city. It provides case study evidence of the NTE of a developing city, concluding that the same phenomena implicit in the

monopolisation of the night by the alco-leisure industry in the UK exist also in an urban context of the global south. Thus, the work highlights the current international trend of NTEs becoming inundated by the alco-leisure industry, producing night-time cities characterised by exclusion.

There are still large gaps in the literature which need to be accounted for, making additional research into the NTE necessary. Investigations need to be undertaken into the impacts that neoliberal governance practices had on the proliferation of the alco-leisure industry, as in the UK case. Cape Town needs a late night transport plan. The impact that tourism on the generation of party streets must be investigated.

In conclusion, the pursuit of a socially sustainable NTE, to develop a true 24-h city appears highly commendable. But, in practice, it is extremely difficult to attain because of its seemingly inherently tendency towards self-sabotage by commercial interests. As long as financial profit remains the true goal of stakeholders, and alcohol is seen as the only viable root to that end, the night-time economy will never fully achieve the noble status envisioned by the founders of the 24-h city concept.



08 : APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Reference List

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Appendix 2: Interview Ethic Forms

Caroline Skinner | 01/09/2014



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 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION /WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS **DR. NANCY ODENDAAL** AND HIS/HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: Email: Nancy.Odendaal@uct.ac.za
Phone: 021 650 2365

(Skinner) Researcher
 ALL.

 Signature and designation (interviewee)

Mblecher

 Signature of student

Hafeeza | 01/09/2014

Hafeeza : Muslim Non-drinker



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Signature and designation (interviewee)

Signature of student

Aisha | 01/09/2014

Aisha : Muslim Non-Drinker



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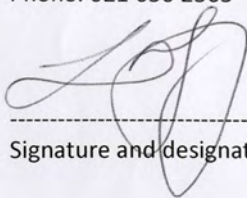
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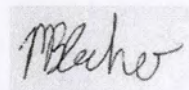
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Signature and designation (interviewee)



Signature of student

Nina | 02/09/2014

Nina Kay : Resident in the immediate Surrounds.



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YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION [checked box]

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION /WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION [empty box]

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M. Blecher (handwritten signature)

Kay - Gardens (handwritten signature and designation)
Signature and designation (interviewee)

Signature of student

Julian | 02/09/2014

Julian Hayson : Active Participant



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Signature and designation (interviewee)

Signature of student



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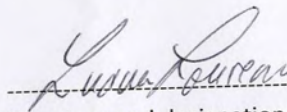
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Signature and designation (interviewee)



Signature of student

Marcela Casas: 04/09/2014


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Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502339
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Nancy.Odendaal@uct.ac.za

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Signature and designation (interviewee)

Signature of student

Jodi Allemeier | 05/09/2014

Jodi : W&EDP and former City Partnership



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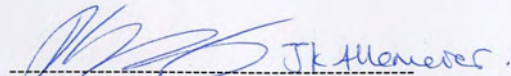
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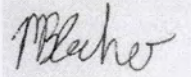
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Signature and designation (interviewee)


Signature of student

Stuart:: 09/09/2014

Student : Participant



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Signature (and designation) (interviewee)

Andrew Fleming
Senior Researcher

Cape Town Partnership

Signature of student

M. Blecher

Belinda Walker: 12/09/2014



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B. Walker

Signature and designation (interviewee)

M. Blecher

Signature of student

Dave Bryant: 12/09/2014



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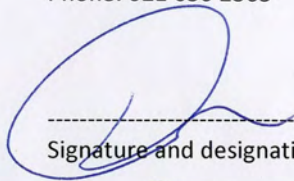
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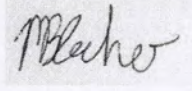
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MY SUPERVISOR IS **DR. NANCY ODENDAAL** AND HIS/HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: Email: Nancy.Odendaal@uct.ac.za
Phone: 021 650 2365



 Signature and designation (interviewee)
 Dave Bryant - (CIU)



 Signature of student



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS
 University of Cape Town
 Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
 Centlivres Building
 Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

