International Contexts, Victorian Conditions: Music and the Night Time Economy



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Patrick Donovan, CEO of Music Victoria, opening the Night-Time Economy Summit at the State Library.

Background

The Music Cities Convention hosted by Melbourne in April 2018 provided an impressive international gathering of musicians, administrators, activists, academics, planners, music venue owners, and related industry and government figures. The benefits and challenges related to Melbourne's status as a global music city was a significant focus of Convention debates. In particular, how and where Melbourne is situated in regards to international debates and practice was an explicit sub-theme in terms of 'music city' governance.

The Victorian Night-Time Economy Summit was convened on 20 November 2018 at the State Library of Victoria to explore the best options for local government to support music activity (including the role of indigenous music cultures); and to investigate the best policy initiatives enacted globally in supporting the critical role of music in city night-time economies. The Summit secured four national and international speakers with significant experience in policy and practice: Amy Terrill (Music Canada); Mirik Milan (Vibelab, Amsterdam); and Maria Plakourakis (Senior Policy Officer, City Safety, City of Melbourne); and Shane Homan (Monash University).

A panel was also convened to discuss planning, management and policy goals comprising of Amy Terrill (Music Canada); Mirik Milan (VibeLab, Amsterdam); Shane Homan (Monash University); Maria Plakourakis (City of Melbourne Senior Policy Officer - City Safety and Social Investment); Anne Malloch (City of Melbourne Team Leader - City Issues); Fiona Duncan (Arts Events Officer, City of Greater Geelong); and Patrick Donovan, (CEO Music Victoria).

The event was also designed to directly engage these speakers with local and state government representatives, music venue managers, urban planners and related music industry organizations in discussions of structures and initiatives required to improve Victoria's night-time economy. The subsequent Q&A session provided constructive debate and discussion of current experiences and conditions in the Melbourne CBD, suburban Melbourne, and in regional Victoria.

Attendees at the Summit were also surveyed online as what they believed was the priority for Victoria in relation to music and night-time economy management (see Appendices).

This brief report seeks to canvas the following, as a snapshot of key debates and aspects of music in city nightlife:

- The role of music and culture in the 'night-time economy' in contemporary cities;
- The role of music and culture in Victoria's night-time economy (summarizing the central discussions arising from the Summit event);
- Changing modes of regulation and governance of nightlife and urban night-time economies.

Methodology

This report project comprises the following stages:

- A brief overview of literature about city night-time economies, including reports and academic debates, both within and outside Australia;
- A brief online survey of night-time economy Summit attendees in relation to Victorian strategies; and
- An investigation of core concerns arising from Summit discussions, incorporating invited speaker keynotes and panel debates, and follow-up discussions with administrators within local and state governments.

Overview

Histories and Definitions

The night-time economy 'describes the social, cultural and economic activities that take place between 6 pm and 6 am'; while this incorporates all the usual economy sectors (such as transport, manufacturing, health and many related services), 'nightlife' constitutes a significant part of this mix (City of Toronto 2018).

Various studies have further delineated the night-time economy to represent different uses and users. For example, a recent City of Sydney report (2011: 7) establishes an 'early evening

economy' from 6 pm to 9 pm; an 'evening economy' from 9 pm to 11 pm; a 'night-time economy' from 11 pm to 2 am; and a 'late night economy' from 2 am to 5 am. In the context of Melbourne's nightlife 'rhythms', night/day/evening has been previously conceived along the following demarcations:

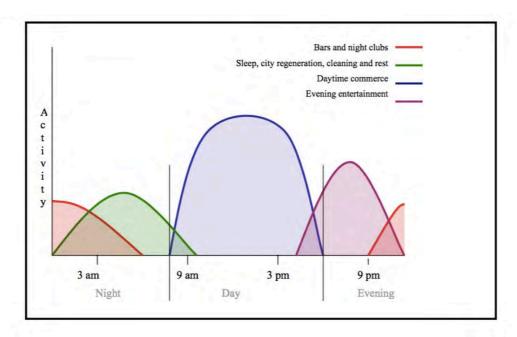


Figure 1 Representation of Melbourne City Rhythms (City of Melbourne 2008: 8).

Central questions about urban nightlife have been a central question among cultural studies, urban studies, sociology and cultural policy researchers since the 1980s, embodied in a central question:

Do we want a flexible, open-minded, resourceful and creative city, or do we want a city of rush hours, traffic jams, dangerous and deserted town centres at night and regimented, suburban lifestyles? (Bianchini 1995: 126).

The concept of the night-time economy is also related to ideas of the '24 Hour City' (Bianchini et al 1988); and the 'creative city' (Landry 2000/2008). For the '24 Hour City', attention turns to how residents and visitors can use the city after 5 pm as a progressive public and cultural realm emphasising diversity of uses. For the 'creative city', 'applied imagination' (deploying 'intelligence, inventiveness and learning') is to be found across business, government and cultural sectors, with the ultimate goal 'a culture of creativity embedded within how the urban stakeholders operate. It implies reassessing the regulations and incentives regime and moving towards a more 'creative bureaucracy' (Landry 2008: xxi-xxii).

The night time economy is obviously different to daily routines and rituals; but there are various parts to a 'complex ecosystem' (City of Sydney 2017: 12).

The Role of Culture

This has seen a re-imagining of cultural policy, where arts/culture has 'input into the built environment, in terms of the economic benefits of the arts and cultural industries sector, and in terms of the re-imaging of the city on the national and international stage' (Lovatt and O'Connor 1995: 129). Night-time consumption and production converge, providing interesting benefits and challenges in practice and governance. Rather than operating as separate spheres of governance and industries, the former binaries of work/leisure and culture/industry collapse:

The perception of these economies is also different: daytime is for work and night time is for fun. However, in order for the fun to exist, people have to work — in the creative and cultural sector, health and social care, transport and logistics, and so on (Sound Diplomacy and Seijas 2017: 11).

The consumption-production nexus is thus re-imagined across a range of night-time activities: drink, food, entertainment; popular and 'high' culture offerings including live music, museums, art galleries, festivals, traditional theatre and music theatre.

Debates about the role of culture in urban nightlife have also been constructed upon another binary: 'vibrancy'/'order'. How to reconcile regulation of the night with its 'shadow' uses and intentions – principally the dangers associated with excessive drinking cultures and associated potential for violence – has been a central point of debate since the emergence of the 'night-time economy' as a concept. The reality of negotiating multiple publics, and public and commercial uses, has encountered enormous difficulties at times in ensuring safety as much as vibrancy. This speaks to the extent of activities on offer, in ways that signify diversity beyond hotel, bar and nightclub circuits.

