



MANAGING OF THE NIGHT-TIME ECONOMY: CHALLENGES FOR A SUSTAINABLE URBAN POLICY

The case of Krakow

Robert PAWLUSIŃSKI ^{A*}

Received: July 11, 2022 | Revised: December 3, 2022 | Accepted: May 5, 2023

Paper No. 23-65/1-657

Abstract

The development of modern cities takes place not only in terms of spatial (territorial) enlargement but also in terms of time stretch. More and more economic activities in the city are open until late in the evening and at night. Today's cities have a rhythm similar to the daytime at night. This applies to services included in the economy of free time. The night-time economy is treated in the development plans of cities, especially large cities, as an innovative development direction. Many cities have adopted the support of night-time tourist attractions as their direction of development. The night-time economy, unfortunately, does not always bring only positive benefits. The question of sustainable city night and city night policy as a tool for its implementation seems to be very current. This article aims to present the problem of managing the night-time economy in a historic city on the example of Krakow in Poland. The author will indicate the main factors that determine the development of night tourism and urban recreation at night in this city, identify the main groups of recipients and the problems related to them, and discuss the assumptions of urban policy in relation to sustainable tourism, where night management has also become an issue. This article is a case study based on various sources of information. Planning materials, reports and other studies devoted to this phenomenon were used, and interviews were conducted with representatives of city authorities and entrepreneurs.


Keywords

Night-time economy, night-time city policy, night tourism, Krakow

INTRODUCTION

The term "night" can be defined in various dimensions and contexts (van Liempt et al., 2015; Edensor, 2015; Shaw 2021). In terms of nature, it is the time when Sunlight does not reach Earth and darkness falls. Biologically, this time of day for most living organisms, including humans, is the time necessary for the physical and mental regeneration. Disrupting the biological rhythm in the long term may have several negative effects on human life and health. The geographical aspects of the night (different lengths of the night depending on the latitude), combined with the Earth's climatic diversity, mean that the night is perceived differently in the cultural

A* Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Gronostajowa 7, Kraków, Poland

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5924-0741>

e-mail: robert.pawlusinski@uj.edu.pl (corresponding author)



dimension. Tribal peoples treated the night mainly as a taboo and a threat to life, and some communities inhabiting high-temperature zones treated the early night-time as a time of cultural and social relations (Koslofsky, 2011).

The invention of artificial light has fundamentally changed the perception of the night (Edensor, 2015). On the one hand, it was associated with an increase in human activity after dark; on the other hand, it led to the commodification of the night simply. The night began to be viewed in terms of economic profit (Beer, 2011). In the twentieth century, with the spread of electric lighting of houses and streets, the hours of operation of various institutions were extended. The dimension of the night was gained not only by culture (theatres, cinemas), for which the night was a specific scene of events but also by commerce and services (van Liempt et al.; 2015, Rowe 2008). Along with the concept of revitalizing urban centres, the evening and night revival of city centres was supposed to be an alternative to the phenomenon of depopulation of central districts in favour of suburbia zones, common in Western cities from the second half of the twentieth century (Roberts, Eldridge 2009). As a result, in today's urbanized space, a conflict has arisen over the comfort of living at night (Edensor, 2015). After a phase of choking with the night-time economy in cities, especially in central districts, a "sustainable night" concept was discussed (Roberts, Eldridge 2009). This issue seems to be justified, especially in the case of historical cities that based their development strategy on tourism. To make historical cities attractive to visitors, they often excessively promoted the development of night entertainment or illuminated monuments, encouraging them to wander the city at night (Eldridge, A., Smith, A. 2019).

The question of sustainable city night and city night policy as a tool for its implementation seems to be very current. The aim of this article is to present selected aspects of managing the night-time economy in a historic city on the example of Krakow in Poland. The author will indicate the main factors that determine the development of night tourism and urban recreation at night, identify the main groups of recipients and the problems related to them, and discuss the assumptions of urban policy in relation to sustainable tourism, where management has also become an issue.

NIGHT-TIME ECONOMY: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

The night-time economy (NTE) is not a separate sector of the urban economy. It is heterogeneous in nature and permeates various components of the urban system (Beer, 2011; Ming-tak Chew, 2009). The key issue in identifying it is the time dimension. The most common time frame for NTE is the interval between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m., and sometimes it is significantly extended, for example, in research on the development of NTE in London (*Think Night: London's Neighborhoods...*, 2019) the interval between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.



The night-time economy (NTE) is considered from two perspectives (Pawlusiński, Zmysłony, 2018). In general, NTE is identified with the concept of 24 hours' city, that is, a city in which most, if not all, spheres of socioeconomic life function both during the day and at night. The 24-hour city rhythm is typical mainly for global cities (van Liempt et al., 2015). In a narrow sense, emphasis is placed on the aspect of satisfying free time needs, and other spheres of city activity at night are considered as complementary (auxiliary) elements. This perception of the night-time economy, set out in the following, has been adopted in this study.

The author of this article states a city's night-time economy as a complex of various economic and social functions of the city developed directly or indirectly in order to meet the growing human demand for services and goods of recreational and entertainment (free time) nature, consumed at night outside the place of residence. So framed city's night-time economy has strong links with the tourist economy, and tourists are one of the main groups of recipients of city night services (Eldridge, Smith, 2019; Pinke-Sziva et al., 2019).