2014

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF A MASTERS DISSERTATION, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN THE DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS **MISCHA BLECHER** AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON **The Night-time Economy in Cape Town** AS PART OF MY MASTERS DISSERTATION AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

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Signature and designation (interviewee)

Signature of student

Alex Jongens: 16/09/2014



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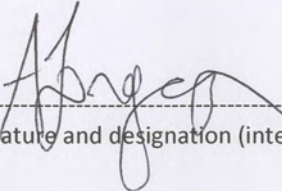
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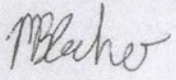
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Signature and designation (interviewee)



Signature of student

Faroek Kamalie: 17/09/2014


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 Signature and designation (interviewee)

 Signature of student

Carola Koblitz: 18/09/2014

Carola: CCID Communications Manager



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YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

Checked box

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION /WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

Empty box

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MY SUPERVISOR IS DR. NANCY ODENDAAL AND HIS/HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: Email: Nancy.Odendaal@uct.ac.za Phone: 021 650 2365

(Handwritten signature) CCID COMMUNICATIONS MANAGER

Signature and designation (interviewee)

(Handwritten signature) Blecher

Signature of student

Appendix 3: List of Interview Questions

General Questions:

- Would you say there is a perception of crime in the city at night/Long Street?
- Do you feel that there is enough visible security in Long Street at night?
- Would you consider Long Street to be a well-lit space at night?
- If you had (have) a family would you take them walking down Long Street at night on a weekend? (Where having family implied having young (7 -15 years old) children)
- Who do you think are the main participants (age group) of the NTE in Long Street?
- Do you think the night-time economy in Long Street is inclusive of the broader Cape Town community; whether you think the broader community can participate in it?
- Do you think Long Street exists in a legal grey area where people can transgress as they please? Do you see Long Street at night as a place where anti-social behaviour is acted out and normalised?
- Would you say that the alco-leisure industry is dominating the night-time economy in Cape Town?
- Should there be a drive to include more cultural events in Long Street - an attempt to create a more inclusive city at night?
- What part do you think the informal economy can play in creating a more inclusive night-time economy? Would you consider the idea of a night-market on Long Street a good idea?
- What do you think about the idea of pedestrianizing Long Street? Do you think the pedestrianisation of Long Street would have a positive effect on the NTE?
- Have you ever felt threatened in Long Street at night?
- Have you been a victim of crime on Long Street?
- Would you want to live on Long Street?
- Do you think most Muslims in your age group would go to bars?
- Is alcohol consumption the main purpose people go to Long Street at night?
- Circuit drinking - is that the order of the day in Long Street?
- When you're out drinking in Long Street, do you ever transgress, act in an anti-social way, rowdy, overly boisterous, loud?
- Have you ever participated in a planned pub crawl?
- What do you think about the seemingly paradoxical nature of regulation and deregulation of the NTE?
- Could you respond to the state from David McDonalds book Neoliberalism and Inequality in Cape Town: "the overarching goal of neoliberal urban policy experiments [being] to mobilize city space as an arena for both market-orientated economic growth and for elite consumption."
- What vision do you have for public space in the city at night?
- During the gradual development of Long Street into the epi-centre of Cape Town's night-life, how much input has the Mosque had in protecting itself and its ideals and religious rights in this development?
- As the Central City Improvement District your goal is to provide a safer, cleaner city centre which encourages business and is a centre for all. Do you think that the alcohol-leisure industry operating in Long Street, indirectly, has the opposite effect in creating a space where people, once they have consumed alcohol have the tendency to act out anti-social behaviour making Long Street less safe and less 'a centre for all'?
- Of the security issues that the CCID has to deal with (related to Long Street at night), how many would you say are alcohol-related events – for example involve anti-social behaviour, violence, noise pollution, vandalism perpetrated by persons under the influence of alcohol.

More Specific Questions:

- How often do you participate in night-time activity on Long Street (in a month)?
- What do you think the average youth (18-35) do in Long Street?