The Role of Music

Night-time music consumption and production has clearly informed ideas of the 'cultural city', as often a substantial part of nightlife activities. This is indicated in the rise of the 'music city' as a term used in the corridors of government, research literature and within the music industries. 'Global music cities' (Watson 2008) have existed based upon historical combinations as industrial centres; foundational sites of key performers or genres; or home to influential scenes and subcultures (e.g. London, Detroit, Liverpool, Nashville, Manchester, New York).

More recently, the IFPI/Music Canada report *Mastering of a Music City* argues that the contemporary music city is defined by

... artists and musicians; a thriving music scene; access to spaces and places; a receptive and engaged audience; and record labels and other music-related businesses ... music-friendly and musician-friendly policies; a Music Office or Officer; a Music Advisory Board; engaging the broader music community to get their buy-in and support; access to spaces and places; and audience development (IFPI/Music Canada 2015: 13–15).

Observing the above criteria to different extents, Seville, Glasgow, Bogota, Gent, Bologna, Brazzaville, Hamamatsu, Mannheim and Hannover have all been designated as 'Cities of Music' by UNESCO as part of its 'creative city' networks.

The live music venue retains its importance at the centre of artist and scene development, simultaneously providing 'ongoing connections with audiences and peers'; Live performance 'as a marketing tool' and a 'primary means of income'; 'skills development'; and as a 'precursor to export' (Johnson and Homan 2003: 2-3).

What is common among these definitions and understandings is the economic and cultural role of music in urban nightlife settings, ranging from nightclubs to festivals to distinctive music scenes and subcultures. While annual indexes assessing the 'liveability' of cities (such as The Economist Intelligence Unit's annual Global Liveability Ranking) can be questioned for their assessment criteria and motives, they are clear indicators of the role of culture in general in examining quality of life within cities.

This was recognized by Arts Victoria's 2008 report, *The Role of Arts and Culture in Liveability and Competitiveness*, arguing that 'Melbourne's youthful subculture, network of 'groovy' bars and pubs, strong live music scene, and high-quality food and fashion all rate highly in comparison to other cities in the region' (Arts Victoria 2008: 3), while acknowledging that more needed to be done for regional centres. The City Council's 2017 goal of a Creative City would be measured across three components: 'Artists are supported to test, develop and realise ideas'; 'People participate in the life of the city' and 'The economic value of Melbourne's creative industries grows' (City of Melbourne 2017: 25).

The Victorian Night-Time Economy

Significant policy work since the 1980s has been undertaken to improve Victorian nightlife. The *Postcode 3000* strategy initiated in 1992 by the City of Melbourne and the State Government provided incentives to increase the CBD residential population. By 2008, the City of Melbourne's *Policy for the 24 Hour City* acknowledged the success of prior reforms:

Initiatives such as state government changes to the *Liquor Control Reform Act 1998* which encouraged development of the licensed industry; designation of the Melbourne CBD as a 24 hour mixed use zone in 1999; the success of Postcode 3000 which transformed the city centre into a residential destination; and the broad aims of the Inner Melbourne Action Plan have attracted residents, businesses and visitors to the city in record numbers. Since the early 1990s the city has experienced exceptional growth in a variety of areas. Between 1996 and 2006, the residential population of Melbourne has doubled (ABS, 2007a), with the number of residents in the inner city area increasing by 68 percent in the past five years (ABS, 2007b) (City of Melbourne 2008: 2).

Earlier policy debates and shifts have served Victoria well. In some quarters, 'creativity' has extended to governments and industries seeking novel approaches to nightlife problems, which must include a sense of risk-taking in producing innovation:

... the state's vibrant hospitality scene, which is full of creative people looking for ways to push boundaries, challenge assumptions and find new ways to do things in a system that allows that freedom. Look at how integral eating and drinking in public have become to the city's identity. These are powerful responses to questions that should be asked of any new freedoms with inherent risks (Harden 2009: xii).

The State has in many ways adopted an 'open all hours culture' that 'embrace[s] an always-on approach to culture in the city' (Creative Victoria 2016: 12). For Melbourne, the emphasis on diversity of uses has continued from the 1980s and 90s reforms:

It's 10 pm on a freezing Saturday night in winter and the city is buzzing. Families rugged up in beanies and scarves hang up their ice skates at the Birrarung Marr rink; friends polish off a bottle of wine at MoVida; a busker strums her guitar on the steps of Flinders Street Station, welcoming the crowds that are pouring into the city, their nights just beginning. Two of them are Bree and Matt, a young couple from the outer eastern suburbs. "We're going out for dinner, then going to a bar, then clubbing," says Bree. Even past midnight the couple won't have trouble finding a great restaurant; and after that a host of small bars and clubs await. Then, instead of forking out \$80 for a cab ride home, they can end their night on public transport, which runs 24-hours on weekends. "When I heard about it, I knew it meant I could go to the city more! It's always at the back of my mind because it's so much cheaper," says Bree (cited in Johnstone 2016).

While the above *Time Out* quote portrays an ideal '24-hour' couple in an idealized '24-hour city', it nonetheless speaks to an emphasis on the mix of 'hard' (improved CCTV and police responses) and 'soft' measures (an increased festivalization of the Melbourne night) that is equally important to safety *and* enjoyment (ibid.).

Victoria's Night-Time Economy is significant in relation to other Australian States, according to recent data included in the *Measuring the Night Time Economy 2016-17* report prepared for Council of Capital City Lord Mayors. Victoria possesses 28% of national NTE establishments; 25% of national NTE employment; and 26% of national NTE turnover (Council of Capital City Lord Mayors 2018: 23). Victoria has Australia's second-largest night-time economy according to data collected for 2016-17, and predicted for continued growth:

	Establishments		Employment			Turnover (\$m)			
State/Territory	Number		Change 16-17	Number		Change 16-17	Number		Change 16-17
New South Wales	36,196	Ŷ	3.1%	329,355	1	2.4%	\$38,656	1	1.7%
Victoria	29,857	1	3.4%	270,760	1	4.5%	\$32,660	1	3.9%
Queensland	19,117	Ŷ	3.8%	221,645	1	5.0%	\$25,276	1	4.1%
Western Australia	9,953	•	3.2%	116,935	1	4.8%	\$13,609	1	4.4%
South Australia	6,441	Ŷ	2.4%	76,815	1	0.6%	\$8,594	1	0.7%
Tasmania	1,960	•	3.6%	23,330	1	8.3%	\$2,645	1	5.4%
Australian Capital Territory	1,752	Ŷ	4.0%	29,695	1	6.1%	\$3,200	1	5.1%
Northern Territory	754	r	4.7%	18,700	1	0.1%	\$2,172	•	-1.5%
Australia	106,000	Ŷ	3.2%	1,087,230	1	3.7%	\$126,811	Ŷ	3.1%

Figure 2 Core NTE by State/Territory in 2017 with change from 2016-17 (Council of Capital City Lord Mayors 2018: 7).