The subjective scope of the night-time economy includes various forms of activity. They include, among others (Roberts, Eldridge 2009; Ming-tak Chew, 2009; Pawlusiński, Zmysłony, 2018):

- entertainment services based on popular music and meetings in music clubs (music clubs, discos, dance clubs, café clubs; outdoor music);
- gambling services (casinos, arcades, etc.);
- cultural services (theatres, cinemas, philharmonics, concert halls, museums, galleries, creative spaces);
- services related to the organization of mass events and various types of meetings (amphitheatres and city stages: outdoor music concerts, jubilee events - e.g., New Year's Eve parties, street theatres; city games, mass sports events; organization of private meetings in public and private spaces - e.g., at museum facilities at night);
- gastronomic and gastronomic and entertainment services (restaurants, cafes, pubs, alcohol pump rooms, beer gardens, food corners with mobile gastronomy);
- guided tours and organization of sightseeing at night;
- services related to active recreation (sports centres, gyms, swimming pools, outdoor gyms, sports fields);
- services related to biological regeneration (spa & wellness centres, and others)
- commercial services, related to the operation of shops and shopping centres, but also occasional events such as fairs, exhibitions, etc.

The accompanying services, significantly shaping the possibilities of functioning of the night-time economy, include:



- night public transport services,
- services related to the protection of public order and security,
- health services,
- illumination of monuments and communication routes in the city.

It is extremely difficult to unambiguously (apart from the time dimension of the facility's availability) assign an entity (or the related service or services) to the night-time economy. Most of the above-mentioned services and their providers operate both during the day and at night. The observations to date indicate that with the popularization of nightlife and the growing demand for this type of service, the number of entities that shift the moment of closing the facility (providing the service) to late evening or night hours is increasing, which in turn expands the range of the city's night offer and increases the importance of "Nighttime income" in the structure of income of business entities. Often, the impulse to extend working hours is not only the demand factor, but also the fear of losing a competitive advantage in relation to outlets adjacent to the facility. As a result, small enterprises, which after all dominate in the night-time economy, tend to operate in spatial clusters.

The relationship between the night city offer and night demand was explained by Daniel Campo and Brendt D. Ryan (2008). The typology below can also be used to describe the phenomenon of the night-time economy in European cities, including Krakow. Based on observations of American cities, they distinguished three basic markets of the night-time economy and the related set of products. These are:

Ad a) Sophisticated entertainment – an offer addressed to people interested in participating in sophisticated forms of culture. It is a group with a large age range, albeit not a mass one, largely composed of experts and connoisseurs of art. The activities they undertake include participation in theatre performances, classical music concerts, participation in jubilee events, exhibitions, and vernissages, as well as visits to museums and exhibition galleries. The interest in the city's night products on the part of this group of recipients is determined by the city's rank as a centre of cultural life, the reputation of city cultural institutions and artists associated with the city, as well as the calendar of artistic events.

Ad b) High-end entertainment - includes services of an exclusive nature, such as casinos, night clubs, renowned gastronomic establishments, and others. Often, it is supplemented by cultural offers made available on an exclusive basis (e.g., night visits to a museum). These offers are addressed to a narrow group of people for whom the issue of elitism and uniqueness of the product is of great importance, as well as the so-called corporate client, mainly representatives of the business world. In the case of Krakow, a potential group of customers are participants of international congresses organized, among others, at the ICE congress centre.



Ad c) Middlebrow partying, a type of offer addressed to a mass audience, mainly young people (20-30 years of age) focused on "simple" entertainment, often related to the consumption of alcoholic beverages. As the authors note (Campo, Ryan 2008), the current nightlife of the city is simpler, does not require adherence to strict rules and customs, and, importantly, does not involve large financial expenses. In the scope of the so-called simple entertainment includes several products ranging from meetings in cafes, pubs, restaurants, or the so-called meeting zones (e.g., city zones without curfew) through participation in music concerts, visits to discos, games rooms or cinemas, to offers related to sports recreation at night (visits to gyms, swimming pools, open-air sports at night). Generally, this type of entertainment is available to the undemanding mass client, for whom the quality of service is not a priority. Its recipients are mainly students, tourists coming to the city, as well as young inhabitants of cities and suburbs.

In the last two decades, middlebrow partying has been the fastest growing night product in general. This is especially true for products related to alcohol consumption. As a result, it generates huge negative social effects. An example would be a pub crawl, where customers move in groups between pubs late at night to consume alcohol in each of them. Drunken participants do not follow the rules of social co-existence and are burdensome (e.g., due to noise) for the people living in the buildings along the route of their march.