Appendix 4: Sections 11 and 12 of the Informal Trading By-Law of 2009

11. GENERAL PROHIBITIONS ON INFORMAL TRADING

Informal trading may not be conducted:-

- 11.1 in a garden or park under the control of the City and to which the public has the right of access, unless such area has been declared by the City as a trading area;
- 11.2 on a verge or sidewalk (as defined in section 1 of the National Road Traffic Act, No. 93 of 1996) next to –
 - 11.2.1 a building belonging to or occupied solely by the State or City, unless the City has given its prior written consent after it has -
 - 11.2.1.1 duly considered any relevant trading plan; and
 - 11.2.1.2 consulted with the relevant property owner and, where relevant, the tenant of such property;
 - 11.2.2 a place of worship such as a church, synagogue or mosque unless a trading plan permits informal trading at that area; or
 - 11.2.3 a national monument as determined in accordance with the provisions of the National Heritage Resources Act, 25 of 1999;
- 11.3 at a place where it –
 - 11.3.1 obstructs access to fire fighting equipment;
 - 11.3.2 obstructs any entry to or exit from a building;
 - 11.3.3 substantially obstructs pedestrians in their use of a sidewalk;
 - 11.3.4 obstructs vehicular traffic;
 - 11.3.5 and in a manner by which it creates a traffic hazard;
 - 11.3.6 obstructs access to street furniture, bus passenger benches and shelters, queuing lines, refuse disposal bins or other facilities intended for the use of the general public;

- 11.3.7 obstructs the visibility of a display window of business premises, and if the person carrying on business in that business premises objects thereto;
- 11.3.8 obstructs access to a pedestrian crossing;
- 11.3.9 obstructs access to a vehicle;
- 11.3.10 obscures any road traffic sign;
- 11.3.11 obstructs access to an automatic teller machine;
- 11.3.12 limits access to parking or loading bays or other facilities for vehicular traffic;
- 11.3.13 obstructs access to a pedestrian arcade or mall;
- 11.3.14 obstructs the view of CCTV cameras; or
- 11.3.15 falls below the high water mark, unless a trading plan expressly provides for informal trading at that area;
- 11.4 on the half of a public road which is next to a building that is being used for residential purposes, if the owner or occupier of that building objects to the informal trading taking place at that location.

12. RESTRICTIONS ON INFORMAL TRADING

No person shall:-

- 12.1 obstruct access to any service of the municipality or municipal service works;
- 12.2 unless prior written approval is granted by the City, at any public road or public place –
 - 12.2.1 stay overnight at the place where informal trading is conducted; or
 - 12.2.2 erect any structure, other than as stipulated in the relevant trading area plan and/or permit conditions, for the purpose of providing shelter;
- 12.3 carry on business as an informal trader in a manner which –
 - 12.3.1 creates a nuisance;

- 12.3.2 damages or defaces the surface of any public road or public place or any other property belonging to the City; or
- 12.3.3 creates a traffic hazard;
- 12.4 attach an object to any building, structure, pavement, footway, tree, parking meter, lamp pole, electricity pole, telephone booth, postbox, traffic sign, bench or any other street furniture or device in or on a public road or public place that is generally intended for public use;
- 12.5 make a fire at any place or in circumstances where it could harm any person or damage a building or vehicle or any structure referred to in section 12.4, unless authorised to prepare foodstuffs by utilising open-flame fire or gas-fired equipment;
- 12.6 deliver or provide goods or equipment to an informal trader if that trader trades in contravention of this By-Law;
- 12.7 after having been requested to do so by any person carrying out an activity contemplated in section 8.7 who requires access to a facility or area, fail to remove or move any goods, or refuse to do so; and
- 12.8 if permitted to conduct beach trading:
- 12.8.1 sell or promote alcoholic products;
- 12.8.2 use bells, hooters, amplified equipment or similar devices, which emit sound, in order to attract customers; or
- 12.8.3 use any electrical supply or power generator, unless expressly approved and provided for in the relevant permit.

Source: CoCT, p16-19|2009