While Food and Entertainment sectors surpassed national growth trends, Drink (at 0.8%) grew slightly less than the national growth of 1.1%; 'This is particularly true in the Entertainment and Food sub-sectors which added 11,455 jobs to the Core NTE during this period' (ibid.). Over a longer period, Victoria has displayed an impressive increase in turnover:

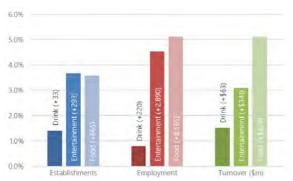


Figure 3 Sub-sector NTE growth 2016-2017 in Victoria

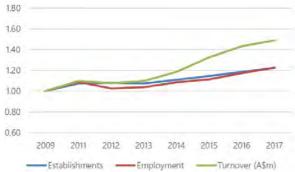


Figure 4 Trends in Victoria's Core NTE (Council of Capital City Lord Mayors 2018: 23).

The Melbourne Night-Time Economy has grown steadily with the second largest core NTE establishments within a Local Government Area, with Food accounting for 70% of its establishments, employment and 65% of its turnover (ibid.: 24).

			% Total	Economy
Measure	Core NTE 2017	% Change 16-17	VIC	AUS
Establishments	29,857	1 3.4%	5.1%	4.7%
Employment	270,760	1 4.5%	8.4%	8.9%
Turnover (\$m)	\$32,660	1 3.9%	3.7%	3.8%

Figure 5 Core NTE summary for City of Melbourne (Council of Capital City Lord Mayors 2018: 24).

However, Melbourne 'establishments (-6%), employment (-3%) and turnover (-6%) in the Drink sub-sector declined during this two-year period and Entertainment remained fairly static, declining by 1% in establishments, 2% in employment and 1% in turnover' (ibid.: 24). This was viewed elsewhere as a successful diversification of night-time activities that did not rely too heavily upon alcohol-related businesses, with increases in food and entertainment (Committee for Sydney 2018: 17).

The Council of Capital City Lord Mayors report also examined Maroondah and Port Phillip night-time economies. As smaller LGAs, both reported growth in line with State and national trends. For Maroondah, Food is its most important Core sector. At the same time, 'The Entertainment sub-sector achieved strong growth between 2016 and 2017, thanks to the creative and performing arts activities industry, which saw an additional 110 employees added to the sub-sector' (Council of Capital City Lord Mayors 2018: 25). For Port Phillip, Entertainment remains a core strength, 'driven primarily by a large number of establishments, employment and turnover in the creative and performing arts space' (ibid.: 26). Both LGAs recorded substantial growth in overall turnover between 2016 and 2017 (3.7% for Maroondah; 7.3% for Port Phillip) (ibid.).

Some Victorian Councils – Melbourne, Ballarat, and Geelong – have constructed Music/Live Music Action Plans; or have re-evaluated music within broader arts/cultural strategies (e.g. City of Yarra; City of Port Phillip). A common theme across these Council initiatives is the need for heightened coordination across bureaucracies; the need to better leverage local/state/national activities; and tailoring music strategies to particular local conditions and strengths. In terms of coordination, for example, the City of Geelong has identified 'Barriers to integration of issues and actions affecting live music across Council portfolios, or between other regulators/government bodies' as an issue for improvement (City of Greater Geelong 2017: 13). The increasing number of regional councils seeking to construct music plans is indicative of the recognition for better spatial, regulatory and industry planning within these night-time economies.

The Role of Music

Victoria has been a leading State within Australian infrastructure for music. This includes the following core components of the State music ecosystem:

- A rich patchwork of small and large music venues emphasising the airing of new artists, compositions and genres;
- Independent recording labels (and studios) allowing local artists to develop local and national audiences;
- A strong community music radio sector (e.g. RRR, PBS, 3MBS and SYN) that exerts influence beyond its size, providing important R&D and A&R functions for the wider industry;
- A vibrant festivals sector, with particular emerging strengths in electronica, dance genres and electronic pop, and a growing regional festivals sector;
- An international reputation for its classical/fine music, music theatre and concert stadium infrastructure;
- An environment of collaboration and experimentation between musicians, scenes and music communities;
- A mature landscape of stakeholders (Creative Victoria; Music Victoria; SLAM; FairGo4Live Music; AIR, Melbourne Music Vault and others), indicated by the Live Music Roundtable established by the State government.

The annual *Live Music Census* prepared by Dobe Newton and Rosa Coyle-Hayward provides useful indicators of Greater Melbourne's venue activity, based on a 'Census Night' approach quantifying attendance, patron spending, employment, live performances and venue categories:

Melbourne Live Music Census (2017)



Figure 6 Summary of 2017 Melbourne Live Music Census (Newton and Coyle/Hayward 2018)

The Victorian live music sector represents a significant component of Australian live performance. The most recent study (University of Tasmania 2014) states that Victoria

represents a third of the national economic contribution at \$5.8b. The State also leads in related commercial, 'civic' and individual benefits:

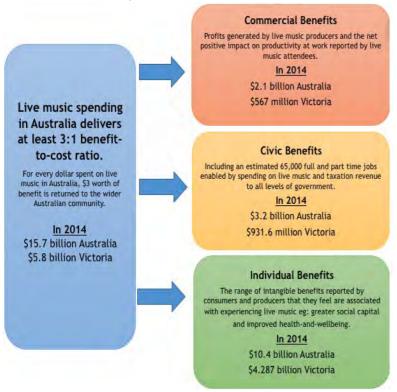


Figure 7 Comparison of Victorian live music economic/cultural benefit with national economic/cultural benefit (University of Tasmania 2014)

It is understandable that the live music venue retains much of the focus in examinations of the role of music in the night-time economy. However, a much wider range of activities exists. While 'entertainment' venues remain prominent in noise complaints within the City of Melbourne (although listed behind barking dogs, machinery and street noise), these complaints are made against a range of venues, including nightclubs, bars, karaoke bars, function centres and outdoor events (City of Melbourne 2014: 8).

Melbourne Music Week remains an important part of the City's strategic events calendar in November. The City's retail and hospitality sector places additional emphasis upon nightlife events (e.g. MMV festival hub at Queen Victoria Markets; increasing mixes of music with late night dining) (City of Melbourne 2016).

Victorian Night Time Economy Summit: Themes







Mirik Milan (Vibelab, Amsterdam) Pic: Jonathan White

The Summit convened by Music Victoria on 20 November was conducted in three parts: (i) local and international speakers discussing their different experiences in managing culture and the night-time economy; (ii) a short online Summit audience survey of key night-time economy issues; and (iii) a panel discussion of the Summit's themes by leaders in different sectors (including international speakers Terrill and Milan).