The negative phenomena accompanying the night-time economy that require regulation include (Chatterton, 2002; Hobbs et al. 2005; Roberts, Eldridge 2009; Eldridge, 2019):

- disturbing the silence of the night by music played from many sources, loud conversations, shouting, and singing of clubbers and passersby, noise generated by devices (e.g., fans, air conditioners) and vehicles (passenger cars, public transport, cleaning vehicles);
- increase in pollution of public space (bottles, packaging, cigarettes, food scraps, etc.);
- troublesome or unbearable smells resulting from gastronomic activities, smoking nicotine by people spending time outside clubs and in cafe gardens, crowds, and dysfunctional human behaviour;
- dysfunctional behaviours, e.g., group consumption of strong alcohol in quick doses (so-called shots), public drug use, public urination and vomiting, arguments and fights;
- illegal and criminal phenomena, including prostitution, drug and drug trafficking, vandalism, verbal and physical sexual violence, theft and robbery, etc.;
- increasing the number of incidents and accidents caused by people returning home or to accommodation facilities.



Struggles with the negative aspects of nightlife require not only deliberate actions on the part of city authorities and their subordinate services, but also the cooperation of various entities involved in the night-time economy, including entrepreneurs who, in accordance with the idea of corporate social responsibility, should undertake activities aimed at the needs of the social environment (place) where they run their business. Nowadays, one of the ways to solve this type of problem is to establish the night mayor institution as a form of cooperation between authorities and business, which is the subject of the next part of the study.

MANAGING THE NIGHT-TIME ECONOMY IN THE CITY

The night-time economy (NTE) creates new opportunities for the economic growth of cities, especially in cultural consumption and leisure services (Bianchini 1995; Roberts, 2006; Rowe, 2008). The trend of linking the NTE with the leisure culture of the postindustrial city was initiated at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s of the twentieth century in Anglo-Saxon cities (Lovatt, O'Connor, 1995). It was based on the belief of city activists about the great causative potential of nightlife in the process of revitalizing extinct downtown centres and post-industrial quarters. Similar demands were also made in Italy (see: Bianchini, 1995).

On the one hand, the activation of the night-time economy was fostered by activities related to the revitalization of downtown and industrial districts, the attractiveness of which increased as a result of improving the aesthetics of space, adaptation of post-industrial buildings for culture and entertainment; and, on the other hand, liberalization of the law in the field of the sale and consumption of alcohol and the operation of bars at night (Roberts, Eldridge, 2009). The introduction of gastronomic and entertainment services to these parts of the city has enlivened this space, apart from the so-called business hours. City centres and revitalized post-industrial quarters have become the mecca of the so-called "Recreators" of the night and, as a result, began to live in a 24-hour rhythm. The fashion for urban recreation based on meetings held in areas where pubs and other entertainment venues are concentrated quickly penetrated the international circulation. All this had a significant impact on the needs and behavior of tourist participants, especially young people. The free behavior of young Englishmen and binge drinking have become an element of the landscape of many tourist centres in Europe and beyond (Roberts, Eldridge, 2009).

The development of the sphere of night catering and entertainment services in many countries (cities) took on a spontaneous character and proceeded practically beyond the control of urban planners (Füller et al., 2018; Nofre et. al, 2018; Olt et al., 2019). The phenomenon spread rapidly across Europe, resembling contagious diffusion. The amusing nightlife was entering new urban quarters, taking over both



areas with a very high historical and cultural potential, as well as post-industrial quarters characterized by low rental costs (Nofre et al., 2019; Füller et al., 2018,). In addition to local users (young residents of the city and suburban area and students), tourists (especially visiting cities as part of the so-called city break) have become an important group of nightlife recipients, who have annexed historic city centres and neighborhoods nearby (e.g., Kazimierz in Krakow, Trastevere in Rome). However, the local community preferred entertainment areas outside the so-called Central Tourism District.

At the turn of the first and second decades of the twenty-first century, urban policy drew attention to the growing social costs of the uncontrolled development of the night-time economy. Actions in this regard were carried out in two ways. The first included attempts to minimize the negative effects of NTE development by identifying problem areas and intensifying the activities of various public services, including police and medical care. The second focused on the establishment of services (units) - commonly known as the night mayor - within which the issues of managing night entertainment would be dealt with in a professional manner (Seijas, Gelders, 2020).

The decision-making powers of night mayors vary (Seijas, Gelders, 2020). In western European cities, there is a clear emphasis on partnership - i.e., this entity performs advisory functions for the city authorities and may be partially financed from the city budget. These solutions are most often a derivative of the city management models used and the establishment of institutions (entities) dealing with issues of city development.

There are three models (see: Seijas, Gelders, 2020) : (1) The first one consists of creating informal structures external to the city authorities. These entities are most often established as a result of the so-called urban movements or the night-economy sector itself and take the form of networking (e.g., without a legally formalized structure) or act as associations or even private entities. Some of these bodies transform into the so-called Night Committees or Club Committees, and cities are more involved in cooperating with them (as advisory bodies, etc.). (2) The second model, the most common in the USA, is composed of entities that have the status of Nightlife, Nightlife, and Culture Offices (these spheres are often combined). These units are headed by managers. As formalized entities, they have their own competences and objective scope of activity. These are units that are subordinate to or strongly associated with the structure of municipal authorities. The third model, the most common in European cities, is the night mayor (3). This office has various positions in its relations with the city authorities. What most often characterizes him is the origin of the night mayor: he is a person coming from the night sector, most often with extensive experience in managing entities in the night-time economy (clubs, pubs, cultural institutions). In some cities, it is selected by various entities and institutions (sometimes appointed for this body).



