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Florida Street Revelries: On The Nightlife of Lusaka

Mazuba Muchindu

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, in fulfilment of the requirements for award of a degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology)

Johannesburg, 2025

Supervisor: Dr. Obvious Katsaura

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Signature of candidate:



Mazuba Muchindu

24th day of March, 2025

DEDICATIONS

To my paternal grandmother Eli and the Mwanamuchende clan, the kindest people that I have ever known. Your ways are a constant reminder and inspiration to simply do good.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I visited University of the Witwatersrand for the first time in August 2010, for a refresher course organised by the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands, where I did my master's degree. Apart from its beautiful and serene environment, I was impressed by the scholarship of the guest presenter from Wits. Little did I know at the time that I would enroll in the PhD programme in sociology at Wits, and embark on an enlightening but also testing journey seven years later. Looking back, there is much to be grateful for and many people to be grateful to. As a part-time student, I had to juggle school work and my teaching responsibilities at the University of Zambia in the course of my studies. This inevitably took a lot of my time away from my wife and children. Their worries were almost palpable most evenings as I ventured out to Florida Street for observations. I could only compensate them for the inconvenience by ensuring that those nights out would not end in vain.

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worthy of a Witsie. A scholarly community among Africa's greats that I am very proud to be part of.

To my mother and father who have long been resting, but still continue shining down on me:
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BANCOAZ	Bars and Nightclubs Owners Association of Zambia
EZ	Entertainment Zone
IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies
LCC	Lusaka City Council
NAPSA	National Pensions Scheme Authority
PF	Patriotic Front
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
UNZA	University of Zambia
ZANACO	Zambia National Commercial Bank
ZNPF	Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF)

Chapter 1: Marking the course for revelry in Entertainment Zones

1.1.Introduction: away on the periphery

> Many patrons follow the game attentively on the TV screens mounted at different points around the venue. Several patrons are clad in red and white Liverpool replica jerseys, with some waving scarves and flags. As the game progresses, patrons pass running commentaries. The crowd gets bigger as the game nears the end and goes to a penalty shoot- out amidst loud cheers and jeers. There are wild celebrations when Liverpool win on penalties. "Stand Up (For the Champions)" by British band "Right Said Fred" blares through the speakers as the crowd sings along. A man in a vest stands on a bench right under the main screen at the entrance to the liquor store cheering. Nearby, another one takes off his shirt and waves it in the air while dancing. Even Richard is bouncing to the music in his wheel chair.[1] Beer is sprayed over the crowd in front of the liquor store in celebration amidst loud cheers and whistling. The atmosphere is hysterical! Garage has been transformed into a celebration venue for Liverpool! The DJ plays a string of upbeat victory songs including those by Zambian singers while the crowd continues to sing along and dance. They erupt into a frenzy when Liverpool hoists the trophy.

This is a scene captured from Garage Liquor Store on Florida Street – a renowned evening entertainment district on the periphery of Lusaka – when Liverpool beat Tottenham in the UEFA Champions League Final on Saturday 1 June, 2019. It is an example of revelry, a convivial form of sociality experienced in a concentrated evening entertainment district also known as an Entertainment Zone (EZ) (Campo & Ryan, 2008). It is an indication that EZs also thrive on the periphery of the city where they serve as sites of a vibrant nightlife catering to a patronage of diverse backgrounds, including low-income groups. This is contrary to most scholarship on nightlife, which considers EZs as only existing in the city centre. Nightlife refers to social activities including shopping, dining, and entertainment that go on in cities during the hours of

[1] He was a man in his mid-thirties who moved in a wheelchair and frequented Garage Liquor Store.

darkness (Farrer, 2018; Neal, 2010). In this study, focus is on the entertainment aspect of nightlife.

This thesis addresses the influence of non-formal processes in the creation of concentrated evening entertainment districts, and the forms of sociality that are produced in such venues through the coalescing of different components of nightlife assemblage including people, music, alcohol and other drugs, and sport. It also shows how the excesses of nightlife, the omission and conceptualisation of nightlife as tourism in urban planning and policy, are a hindrance to its growth. Nightlife forms a key part of everyday life in Zambian cities (Bryceson, 2002; Ferguson, 1999; Glazer, 1997) just as it does in other African cities (Dumbili, 2016; Prais, 2014; Simone, 2021). Since the colonial era, a vibrant nightlife has been observed in Zambia's major urban centres of the Copperbelt and Lusaka. This is where the concept of daily drinking among African men as a leisure activity was introduced through the creation of the municipal beer hall; and the introduction of European-style bottled beer such as "Castle" and imported spirits side by side with *Chibuku,* a thick, sweet African-style beer.