Amy Terrill (Music Canada)

Amy Terrill spoke to Music Canada's most recent report, *Keys to a Music City: Examining the Merits of Music Offices, Boards and Night Mayors*. Drawing on interviews with practitioners in 20 cities, the report examined the functions, advantages and limitations of the most common structures deployed within music strategies. Terrill outlined three different models:

Music Officer. This position acts as the central point of liaison between different music sectors and levels of government, providing a mixture of planning, strategic oversight and planning. Ideally, the position would be occupied by someone with strong music industry background/experience. Beyond the daily duties of liaison and oversight, the MO would play an 'internal advocate' role. The location of the Music Officer within governmental structures is crucial for authority and impact. For example, Music Officer positions in Seattle and Nashville directly report to the Mayor, ensuring adequate political support and access.

Advisory Board. This comprises a 'diverse group of volunteers' from different music sectors, where their collective industry knowledge can inform policy decisions. With clear terms of reference, this 'direct advisory' capacity allows a wider range of issues/topics to be brought to city agendas. For example, Toronto's Music Industry Advisory Council involves itself with planning, noise regulation, zoning, tourism and cultural funding debates.

Arm's Length Body. Usually incorporated as a not-for-profit organization, these exist outside of city/state structures as an independent voice derived from industry stakeholders. Executed well, this structure can possess real 'buy-in' from music communities, in turn constructing useful partnerships as well as advocacy roles. Music Victoria is regarded as a good global model here, as an 'external advocacy group [that] can continue to hold the government accountable, can continue to highlight issues and opportunities and keep action focused on the areas most needed by the industry'.

Night Mayor. Broader in structure and intent, this role shares 'similar principles of consensus-building and advocacy' to the music-specific positions. It allows for a convergence of key issues, while engaging with a broader set of stakeholders. Given its different remit, this position has the most potential in consensus-building.

Terrill emphasized an ideal structure which has both an 'outside advocate and an internal city contact', building champions and expertise within industry *and* city structures.

Mirik Milan (Vibelab, Amsterdam)

Mirik Milan spoke to his past experiences as the foundational Night Mayor (Nachtburgemeester) of Amsterdam. A central operating principle is 'the night as a meeting point for creative talent', where 'like-minded individuals find each other and creative talent develops, allowing the creative industry to bloom, which in turn increases [the] urban economy'. With a population of 850,000, Amsterdam annually hosts 2 million night-time visitors. In 2013, the city introduced 24-hour licences for some venues for the first time, with the Night Mayor position influential in this change. A vibrant nightlife is at the heart of industrial, governmental and spatial structures:



Figure 8 Night-Time Economy conceptualization for Amsterdam (Mirik Milan)

Milan explained the Night Mayor structure in Amsterdam, which is not simply based upon one central position. Rather, a not-for-profit structure includes a board of directors (5 people); an advisory board (12 people) incorporating nightclub, festival, culture and diversity and safety legislation governance; and a Night Mayor board (3 people). The Night Mayor position is funded equally in three parts by government, industries and self-raised monies.

Mirik sees the role as 'dedicated to ensuring a dynamic nightlife and helps to build bridges between the municipality, (small) business owners and residents. By creating a mutual understanding, the Night Mayor changes the game'. This also involved seeking strong partnerships with existing infrastructure. Moreover, the role's many points of liaison provide

a capacity for 'spotting trends, connecting stakeholders, setting agendas, and stimulating subcultures'.

Milan cited De School (https://www.deschoolamsterdam.nl/en/) as a new category of interdisciplinary space, operating as a nightclub, bar, art gallery, café, restaurant and debate centre. This indicates the possibilities for re-thinking the uses of space across the 24-hour cycle in ways that satisfy different constituencies and neighbourhoods.

The Night Mayor role emphasizes that 'you can't buy cultural vibrancy'; policy innovation has to be constantly tested, where 'daring to fail can kick-start innovation'. This includes the need to 'service people with facts, not emotions' in policy-making.

Maria Plakourakis (Senior Policy Officer, City Safety, City of Melbourne)

Maria Plakourakis provided recent policy histories relating to Melbourne nightlife, with the *Postcode 3000* (1992) and *Policy for the 24 Hour City* (2010) strategies establishing the foundations for later broadening of night-time economy planning and activities. The substantial growth in licensed premises between 1982 and 2017 was noted, highlighting the importance of the Melbourne Licensees Forum. Within the Melbourne Planning Scheme, clauses 22.22 and 52.27 were of most relevance in setting out the City's responsibilities relating to alcohol consumption and harm.

Recent research conducted by City of Melbourne has highlighted the need to understand and improve nightlife attractions for infrequent visitors to the city. Students, baby boomers and families were less likely to visit the CBD and inner suburbs due to safety concerns at night, and/or a lack of attractions. This accentuated the need for transport information; well-lit precincts; and visible safety programs. The City has recently improved its safety measures. This included increased transport options on the weekend from 1 am to 5 am; and the Safe Nights Out for Women Project in 2018.

In terms of music, the Council were working more closely with licensees to expand venue hours during Melbourne Music Week; and the City's *Melbourne Music Plan 2018-21* had stated the need for mentoring within and across music sectors. 2000 busking permits were issued each year, with a move to a cashless payment system and a Melbourne Busking Handbook in 2019.

Plakourakis highlighted three challenges to future policy-making: a substantial increase in Melbourne's residential population, with accompanying pressures on infrastructure; the need for increased coordination among industries and governments; and higher rates of immigration that increases diversity, but also brings pressures upon city resources.

Shane Homan (Monash University)

Shane Homan provided a summary of the *Measuring the Australian Night-Time Economy 2016-2017* report cited above, situating the Victorian night-time economy against other Australian States, where the national night-time economy as a whole has experienced growth. Homan spoke to the overlaps in discourses between ideas of the night-time economy, the 'cultural city' and the 'creative city'.

Homan also reflected on the licensing and planning reforms that allowed for more diversity of uses in Melbourne. Victorian cities and towns now displayed multiple 'economies' (commercial, social, and cultural) that reflects an ecosystem approach to consumers and producers. Problems were still evident in regular measurement of activities, to account for social, cultural and economic benefits (short and long term).

Remembering creativity: the night-time economy is an incubator; so there was a need to plan for the different ways that creatives, audiences, consumers 'meet' music in urban contexts. This also involves balancing the commercial, the experimental and the informal, including spaces for play and innovation. Musicians emphasize social networks; proximity can be important for music businesses, venues and related workers in terms of both social and economic effects.