A CASE STUDY: KRAKOW (POLAND)

Why Krakow?

Krakow is an interesting case for analysing the issue of the development of the night-time economy and the challenges in managing this sector. On the one hand, it is determined by the city's cultural and historical potential, which determines its specific direction of development. On the other hand, Krakow is an example of a city entangled in the path of low costs tourism development. A city that in the 1990s, like other historical cities of Central and Eastern Europe, focused on the development of tourism in order to appear on the European market and had to display the attribute of low costs in its offer for years (Zmyślony, Pawlusiński, 2019). Today, this element has become the "ball and chain" of Krakow tourism.

Krakow has the rank of a historic city of Central European importance. It is distinguished by numerous preserved monuments, which in the case of Polish cities, heavily damaged during World War II, is not common. The medieval Krakow city layout was entered on the UNESCO list in 1978. The city was the former capital of Poland in the Middle Ages, the burial place of Polish kings, and the place of national revival after the loss of independence in the 19th century. Krakow has an important position in the cultural life of the country. It is often referred to as the historic capital of the country. The city has more than 750,000 permanent residents and an additional 250,000 students and young workers staying in the city temporarily. For years, it has been called a vibrant city with a rich nightlife offer. The development of the night-time economy (NTE) in Krakow shows strong connections to the tourism sphere. They are perceived both in the socio-economic and spatial dimensions.

RESEARCH METHODS

The question of the functioning of cities at night is still a new area of scientific research in geography and is still very rarely investigated. As noted by Ilse van Liempt et al. (2015), we suffer from *nyctalopia*: (night blindness) in urban studies. Although we have a lot of information on how the city functions in different dimensions during the day, night remains undiscovered for us. Although many research concepts have been developed in geography that can be adapted to urban night studies, e.g., time geography, urban social geography or studies on the structure and functions of urban areas, they are still not adapted to night studies. Especially in Poland, there is a clear research gap in the field of studies on how urban areas function at night. This applies not only to geography, but also to economic, sociological, and anthropological studies.

There are practically no statistical data to illustrate the functioning of the city at night in Poland. Such data are not collected at the national level. None of the Polish cities has identified an information resource devoted to the investigation



of the city at night. Within municipal offices (municipal administration) there is no unit that undertakes tasks in this field in Poland. Until the end of 2019, the issue of city night was not included in the records of a single planning document/strategy prepared by any of the Polish cities. The preparation of analyses on the functioning of the city at night is not commissioned to external research institutions, as well.

The lack of interest in the nightlife of the cities in Poland may be due to the fact that nightlife is still very poorly developed here. However, this problem becomes clear in the case of large cities, which are also important tourist centres. Krakow is such an example. According to the author, the use of the case study approach is one of the best ways to discuss a problem that is shaped differently in different countries with varied cultural and historical conditions.

However, also in the case of Krakow, the problem of a limited information resource devoted to the city nightlife is visible. Importantly, city leaders, city authorities, and entrepreneurs did not see the need to study the night economy of the city for a long time. The situation changed significantly only in 2019, when the first protests of residents against the lively nightlife in the city appeared. Discussions began on the social costs of tourism and their relationship with NTE.

The article is one of the first attempts to describe the problem of the night economy in Krakow in the context of city management and minimising social problems related to the development of night entertainment. The study is of exploratory nature. The source material was collected mainly in 2019. Research material was collected in two stages.

First, existing materials, such as statistical data, acts of local law, reports of municipal services, city development strategies, and other sectoral development plans, were studied. The analysis of existing collected materials showed that they are insufficient to achieve the purpose of the work. The data collected was fragmentary and required supplementation.

As a result, it was decided to expand the information resource during talks with representatives of various social groups involved in the city management process. This was supported by the first official public debates that took place in 2019 in Krakow, devoted to the directions and future of tourism development in the city. During these debates, postulates related to the need to address the problem of urban night management were often put forward. At that time, also representatives of the Krakow City Council initiated the first meetings - round tables about tourism management in the city, including night tourism. In total, 20 interviews were conducted, mainly with entrepreneurs operating in historic city centre and representatives of city authorities (people responsible for shaping urban policy, mainly tourism policy). They were mainly people actively involved in the discussion on the development of tourism in the city.

The interview was uncategorized to allow respondents to express their opinions freely. It was also decided to completely anonymise the respondents, although



a significant proportion of them were public figures. The interview concerned two problem areas: a) the level of development of nightlife in the city and its nuisance to residents, and b) the need to implement formalised solutions in the field of NTE management in Krakow. In general, the conversation showed a poor understanding of the essence and specificity of the 24-hour city and nightlife management. Interviews with officials provided information on the activities of the city administration in the sphere of night. The entrepreneurs, which make up the majority of the respondents, referred mainly to the issue of NTE management. Interestingly, representatives of this group often expressed concerns that their opinions would not be used to create restrictions on the functioning of the night-time economy in the city.