After independence, state-supported public leisure drinking through "town council taverns" continued, while the number of bars and grocery stores selling beer including shebeens (speakeasies) (Glazer, 1997) increased. Another important addition to Zambia's urban nightlife scene, Lusaka in particular, was the introduction of live bands playing a variety of music including Zairean rhumba (Glazer, 1997). Also, a culture of shared drinking emerged whereby patrons spent evenings sitting around a table talking, enjoying music, and ordering rounds of beers. Suffice to state that part of this nightlife in urban Zambia has been associated with excesses such as excessive drinking; prostitution; and, barroom brawls (Glazer, 1997). These have been a pervasive blight on nightlife largely arising from the interaction of conflicting elements of a nightlife assemblage and a deficient planning and policy regime, with potential to curtail its growth.

Nightlife has immense social, cultural and economic benefits that are crucial for urban development (Bianchini, 1995; Hadfield, 2015; Montgomery, 1995; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015). It is considered to double the city's economy by maximising access to urban facilities through

longer opening hours (Bianchini, 1995; Hadfield, 2015; Montgomery, 1995) for various activities including entertainment (Bavinton, 2010; Bianchini, 1995); opportunities for tourism (Collins, 2006); employment; revenue for local authorities through increased licensing of night activities; parking fees and other forms of taxes. Nightlife boosts drink- and food-related entertainment, fashion and live music. Supply chains for each of these are augmented making it possible for small entrepreneurs to join and expand their businesses (Bavinton, 2010). For example, in Zambia, it is estimated that bars and nightclubs employ over one million workers (Zambian Business Times, 13 June 2020).

In light of the above benefits, nightlife has been used as an urban renewal and revitalisation strategy world over in cities that have experienced economic decline (Farrer, 2011; Measham, 2004) especially those historically associated with manufacturing industries in the United States of America, western Europe, and Australia (Bavinton, 2010; Grazian, 2009; Lovatt & Connor, 2010) by adopting nightlife as a strategy for transforming such cities into centres of leisure and consumption (Bavinton, 2010; Farrer, 2011; Grazian, 2009). This has involved incorporating the '24-hour city' concept to extend the 'vitality and viability' of central cities beyond 5 pm (Hadfield, 2015), and the redevelopment of old residential neighbourhoods into entertainment spots (Farrer, 2011).[2] In fact, it is in relation to such efforts that the term 'night-time economy' (NTE) emerged in the UK in the 1990s (van Liempt et al., 2015). Night-time economy refers to businesses that "conduct their trade and offer their services in the evening or night-time hours after 5 or 6 pm in places such as public houses, bars, bingo halls, restaurants and discos, but also shops, gyms, cinemas, music venues, art galleries, theatres and bowling alleys" (Montgomery, 1995, p. 103). The prominence of nightlife in the everyday life of Zambian cities is also evident in public discourse though it often highlights its excesses (Lusaka Times, September 3 2018).

I focus on the production of nightlife both in terms of its spatial and social dimensions using assemblage as the main theoretical tool supported by piracy. Instead of focusing on EZs in the centre, I concentrate on EZs located on the periphery of the city since most scholarly work on nightlife is biased towards the former. Through assemblage thinking, the study explores how concentrated night-time entertainment districts impact nightlife. With regard to the physical form

[2] This also includes non-industrial cities (Farrer, 2011).

of nightlife (high outlet density), the study findings reveal that EZs on the periphery are influenced by processes beyond the purview of the state.[3] In terms of the social dimension (lively nightlife), the study shows that while this has been largely influenced by high outlet density, the activities and behaviour of human actors still have a big impact. For the large part, these activities are pleasurable and fun in nature but vary in degree of conviviality on different occasions and at different times in the course of the evening, the course of the week and on different occasions. Underlying this is the interaction and coalescing of various socio-spatial elements of nightlife assemblage including people, alcohol and other drugs, music, sport etcetera, in different combinations or mixes.

Throughout the history of nightlife, different laws, regulations and initiatives have been adopted in an attempt to maximise the potential and abate the liminal nature of nightlife. In the initial stages, the extension of cities beyond 5 pm was done side by side with the de-regulation of restrictive urban planning and licensing regimes, followed by policies aimed at improving safety and security in the night-time economy (Giordano et al., 2019; Hadfield, 2015). As Roberts and Eldridge (2009) argue, night-time entertainment activities are not self-regulating. They involve behaviour that is disruptive to social order including violent crime; (van Liempt et al., 2015); excessive drinking (Brands et al., 2014; Bryceson, 2002; Calafat et al., 2003), drugs (Tutenges, 2012) and unsafe sex (Singh et al., 2011). These problems are worse where there is lack of enforcement of regulations (Fox & Sobol, 2000) or where the authorities have failed to anticipate the scale and pace of the expansion of nightlife (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). In Zambia, a vast body of literature on nightlife has focused on unsafe sex practices in nightlife and their contribution to the HIV/AIDS scourge (Mukuka & Slonim-nevo, 2006; Singh et al., 2011).