In ensuring a safe and efficient night-time environment, Homan argued that confronting media discourses (moral panics) was just as important as confronting 'on the ground' activities and fears. Governments are empiricists, and the music industries had vastly improved building the economic case; increasingly, university research (e.g. University of Warwick) was turning to social/cultural benefits.

Homan highlighted a future challenge for cities in the mix of land use, zones and building codes: what is the definition of a music venue in contemporary times? More could be done in the mix of types of venues, genres and uses. In broadening the spaces and places for music, the touristic must be accompanied by emerging sounds and performers/writers.

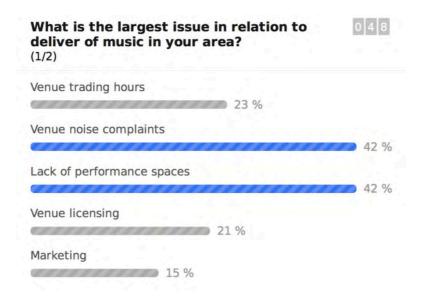
Summit Audience Survey

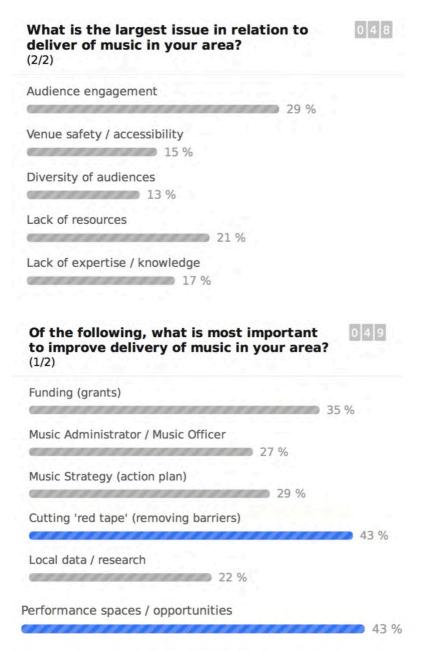
In the afternoon tea break between presentations and the panel, the Summit audience was invited to participate in a brief survey utilizing the Sli.do poll app. The online multiple choice questions put to the audience were designed to broadly assess their views in 'real time', aligning their experiences (a substantial number of attendees were council and music industry workers) to the priorities discussed by the speakers. While the audience was statistically small (just below or above 50 responses), they constituted those working at the 'coalface' in the provision of music across different city and regional night-time economies, and so were useful in partly framing the panel discussion that followed.

The responses to the four questions are listed below, with respondent numbers situated at top right of each question:









Such a survey instrument represents a crude measure of audience opinion, in not allowing for in-depth examination of particular responses; nor does it allow for alignment of responses to city/regional experiences, different job perspectives and industry/government experiences. However, the responses do align in some respects to recent emphases within council strategies, and present other interesting paths for discussion.

Given the accumulation of strategies and policies across all levels of government, venues remain a priority and challenge for industry and government. 'Noise complaints' tied with 'lack of performance spaces' as the largest issue, speaking to the need for continued refinement of recent State reforms (Agent of Change) and the SEPP N-2 provisions (Control of Music Noise from Public Premises). Finding suitable spaces remains a priority. In terms of venue audiences, it is perhaps surprising that 'audience engagement' was the second largest issue identified. This was raised through audience questions, with one audience member querying why St Kilda lacked a diversity of venues and engagement from young people,

prompting a brief discussion on the need for local data and engagement with local populations on music choices.

The final survey question asked attendees to nominate the most important means of improving delivery in their area. 'Cutting red tape' and 'Performance spaces/opportunities' were the top two priorities, with 'Funding (grants)' placed third. This prompted a discussion from the floor about the need for rehearsal/performance spaces; and examining more closely the use of council buildings for music. The results for this question also prompted a discussion by the Summit panel about how a Music Officer position could navigate all three priorities listed. There was a view from the floor and the panel that regional centres in particular required more support across these areas.

Summit Panel Discussion



Mirik Milan making his presentation on Night Mayors. Pic: Jonathan White

Following the speaker presentations, a panel of local and international speakers convened to discuss central themes, with questions then invited from the audience. The panel members were Amy Terrill (Music Canada); Mirik Milan (VibeLab); Anne Malloch (City of Melbourne); Fiona Duncan (City of Greater Geelong); and Patrick Donovan (Music Victoria). Associate Professor Shane Homan asked the panel the following questions; collective panel responses are listed:

What do you see as the common themes emerging from other models and city contexts globally?

- Not a matter of being seen as 'inside' or 'outside' but working in collaboration with different sectors and cultural workers, not just governments
- Music (and culture more generally) need to have a 'seat at the table'
- Heritage protection is becoming important in ensuring older venues of cultural worth can survive as businesses
- Conflicts between residential and commercial uses in cities where more and more people want to live in the core (increasing densification)
- Lack of housing affordability for creators
- Audiences changing as well as waning increasingly people are challenging the traditional hours of live music
- More focus on safety and security; development of hubs and incubators; need for professional development/entrepreneur training for the artist class
- Models: there are more night-time ambassadors, but these don't always have a clear connection with music; music offices/officers also increasing in numbers
- Gentrification, poorly built apartments, lack of understanding around planning laws, audience numbers waning.
- The 24-hour licence concept has returned, but with an eye to returns on cultural benefit – reflecting the need to reward those licensees offering the most to local communities

Are there particular issues to note for Australian/Victorian contexts?

- Victoria has no Night Mayors, so we can learn about what models best suit our needs
- Tailoring grants to address artists funding needs
- Helping keep venues open through grants, education and red tape cuts to provide spaces for artists to work
- Creating more live performance opportunities through council run events
- Regional centres have slightly different priorities
- Density: lack of resources and staffing for smaller Victorian towns
- Safety: emphasis upon offering alternatives for youth to larger pub venues
- All-ages performances remain a problem across Victoria, given lack of commercial incentive for venues
- Not all youth are into venue rock/pop: what else can we offer them in terms of music experiences?
- Medium-sized venues remain a problem in Australia: these are crucial within the ecosystem, allowing for bands to grow audiences; and offer punters an alternative to the larger stadiums

Among many stakeholders, how do we find common ground: what communication strategies work in industry and cities working together?