RESULTS

The period of economic transformation in the late nineties of the twentieth century brought a number of changes in the Central Europe in the sphere of leisure services, including in the sphere of culture and entertainment. Many institutions of cultural life stagnated due to financial constraints. The activities of new entities, mainly private ones, consisted mainly of copying the patterns from the Western world to the “new urban recreation”. The nightlife was rapidly developing, based on bars and music clubs. For example, in 1990, there were 89 gastronomic and entertainment establishments operating around the Old Town in Krakow, and in 2008 there were up to 375 (Mika 2011). A similar development trend is observed in Kazimierz, where 33 facilities operated in 1994, in 2003, 118, and in 2016 around 300 (Mika 2011).

The dynamic development of the night-time economy in Krakow has been observed since 2004, i.e., from the moment of Poland’s accession to the European Union and the improvement of the city’s accessibility by air (launching connections of low-cost air carriers). Favourable price differences, along with the increasingly common fashion for city breaks, resulted in a massive influx of young tourists to Krakow from the British Isles, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Italy (Borkowski 2019). Visitors reporting demand for parties contributed to the activation of the supply sphere of the Krakow night-time economy. More gastronomic, especially pubs and bars were opened in the city. - in 2017 there were about 1,400 pubs, restaurants and others similar facilities in Krakow with at least 1alcohol license and over 1,300 stores selling alcohol (*Raport o stanie miasta...*, 2017). Pub crawling became one of most popular night entertainment, and stag parties were held just as often - mainly for guests from Great Britain. The massive influx of foreign tourists gave rise to other activities in the historical space of the city that did not meet social acceptance from the inhabitants, i.e., night clubs with sexual entertainment (e.g., at Grodzka Street).



Currently, the main part of the city's night offer is based on gastronomy and visits to pubs and other places where alcohol can be consumed (Pawlusiński, 2020). Importantly, the most valuable spaces in the city, the Old Town, the Kazimierz, and the Podgórze (apart from the activities of theatre establishments, which, however, mainly target domestic recipients), do not have significant alternative night offers (see: Zmysłony, Pawlusiński 2019; Kowalczyk-Anioł et al., 2021). Most of the museums in these quarters close before 6.00 pm. Only a few sites operate longer, and all of them finish work before 8.00 pm. The analysis of the city's museum offers shows that 2-3 private entities work after 9.00 pm (Pawlusiński, 2020). The participation of private individuals in running activities at night can be a signal that there is a demand for this type of service in the late-night hours.

Cultural events are an important element of Krakow's night-economy potential. In addition to renowned festivals and mass events (e.g., Wianki), music concerts of world-famous singers and music bands, organized in Tauron Arena or the ICE Congress Centre, the initiative of the so-called Krakow Nights, which in their assumptions refer to the Night of museums popularized in Europe since the 1990s. Currently, several events of this type take place in Krakow every year. These are the Krakow Night of Museums (May; approximately 100,000 visitors to museums; approximately 50 museums participate in the campaign), Night of Theatres (June), Night of Music (June), Night of Jazz (July), Night of Cracovia Sacra (August), and Poetry Night (October). They are complemented by Scientists' Night (September), organized by the regional authorities and Krakow universities. Unfortunately, these events, although enjoying a great reputation, are not clearly exposed as the dominant feature of the city's nightlife.

Market segmentation

The demand for the so-called night recreation in Krakow has been showing a clear upward trend for years. This is confirmed by studies of tourist traffic in Krakow (Borkowski 2015, 2018, 2019). For comparison, in 2015 about 4% of foreign guests and less than 2% of domestic guests indicated entertainment as the leitmotif to visit Krakow, and in 2019, 7.6% of domestic guests and 10% of foreign guests, respectively. In 2019, Krakow at night was identified as one of the main attractions of the city by more than 4% of foreign visitors and 3.5% of domestic guests. Of the 13.5 million tourists who visited Krakow in 2018, approximately 37% are people aged 20 to 29 years (3.6 million domestic visitors and 1.1 million foreign visitors).

When discussing the demand factors for the night-time economy in Krakow, other groups of recipients should not be forgotten. These are, apart from tourists: (1) permanent residents of the city, (2) people temporarily staying in the city for professional purposes (e.g., expats, businessmen, etc.), (3) students, and (4) people living in the suburban area but using the night offer city service.



Taking into account the population aged 20-29 (main recipients of the so-called middle-brow partying), the potential of the city and its immediate vicinity can be estimated at around 300,000. This group includes 100,000-140,000 students, 80,000 Krakow residents aged 20-29 years, 50,000 inhabitants of neighbouring communes, 25,000 corporate employees and 25,000 foreigners staying in the city. Young city users constitute an equally important market segment, along with tourists, influencing the conditions for the functioning of the night-time economy in the city.

The overlap of problems related to tourism in the space of historic districts in Krakow and the negative effects of the night-time economy, which were identified mainly with tourists, triggered a social protest of the inhabitants. Resistance against short-term rental was associated with a protest against the alcoholization of city space and excessive noise. In 2018, there was a social initiative to hang posters in foreign languages aimed at tourists with the suggestion of keeping the curfew at night. The main problem areas are the Old Town and the Kazimierz district. In both areas, there is a clear overlap between the tourism sector and the night-time economy. As a result, it causes several inconveniences to the daily life of the inhabitants, both during the day and at night. Residents' problems include noise, littering of the city, and alcohol consumption in places not intended for this.