In addition, a considerable amount of literature associates the excesses of nightlife with high outlet-density (Nordfjærn et al., 2016). For instance, Campo and Ryan (2008) attribute these problems to the organic and piece-meal manner in which EZs develop as opposed to large-scale designs of urban development created "by centralised authority, or by laws, or by master plans" (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 308). I argue that the excesses of nightlife are a reflection of negative

[3] Outlet density refers to the number of alcohol supply points in a given area per capita of a geographic population (Rowland et al., 2016, p. 44).

effects arising from a conflicted or contra-functioning of elements in nightlife assemblage. The study distinguishes between excesses that are an outcome of contra-functioning of parts of a nightlife assemblage and those that are a result of failure by actors responsible for the regulation and management of nightlife. The latter includes failure in terms of urban planning and policy as well as the misconceptualisation of nightlife from the perspective of tourism.

Notwithstanding the above, nightlife – including in EZs found on the periphery of the city – is also associated with pleasure and fun (Giordano et al., 2019) that is accessible to people of diverse backgrounds (Hadfield, 2015). EZs are considered to facilitate celebratory and sometimes rowdy social behaviours that have been described as "collective joy" or "collective ecstasy" (Campo & Ryan, 2008) akin to what Foucault describes as 'heterotopia' (Tutenges, 2012, p. 133).[4] It is suggested that this experience is a vital part of human existence though it has historically been mistaken for abnormal, deviant or dangerous behaviour (Bavinton, 2010). It has been observed that how such EZs are produced, and how nightlife is consumed in these spaces, are among the issues that still require further studies in nightlife (Hadfield, 2015). In spite of the growing attention, EZs are still perceived to exist in central areas (Nofre, 2020; Nofre et al., 2019) where they have been adopted as an urban regeneration strategy (Nofre et al., 2017). Here, they are mainly seen as catering for privileged groups such as international tourists as has been observed by Chew (2009) in his work on EZs in major Chinese and European cities (Chew, 2009; Nofre, 2020). Also, those outside the centre are considered to be located in former commercial and industrial areas, underutilised retail corridors or underdeveloped waterfronts (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 293). This study examines EZs located away from the city centre in residential areas on the outskirts.

In seeking to build on scholarship concerning sociality in nightlife, I opted for assemblage thinking supported by other approaches particularly piracy. "Assemblage has a broad focus concerned with the fundamental relationality of human and non-human agents. Each of these elements becomes meaningful only in the assemblages that produce both events and the apparent reality of the relations that they comprise" (Pedersen et al., 2017, p. 161). This is contrary to

[4] Heterotopia are considered to be places without rules, or with minimal rules, outside conventionally structured society by design, social convention or rule of law (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 309-310)

narrowly focused interpretations such as sub-cultural theories of the Birmingham School (Buckingham et al., 2014), and post-subcultural theory (Bavinton, 2011). Through assemblage thinking, I was able to trace the evolution of an EZ (Florida Street) from the spatial viewpoint. I was also able to show the type of nightlife that it created from the social viewpoint, and how this in turn influenced the spatial dimension. Contrary to most scholarship, I was able to show that for the large part, the social dimension of nightlife is characterised by fun and pleasure anchored on civil interactions between patrons – the majority of whom hang out with people that they know already – guided by the norms of acceptable behaviour within the venues and the wider society. Underlying all this is how different socio-spatial elements of nightlife assemblage coalesce in different mixes and at different moments to ultimately create a vibrant evening entertainment district. Further, I was able to extend the discussion to the threats that nightlife faces in the light of the excesses arising from conflicting relations among elements of its assemblage as well as failure on the part of the elements responsible for nightlife governance.

1.2.Study Aim

Using assemblage thinking as a theoretical tool, this study explores nightlife in a concentrated night-time entertainment district of Florida Street on the periphery of Lusaka. I explore how non formal processes contribute to the development of EZs, and how these in turn facilitate the creation of convivial forms of sociality. Instead of dwelling on the problems of high outlet density in EZs as most literature tends to (Brands et al., 2014; Calafat et al., 2003; van Liempt, 2015), I draw on scholarship which highlights affect in night-time entertainment spots (Bøhling, 2014; Miller et al., 2017; Tutenges, 2012), and show how conviviality ebbs and flows in rhythmic fashion (Hunter, 2010; Nicholls, 2019; Thurnell-Read, 2021) driven by a combination of elements at a given time or occasion. Not oblivious to some of the challenges that nightlife is faced with, I extend the analysis to its excesses and shortcomings in relation to urban planning and policy with regard to how these restrict the growth of nightlife.