- Policy wins in the past decade really reflect the need to gather appropriate data before engaging with stakeholders
- Seattle has had a lot of success with their Safety Summit a similar model could be adapted on other issues as well;
- Town hall forums
- Conducting a census like Austin's 2015 census can help prioritize the issues;
- Use of a catalyst to bring people together in a common effort
- Safety is still obviously a priority: need to be evidence-based in taking away emotion and biases out of these debates
- Might sound obvious, but regularity of contact is important: successful music city office managers make time to keep up to date with all stakeholders
- Liquor Licensing forums and Live Music Venue Days are a good opportunity to bring businesses and authorities and council together to discuss common issues
- The music industry also need to understand structures, strategies and goals if a
 council, so any recommendation to support music can align with council approved
 strategies and goals. You also need to be careful about messaging to media it's more
 constructive to raise issues with councils internally before going out to media, which
 should be a last resort

What in your experience works best in achieving results (a music strategy; a music officer/administrator; funding) regarding priorities?

- These priorities reflect different things to different cities and conditions
- Choices very dependent upon political structures: for example, where is your 'champion' for music located within government structures?
- Both city and regional centres are increasingly constructing music/cultural action plans as a first step
- Music strategies can have limited effectiveness if councils don't have the adequate resources to implement them
- Ideally councils would establish an industry advisory panel, survey the local music
 community about their issues and needs, hire someone to write a report based on
 these needs, and make recommendations how to best address these issues (i.e. hire
 someone to develop a music strategy of action plan, and council approve funds for a
 night mayor/music officer and project budget to implement recommendations
- The added value of an arms-length organization is to assist in implementation for example, the Ottawa Music Industry Coalition (OMIC) is independent and can raise funds in order to implement elements of the strategy

Creative Victoria Meeting

After the Summit, a meeting was convened by Music Victoria enabling the keynote speakers to discuss their experiences and views of different city models with Creative Victoria staff. Attendees of the meeting included Patrick Donovan (Music Victoria); Amy Terril (Music Canada); Mirik Milan (Vibelab); Jane Caught (Sibling, architect); Anna Huggins (Creative Spaces, Creative Victoria); Gilda Di Vincenzo (Manager, Strategic Infrastructure Development, Creative Victoria); Francesca Valmorbida – (Multicultural Arts Victoria); and Sasha Ward (Senior Project Officer, Music Works, Creative Victoria). A brief summary of discussion points is listed below:

Competing needs / practices

• All were interested in industry best practice for creative spaces, and how to best balance vibrancy with sleep and safety.

Housing/affordability

- Collingwood Arts precinct: a unique inner city space, recently redeveloped and rezoned. Residential developments nearby attempted to negotiate affordable housing for creative industries; catching up with overseas practice in this area.
- Amsterdam has less issues due to capped rent policies, including need to have a
 percentage of affordable housing and cultural spaces; have also begun investing in art
 factories/incubators/cultural hubs the goal is to add 10,000 square metres every
 year. Focus is how to incentivize property developers, and redeveloping buildings as
 multi-purpose spaces. City will soon provide licences to 10 mid-sized venues to
 incentivize bigger spaces/acts.

Night Mayor Models

- 45 cities around the world now had some form of night-time economy manager, working inside or outside of government.
- Advocacy roles, no regulatory power. Most important characteristic for these entities is to lobby well; and building strong relationships with larger industry stakeholders.
- Canadian models: Creative British Columbia / Ontario Media Development
 Corporation economic development departments engage with multiple sector
 specialists across music, film, fashion etc. Toronto is the hub for English-speaking
 music; peak body in each province focuses on artist development, leveraging success
 to benchmark against other provinces. While Canadian arts precincts are all privately
 owned, some have incorporated education, interactive museum spaces and
 performance spaces.
- Denver has done lots of work in developing precincts; potential model

 Berlin's Model Space is interesting, in attempting to convert illegal events as legal propositions. This involves providing organizers with the skills and education to run their events correctly.

Tourism opportunities

• The Closer Walk interactive music tour in New Orleans was cited as one of the more dynamic tourist initiatives (https://acloserwalknola.com/).

The Night Mayor: Concept and Practice

Creative practitioners and organisations, particularly small and independent players, operate in a complex system involving a multitude of people, institutions and places. To flourish they require access to a suite of inter-connected resources and capabilities. This creative ecosystem has different parts — education and skills, entrepreneurship, research, infrastructure and finance. It encompasses both highly commercialised sectors, including music, digital games, television production, architecture and design and those more culturally focused. But its strength relies on how well the parts interact (Creative Victoria 2016: 19).

Roles and Issues

One of the reasons for some cities increasing night-time management has been its loss of venues (e.g. London). The Summit speakers and panellists discussed the increasing need to re-evaluate venue uses in the twenty-first century, where cities could further examine daytime uses of venues to improve viability. There is a further role for a central administrator in working with governments and property developers in ensuring multi-purpose spaces for cultural uses.

The Night Mayor position's advocacy role is important in initiating projects, seeking approval and/or maintaining necessary change. One example is heritage — ensuring that historically valuable venues are preserved through viable economic and cultural plans for future use. This role would also be in a good position to advocate/regulate in planning where appropriate. For example, in Victorian contexts, while the new Collingwood Arts Precinct represents a new special use zone for the creative industries, more needs to be done in ensuring affordable housing is available for 'the creatives' within the inner city.

Obviously the Night Mayor role connects music as only one of interconnecting cultural/creative spheres. Other wider regulatory spheres come into play – such as transport policy – which can be inherently more political. Safety is a dominant priority, particularly in converging licensing, policing and events management that can allow a broader view of how different entertainment districts and industries are operating across the city.

A central administrator role can also broaden responsibilities in leveraging tourism opportunities, in working with all levels of government and industries about internal and external promotion of city scenes and venues at airports etc.

Administration and Funding

Despite the considerable media reports now evident, where different mainstream media outlets argue for a night-time Mayor for their city, the internal mechanisms of governance are little discussed. Some of these were briefly canvassed by Summit participants:

Independence

The ability to provide true independent oversight is difficult within any political/governance city structure. This is related to issues of precarity and funding structures. However, the Night Mayor role can offer stability irrespective of changing governments and agendas. Milan has emphasised the independence of the Amsterdam model due to its only partial reliance upon state funding.

Governance

Summit speakers Terrill and Milan noted that no current central administrator/Night Mayor role possess regulatory powers. For example, London Night Czar Amy Lamé was criticized for her inability to overturn Hackney Council's reduced trading hours that adversely affected venues. At the same time, Lamé 'has initiated responses to the negative impacts of gentrification on the city's gay bars and the facilitation of racism in regulatory procedures' (Wolfson 2018: 199). Instead, Lame's 'convening powers' remains the predominant global model, with the emphasis upon collaboration and bringing different agencies together. This does not preclude innovation: for example, Milan has trialled noise complaint phone apps in Amsterdam to improve the process for residents.