The factor that stimulates the night-time economy is the rapid growth in the number of small grocery stores, whose offer is not aimed at residents but mainly at tourists and people interested in buying alcohol. Many of these stores are open late at night or even around the clock. The operation of night shops selling alcohol, especially located in the historic districts of the city, is widely regarded as one of the generators of problem situations.

The first attempt at night management

Based on social protests against tourism in the city, an initiative was born to establish a night mayor, who was initially perceived as a sheriff with a wide legal instrumentation, enabling the solution of various problems, especially those related to the elimination of socially burdensome phenomena. In June 2019, a resolution of the City Council was adopted on the directions of action of the Mayor of Krakow regarding the appointment of the "Night Mayor Commission" (Resolution No. XIX / 389/19). According to the provisions of Section 2, this commission should include mainly representatives of residents of districts where nightlife is concentrated, owners and employees of clubs, restaurants, bars, the tourism industry, accommodation facilities, taxi drivers, city guides, and municipal services (fire brigades). city councils, police) academics dealing with this issue, representatives of NGOs and city activists, as well as city and district councillors and officials from the City Hall.



The main tasks assigned to the night mayor and his committee include:

- working out regulations regarding clubs, pubs, and other entities of the city's nightlife economy, which will, on the one hand, enable them to function and develop, and, on the other hand, will allow residents to live comfortably in the areas of nightlife accumulation in the city;
- ensuring a compromise between residents and tourism, catering, and other night-time entities in the city, and participating in resolving disputes between residents and business;
- supporting the economic development of the city based on the night-time economy sector and striving to adapt the city's cultural offer in the evening and night hours to the expectations of residents and tourists, including extending the hours of operation of museums and other institutions;
- inclusion of evening cultural events in the creation of the city's night offer;
- development and implementation of a city lighting concept that will improve safety in the city and contribute to increasing the visual attractiveness of facilities and places at night;
- aiming to ensure safety at night in places of traffic accumulation and aiming to minimize the negative effects of nightlife for residents and guests staying in the city, especially reducing noise generated by nightlife participants;
- regulation of the sale of alcohol at night in areas of accumulation of nightlife in the city;
- establishment of night volunteer institutions;
- night communication and improving its efficiency;
- parking policy at night;
- maintenance of cleanliness at night and in the morning, and provision of toilets at night in places of traffic accumulation.

Unfortunately, this resolution was criticized by the Voivode's Office and was revoked by this institution. It seems that Krakow should not stop trying to establish a unit responsible for these issues. This is essential for the development of a sustainable tourism policy in the city.

Local entrepreneurs against night management

The discussion aroused by the attempt to create the position of the mayor of the night in Krakow prompted a discussion about the expectations of the night sector towards the city authorities. The interviews conducted reveal three types of attitudes (opinions) among the local night-time economy sector.

The first is based on the belief that the development of the night offer should be encouraged. Representatives of this group believe that the night offer is an important distinguishing feature of the city on the tourist market, and its recipients



are mainly tourists. The lack of such an offer would affect the city's position on the tourist map of Poland and Europe and would cause an outflow of tourists to other cities. The respondents indicated that neither the space nor the availability time of nightclubs is allowed to be limited. Several of the respondents emphasized that the advantage of Krakow is the combination of monuments and nightlife in one package and that there should be no problematic issues in this regard. Alcohol-based entertainment is present in many European cities, and we cannot stop or eliminate it. Potential action aimed at withdrawing the night-time economy from the space of historical districts was assessed as erroneous and risky to maintain the current volume of tourist traffic. Managers agreed with the statement that the city's night offer should be expanded and directed to other groups of recipients, ages, etc. But most of them were skeptical of the success of these activities. The interviews pointed to the awareness of the costs incurred by the local community, but at the same time did not see any significant problem in this. The owners of nightclubs in all historic districts treated their night offer as an element of a very significant competitive advantage of the city. It was even pointed out that Krakow is a city of young people, and that the young community must have an entertainment night offer, meeting places at night, etc. This group recognizes that nighttime activity in the city should not be regulated by the city in any way and even left to market rules. They also do not see the need, and some even oppose the appointment of a night mayor.

The second attitude is best conveyed by the word: "withdrawal from the decision". Managers representing this group are often aware of the social costs associated with the development of the night-time economy and often do not support this form of urban entertainment. Sometimes, they indicate a need for change. However, they do not intend to break anything in this regard, as the economic benefits obtained from the business are the most important to them. However, the essence of this approach is best conveyed by one of the owners of the nightclub: *"(...) for me, the night-time economy is just a business, I have invested money, and I want a certain rate of profit; I am not a participant in the nightlife myself and I do not see the difficulties for residents associated with it. If they are, they should be handled by appropriate authorities within the law"*. Representatives of this group are not interested in participating in night management in the city. In their opinion, the creation of the position of a night mayor is pointless.

The third attitude is related to the awareness of the need for change and appropriate regulations in the city. Unfortunately, such voices are rare among representatives of the night-economy sector. What characterizes this group of managers is the fact that they have a good understanding of the situation in the functioning of the night-time economy sector in other countries of the world. They are aware of the important role of a night mayor and support his appointment. However, they indicate that its role should not be limited to controlling curfew;



in contrast, it must activate nightlife, but in a sustainable manner, considering the needs of the local community. Among the representatives of this point of view, there were respondents who represented premises of high reputation and of long duration. They can be described as leaders in creating nightlife in Krakow.