Funding

For New York, the Nightlife Mayor was created in 2017, situated within the Mayor's Office of Media and Entertainment. In Milan's experience, the Amsterdam role was created from one-third government (Mayoral) funding; one-third nightlife business funding; and one-third raised by project/event activities.

In relation to structure and funding, co-author of *A Guide to Managing Your Night Time Economy*, Shain Shapiro (Sounds Diplomacy) states that:

There's 3 types of 'Night Mayors': Culture & Nightlife-focused (like Mirik Milan); General NTE-focused (like Amy Lamé); Safety and Policing-focused (like Allison in Pittsburgh). They cross-pollinate, but most cities -- or those who work in and for them -- tend to prioritise one of these focuses and it does change the way the work is approached. The problem is a focus on A means you lack focus on B, but given the way all of these are funded (either through a foundation (Mirik), a trade association (Lutz), the city itself (Amy and most Americans) or a BID (Angela in Iowa City or Dominique in Orlando), it changes the focus and priority. I guess who provides the money often dictates the focus. I don't have a preferred solution, other than the ideal job or jobs would be a mix of all of these and be far more embedded in city governance as a whole (email to author).

Knowledge

This is represented by two components. Firstly, Terrill emphasized the need for a considered music strategy that can be followed by all stakeholders. Secondly, central administration requires 'a well informed individual' across all components of the music ecosystem to both advocate and manage. For example, the New York Nightlife Mayor has deep experience in venue management and in community organization. Succession planning is also required so that knowledge and strategies have continuity.

Coordination

Distinct benefits can become apparent to centralization of spheres, and in improving how different stakeholders (e.g. small business, local and state government, creative industries, fire, ambulance and police services) work together. That management tensions and conflicting agendas along the chain of inter-agency responsibilities can occur has to be acknowledged. Where implemented, the Night-Time administrator has been seen to value-add to safety, cultural and marketing management in ways that have economic benefits.

Case Study: London's Night Czar

An email interview was conducted with Paul Broadhurst, Manager, Night Time and Music, Greater London Authority about the development and implementation of the appointment of London's first Night Czar, Amy Lamé:

How was the position set up?

The role of Night Czar was created by the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, in 2016, shortly after he was elected. The Mayor had pledged in his election manifesto to appoint a Night Czar. The role was advertised publicly and there were 200 applicants. The shortlisted candidates were interviewed and Amy Lamé was appointed in November 2016 as London's first Night Czar. The closure of music venues was the catalyst that led to the role of Night Czar being created. The Night Czar therefore chairs the London Music Board which helped bring the Agent of Change principle to London and protect and promote grassroots music venues across the capital. The Night Czar also holds regular Night Surgeries to consult with stakeholders across the capital and provide support and advice.

During 2017, a network of Night Time Borough Champions was set up to share good practice and advice across London. The Night Czar chairs this network which includes two representatives (one politician and one official) from all 33 of London's local authorities. In London, the local authorities hold significant powers over planning, licensing and community safety and are therefore key partners in making London a thriving city at night. In July 2017, the Mayor also published his Vision for London as a 24 Hour City, which set out ten principles to guide his work.

At the same time as appointing a Night Czar, the Mayor appointed a new Chair of the London Night Time Commission. The previous Night Time Commission had existed since early 2016 and the new Chair was tasked with refreshing the membership and aims of the group. 26 new

Night Time Commission members were appointed and the Commission was tasked with making recommendations on how to realise the Mayor's Vision for London as a 24 Hour City. The Commission is an independent advisory group that started its work in October 2017 and ends its work in December 2018. They collaborated with City Hall's Intelligence Unit to produce new economic and opinion research. This research – *London At Night: an Evidence Base for a 24 Hour City* – was published in November 2018. The Night Time Commission's report and recommendations will be published in early 2019.

Where does it sit in the chain of authority?

The Night Czar is a Mayoral appointee. She reports to the Deputy Mayor for Culture and Creative Industries. She works closely with all of the Deputy Mayors and regularly meets with the Mayor. She is supported by a small core team of three officers in the Culture and Creative Industries Unit, plus other officers in a variety of teams across the organisation, including policing, transport, health, planning, economics, intelligence, regeneration, equalities and inclusion and the environment.

What is the funding structure?

The role of Night Czar and the work of the 24 Hour London programme is funded by City Hall. The role of Night Czar was originally part-time, however after 10 months it was clear that the demands on the role were far greater than originally anticipated and it was converted into a full-time position. The Night Time Commission members all hold their posts on a voluntary basis.

Is there anything about the structure that you would change to provide better outcomes?

The Night Czar's role is broad, covering London from 6pm to 6am, and all aspects of life at night. However, her role can often be perceived as limited to championing London's 'core' nightlife such as pubs, clubs and venues. We've worked hard to broaden the conversation about life in London at night, so that it is a more inclusive conversation that recognises the whole range of activities that people do at night (such as classes, community groups, working, shopping or carrying out personal errands). The *London At Night* research has been vital in challenging the myths about London at night, and showing that our city does not run on a 9 am-5 pm working day any more — in fact 1/3 of London's workers usually work at night.

What have been the biggest outcomes/wins of the office to date?

- ✓ Protecting over 300 spaces at risk of closure, including music venues, LGBT+ spaces, pubs, theatres and cinemas, via a new Culture at Risk Office set up in March 2017
- ✓ Creating London's first Women's Night Safety Charter
- ✓ Mapping London's music facilities, LGBT+ spaces, pubs, theatres, cinemas and other cultural spaces
- ✓ Scrapping a police process for assessing risk at music events

- ✓ Seed funding a new music industry led partnership to improve relations with the police and councils and help reduce regulatory burdens on venues and promoters
- ✓ Introducing the Agent of Change principle into London planning policy
- ✓ Ensuring that the night time is referenced in all Mayoral strategies, including the Mayor's Police and Crime Plan, the Culture and Creative Industries Strategy and the London Plan the spatial development plan for London
- ✓ Publishing special planning guidance on Culture and the Night Time Economy
- ✓ Publishing the Mayor's Vision for London as a 24-Hour City
- ✓ Publishing *London At Night:* an evidence base for a 24-hour City the most comprehensive research on a city at night

All of the above have helped in achieving our biggest challenge which is 'changing the conversation' about London at night. We have been moving away from a conversation dominated by the negative aspects of life at night such as crime and anti-social behaviour — to one where we balance the negatives with the positive benefits of a diverse night time offer.

Conclusion

In Bouncers: Violence and Governance in the Night-time Economy, Hobbs et al state that 'the night-time economy is as dependent upon hedonistic drives cultivated in the youth/alcohol nexus, as industrial society was on the motive power of coal and steam' (2003: 36). However, Victorian policy over the past decade has shown that a combination of imaginative strategies emphasizing diversity of activities, policing, patrons and sites can overcome the prior dominance of alcohol at night, and continue to move away from related public order problems. This is borne out by the recent data cited above revealing that Melbourne's overall night-time economy turnover has increased amidst a decline in alcohol consumption. While all city histories, geographies and organizational cultures are different, there is now substantial evidence that increasingly complex night-time economies require attention across a range of regulatory fronts beyond 'law and order'. In short, nightlife debates have moved beyond 'clichés of noise and criminality' (O'Sullivan 2018).

Citing Pawson and Tilley, Hadfield (2011: 235) argues that the central questions for night-time economy management are: 'what works, for whom, and in what circumstances?'. This partly speaks to context: governance and industries develop within urban spaces in specific ways that reflect particular histories of governance and industrial emphasis.

As increasingly dense concentrations of people live, work and play in city and regional centres, there is an increasing need to support a diversity of commercial and non-commercial uses. An important corollary of a central night-time manager is to ensure that Victorian cities and towns at night are places of cultural production as much as visible consumption; finding and maintaining appropriate spaces (studio, workshop and rehearsal rooms) remains a priority and can complement traditional nightlife activities.

A central administration role should not be regarded as incorporating further powers; rather, it is viewed as enhancing collaboration across regulatory sectors. This is particularly suited to strategies that initiate 'multi-pronged approaches' to safety and handling precinct density (City of Yarra 2013: 29). In the City of Melbourne's case, this could extend to ensuring that

music and other creative industries are properly represented and managed across its Arts, Culture and Heritage; Major Events; Small Business, Retail and Hospitality; and Knowledge City portfolios. This also calls for the provision of annual data that can reflect spatial, cultural and industrial changes derived from initiatives.

The rise of different forms of music industries management within night-time economies (Music Officer; Advisory Board; Arm's Length body) has been noted above. The emergence of the Night Mayor/Night Czar model is striking for how it is increasingly being adopted by large and medium-sized cities; and music activity is often the catalyst for re-organization. In Australian contexts, the appointment of a Night Mayor position for Sydney was recently recommended by the Committee for Sydney (2018: 33). Such a role seems to be in accord with contemporary management of creative industries, 'rethinking that balance between professionalisation and participation, between enthusiasm and control, between risk and regulation' (Westbury 2015: 11) in how cities and cultural practitioners come to co-exist in mutually beneficial forms. Such a position might represent an 'honest broker' role, in navigating between zero sum discourses of celebration and fear between industries and the state; and in assisting decision-making about the proper balance between public, private and community uses and participation at night.

Victoria is already well served by a strong ensemble of arm's length bodies for both music and the creative industries (Music Victoria, SLAM, FairGo4LiveMusic, Creative State Advisory Board, Arts Industry Council of Victoria); and advisory boards (Live Music Roundtable, Liquor Control Advisory Council). The City of Melbourne also has a Business Advisor which includes music within this portfolio. Noting the recurrent theme at the Summit of (residential, student population, tourist) growth for Victoria over the medium term, there is merit in examining a Night Mayor (or similar) position. However, as noted in other international city examples, the creation of an optimal structure and funding model is crucial. This not only speaks to ensuring that the role does not duplicate existing authorities and expertise, but that it adds value within internal governance by bringing a wider lens to specific debates and management issues.

This remains the strongest argument for the night-time administrator role. The ability to sit across many spheres of expertise and activity is valuable as governance becomes more complex. Yet the Night Mayor model must proceed well beyond simply 'keeping people spending for longer' at night (Newman and Acuto 2016). An advocacy role, as the primary component of the model, is required to confront the larger challenges within Victoria provoked by success. Firstly, the position can advocate for informal, quirky and amateur music activity within the State as urban contexts increase in size and scope. Secondly, in relation, the position can act as a useful reminder of the shadow of urban density and a hipster reputation as Victorian cities, suburbs and regional centres reveal the consequences of gentrification and rising residential and retail rents. Thirdly, the impact of such a role is dependent upon engagement with the wider creative/cultural industries, where it can also channel music forms into new areas of activity.

A longer period is required to judge the value of these roles across different night-time economies; however, they may reflect the 'creative bureaucracy' (Landry 2008) first envisaged at the beginning of the debate.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Council of Capital City Lord Mayors Report (2018): Definitions

The report cited activity taking place between 6 pm and 6 am; and distinguished between 'Core', 'non-Core' and 'Supply' derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics data. The 'Core' categories (identified in this report) are defined in the table below:

NTE Sub-Sector	ANZSIC	Description
	4123	Liquor Retailing
	4520	Pubs, Taverns and Bars
Entertainment	5517	Motion Picture and Video Activities
	900	Creative and Performing Arts Activities
	911	Sports and Physical Recreation Activities
	912	Horse and Dog Racing Activities
	913	Amusement and Other Recreation Activities
	920	Gambling Activities
	4530	Clubs (Hospitality)
	9534	Brothel Keeping and Prostitution
Food	4511	Cafes and Restaurants
	4512	Takeaway Food Services

Appendix 2: Summit Survey Questions

Summit attendees were asked to complete a brief online survey via Sli.do poll app comprised of the following four questions and answer choices:

Q1 What is your primary role?

- Audience member
- Musician
- Government worker
- Venue worker/manager
- Music industry worker

Q2

Where are you located?

- Regional Victoria area
- Inner Melbourne area
- Outer Melbourne area

Q3

What is the largest issue in relation to delivery of music in your area (please rank 1 to 10 in importance)?

- Venue trading hours
- Venue noise complaints
- Lack of performance spaces
- Venue licensing
- Marketing
- Audience engagement
- Venue safety / accessibility
- Diversity of audiences
- Lack of resources
- Lack of expertise / knowledge

Q4

Of the following, what is most important to improve delivery of music in your area (please rank 1 to 6 in importance)?

- Funding (grants etc)
- Music administrator / Music Officer
- Music strategy (action plan)
- Cutting 'red tape'
- Local data/research
- Performance spaces / opportunities

Appendix 3: About the Author

Associate Professor Shane Homan teaches media and cultural studies in the School of Media, Film and Journalism at Monash University, Melbourne. Shane co-authored a review of the live music industry in NSW, *Vanishing Acts*, in 2003 with Bruce Johnson for the NSW Ministry of Arts/Australia Council. In 2010, Shane completed Melbourne's first music strategy with Dobe Newton for the City of Melbourne. He has published six books on the popular music industries, with particular interests in policy and music city strategies. His latest book is *Popular Music Industries and the State: Policy Notes* (Routledge, 2016). Shane is currently leading an Australian Research Council project on Melbourne histories of popular music, *Interrogating the Music City: the cultural economy of Melbourne rock and pop*.