Observing trends in the preferred forms and ways of spending free time by both residents and tourists, it can be concluded that the development of the night-time economy in Krakow will show a permanent upward trend in the coming years. This will be favoured not only by the increase in the number of tourists coming to the city, but also by general socioeconomic processes modelling the functional and social structure of the city, such as metropolisation, internationalization, and studentification.

The main activities in the city in relation to the night-time economy should include:

- promoting high culture as a basic element of the city's night offer addressed to various audiences;
- involving creative sectors in the creation of the city's night offer;
- activating the business sector in solving problems related to the night-time economy based on the idea of corporate social responsibility;
- taking care of the city's image, including striving to eliminate associations with Krakow as a place of entertainment, based on events and alcohol.

CONCLUSIONS

Today, cities function in a system of various dependencies and systems on a local, regional, or international scale. Cities that want to operate in global circulation must also be active at night. The night policy must be adapted to the rank of the city, its functions, the complexity of the local economy, and the social and cultural characteristics of the city's inhabitants. However, the nature of night-time activities in cities will differ from one part of the world to another. This will be influenced by several factors, including geographical location, duration of the night and importance of the night in the local cultural and religious system. However, it is indisputable that there is a need to regulate this sphere of human socioeconomic life.

The problems of the night-time economy presented above, based on the example of a Central European city such as Krakow, make it possible to clearly indicate that this sphere of social and economic life requires the application of complex and multidirectional legal regulations. The question about the new night policy of cities, its scope, and scale seem to be highly justified and should not be postponed to the future.

Sustainable management of the development of the city at night must consider the needs of all its users, with particular emphasis on permanent residents of the



city. The foundation of the city's night policy should be the right to the city. This right must be implemented in two ways. On the one hand, one should look at the quality and comfort of the life of individual city residents. On the other, the city as a socio-economic system and the incomes related to the leisure economy should be considered.

Taking the above into account, the city's night policy should define three groups of issues. The first concerns the determination of the limits (limits) for the use of the city at night, which will be established to ensure the comfort of life for the inhabitants. It is about a number of detailed issues regarding the elimination of the negative effects of nighttime activity, such as the issues of curfew, setting the hours of operation of restaurants at night, and limiting light pollution of the city. The second group of issues focuses on the provision of public services at night. In addition to an efficient transport system at night, it is necessary to provide security services, access to health care, and other public services that meet the basic needs of residents. The third group of issues relates to the role that cities as a whole assign to themselves with respect to internal and external users. This applies, inter alia, to shaping the city's image in terms of nightlife, creating new zones for night recreation or new cultural services at night. In this approach, we treat night as a competitive advantage of the city but controlled from the inside, with a delineated direction for further development and clearly defined functional and time frames.

The lack of a night policy can quickly lead to various local tensions and thus generate dissatisfaction among the inhabitants with the living conditions. In today's world, such an attitude is unacceptable.

REFERENCES

- BEER, C. 2011. Centres that never sleep? Planning for the night-time economy within the commercial centres of Australian cities. *Australian Planner* 48(3): 141–147. doi:10.1080/07293682.2011.581245.
- BIANCHINI, F. 1995. Night cultures, night economies. *Planning Practice & Research* 10(2): 121–126. doi:10.1080/02697459550036667.
- CAMPO, D., RYAN, B. D. (2008). The Entertainment Zone: Unplanned Nightlife and the Revitalization of the American Downtown, *Journal of Urban Design*, 13:3, 291–315, doi:10.1080/13574800802319543.
- CHATTERTON, P., (2002). Governing Nightlife: Profit, Fun and (Dis)Order in the Contemporary City, *Entertainment and Sports Law Journal* 1(2):2, doi: 10.16997/eslj.169.
- EDENSOR, T., (2015). Introduction to geographies of darkness, *Cultural Geographies*, 22(4): 559–565. doi:10.1177/1474474015604807.



- ELDRIDGE, A. (2019). Stranger in their night: nightlife studies and new urban tourism. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 11(3): 422-435. doi:10.1080/19407963.2019.1583666.
- ELDRIDGE, A., SMITH, A. (2019). Tourism and the night-economy: towards a broader understanding of nocturnal city destinations. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 11(3): 371-379. doi:10.1080/19407963.2019.1631519.
- FÜLLER, H. HELBRECHT I., SCHLÜTER S., MACKRODT, U., VAN GIELLE RUPPE, P. GENZ, C. WALTHALL, B., DIRKSMEIER, P. (2018). Manufacturing marginality. (Un-)governing the night in Berlin. *Geoforum* 94:24-322. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.05.022.
- HOBBS, D. WINLOW, S. HADFIELD, P. LISTER, S. (2005). "Violent Hypocrisy: Governance and the Night-time Economy". *European Journal of Criminology* 2(2), 161-183.
- KOSLOFSKY, C. (2011). *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe*. *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-431. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511977695.
- KOWALCZYK-ANIOŁ, J. GROCHOWICZ, M. PAWLUSIŃSKI, R. (2021). How a Tourism City Responds to COVID-19: A CEE Perspective (Kraków Case Study). *Sustainability* 13, 7914. doi:10.3390/su13147914.
- LOVATT, A. O'CONNO, J. (2010). Cities and the Night-time Economy, *Planning Practice and Research* 10(2):127-134. doi:10.1080/02697459550036676.
- MIKA, M (ed.). (2011). *Kraków jako ośrodek turystyczny [Krakow as tourist destination]* Krakow: Intitute of Geography and Spatial Management Jagiellonian University Press.
- MING-TAK CHEW, M. (2009). Research on Chinese nightlife cultures and night-time economies. *Chinese Sociology and Antropology* 42(2): 3-21. doi:10.2753/CSA0009-4625420200.
- NOFRE, J. GIORDANO, E. ELDRIDGE, A. MARTINS, J.C. SEQUERA, J. (2018). Tourism, nightlife and planning: challenges and opportunities for community liveability in La Barceloneta. *Tourism Geographies* 20(3): 377-396, doi: 10.1080/14616688.2017.1375972.
- NOFRE, J. MARTINS, J.C. VAZ, D. FINA, R. SEQUERA, J. VALE, P. (2019). The 'Pink Street' in Cais do Sodré: urban change and liminal governance in a night-life district of Lisbon. *Urban Research & Practice* 12(4): 322-340. doi: 10.1080/17535069.2018.1449010.
- OLT, G., SMITH, M.K. CSIZMADY, A. SZIVA, I. (2019). Gentrification, tourism and the night-time economy in Budapest's district VII – the role of regulation in a post-socialist context. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 11(3): 394-406. doi: 10.1080/19407963.2019.1604531.
- PAWLUSIŃSKI, R. (2020). *Gospodarka nocna w Krakowie /Night-Time Economy in Krakow*, Unpublished Reports for Department of Tourism City of Krakow.



- PAWLUSIŃSKI, R. KUBAL-CZERWIŃSKA, M. 2018. "A new take on an old structure? Creative and slow tourism in Krakow (Poland)." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 16(3): 265-285. doi: 10.1080/14766825.2017.1330338.
- PAWLUSIŃSKI, R. ZMYŚLONY P. (2018). Gospodarka nocna a oferta kulturowa miast / Night-time economy and the cultural offer of cities. *Turystyka Kulturowa*, 7: 7-22, <http://turystykakulturowa.org/ojs/index.php/tk/article/view/1027/851>.
- PINKE-SZIVA, I. SMITH, M. OLT, G. BEREZVAI, Z. (2019). "Overtourism and the night-time economy: a case study of Budapest" *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 5(1): 1-16. doi:10.1108/.
- ROBERTS, M. (2006). From 'creative city' to 'no-go areas' – the expansion of the night time economy in British town and city centres. *Cities* 23(5): 331–338. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2006.05.001.
- ROBERTS, M., ELDRIDGE, A. 2009. *Planning the Night-time City*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- ROWE, D. (2008). Culture, sport and night-time economy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14 (4): 339-415. doi:10.1080/10286630802445864.
- SHAW, R. (2021). *The Nocturnal City*, Routledge.
- SEIJAS A., GELDERS, M.M. (2020). "Governing the night-time city: The rise of night mayors as a new form of urban governance after dark". *Urban Studies* 58(2): 245-263. doi:10.1177/0042098019895224.
- NICHOLLS K., MOSELEY, R. (2021). *Think night: London's neighborhoods from 6 PM to 6 AM*, 2019, Accessed December 10, 2021. https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/ntc_report_online.pdf.
- BORKOWSKI, K. (ed.). (2020). *Ruch turystyczny w Krakowie w 2019 roku* / Tourist traffic in Cracow in 2019. Report for Krakow City Council, Małopolska Organizacja Turystyczna, Kraków, <https://www.bip.krakow.pl/zalaczniki/dokumenty/n/277012/karta>.
- BORKOWSKI, K. (ed.). (2019). *Ruch turystyczny w Krakowie w 2018 roku* [Tourist traffic in Cracow in 2018], Report for Krakow City Council, Małopolska Organizacja Turystyczna, Kraków, <http://www.mot.krakow.pl/media/badanie-ruchu-turystycznego/raport-brt-2018-krakow.pdf>.
- BORKOWSKI, K. (ed.). (2015). *Ruch turystyczny w Krakowie w 2015 roku: monografia* [Tourist traffic in Cracow in 2015: a monograph], Report for Krakow City Council, Małopolska Organizacja Turystyczna, Kraków, http://www.mot.krakow.pl/media/badanie-ruchu-turystycznego/badania_ruch_tur_2015.pdf.
- VAN LIEMPT, I., VAN AALST, I., SCHWANEN, T. (2015). Introduction: Geographies of the urban night. *Urban Studies*, 52 (3): 407–421. doi:10.1177/0042098014552933.
- ZMYŚLONY, P. PAWLUSIŃSKI R. (2019). Tourism and the night-time economy: the perspective article. *Tourism Review*, 75(1): 194-197. doi:10.1108/TR-05-2019-0158.