Here, I build on scholarship linking excess in nightlife to high outlet density (Giordano et al., 2019; Rowland et al., 2016; Vocht et al., 2020) by distinguishing excesses that are an outcome of conflicting co-constitution of parts of an assemblage, and those that are a result of failure to

regulate and manage nightlife on the part of venue owners or operators and the authorities. Thus, through assemblage thinking, the study shows that urban policy failure can be understood in terms of a disconnect between the government's agenda with regard to service provision and planning, and the everyday lives of the urban population (Watson, 2009).

1.3.Rationale

In this section, I present a justification for the study. In particular, I advance

- justification for focusing on nightlife on the periphery (in EZs);
- justification for deploying assemblage thinking as the main theoretical tool; and
- justification for choosing Florida Street as a study site

The study focused on Florida Street – also known as Devil's Street – one of Lusaka's largest and most popular evening entertainment zones located in Emmasdale, north-west of Lusaka. Stretching about 770m in length, it is lined up with a string of pubs, night clubs, restaurants, sports betting cafes, lodges, motels and other evening entertainment venues from one end to the other. Therefore, Florida Street presents an interesting case in relation to understanding nightlife because of its location on the outskirts of Lusaka, its high-outlet density, and its lively nightlife. It captures the question or puzzle that this study sought to examine, that is, how – in spite of being located on the periphery of the city – Florida Street evolved into a large entertainment district with a lively nightlife. This suggests that a vibrant and lively nightlife is tenable on the periphery away from the city centre, which is often considered to be the site of such nightlife in literature. This forms the main thesis of this study.

1.3.1. Nightlife on the periphery

The analysis of nightlife in EZs is motivated by the recognition that EZs are sites of a vibrant and lively nightlife (Tutenges, 2015). These are concentrated nightlife districts (Campo & Ryan, 2008), or large nightlife zones (Chew, 2009). They are generally perceived to exist in central areas (Nofre, 2020; Nofre et al., 2019) where they have been adopted as an urban regeneration strategy of evening and night-time leisure experiences (Nofre et al., 2017). Here, they are mainly

seen as catering for privileged groups such as students and international tourists (Chew, 2009; Nofre, 2020). In spite of this, EZs also thrive on the periphery of the city where they are accessible to groups of different backgrounds including low-income groups. Such a lively nightlife that is accessible to people of diverse backgrounds is much sought after in the 21st century (Hadfield, 2015). This analysis is also motivated by the fact that a considerable amount of literature associates nightlife in areas with high outlet-density with various problems including health risks caused by drug use and alcohol abuse (Nordfjærn et al., 2016), crime, noise, underage drinking, (Fox & Sobol, 2000) disorderly behaviour (Marco et al., 2017; Nordfjærn et al., 2016; Tutenges, 2012) violence, noise, and intoxication (Giordano et al., 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). But a large part of nightlife in EZs is fun and pleasurable (Bavinton, 2010; Tutenges, 2012).

Exploring nightlife in EZs is in keeping with the observation that in spite of the growing interest in urban nightlife (Montgomery, 1995; Hadfield, 2015), and the role that nightlife plays in making cities vibrant and liveable, academic research tends to overlook what happens when night falls. Hence there is, for example, a need for serious participant observation studies of night-life as a cultural phenomenon (Bianchini, 1995); and how nocturnal cities are produced, used, experienced and regulated in different geographical contexts are some of the key issues that still require attention in the study of urban nightlife across the global North and the South (van Liempt et al., 2015). It is also in line with the observation that a relationship exists between the physical characteristics of night-time entertainment venues and the type of nightlife experienced in a given locality (Marco et al., 2017).

I acknowledge that the affectual dimension of nightlife has been attended to in scholarly work, but much of this work has been devoted to the forms of sociality created when the venues are at their peak (Nofre et al., 2017). Few studies have dwelt on variations in forms of sociality at different times of the evening, the week and on different occasions. Also, few studies have examined the factors that account for these variations.

1.3.2. Justification for assemblage thinking

The study incorporates assemblage thinking as its theoretical compass based on the understanding that "a complex assemblage of situational factors come together to give EZs on the periphery the affects that revelers tap into and contribute to, including the use of substances, bodily movements, and interactions with human and nonhuman actors" (Duff, 2008, as cited in Tutenges, 2012, p. 133). It is argued that the "assemblage thinking—based on fundamental relationality of human and non-human agents should be in the centre of such research because each of these elements becomes meaningful only in the assemblages that produce both events and the apparent reality of the relations that they comprise" (Pedersen et al., 2017, p. 161). Of particular interest in this study is to understand how these factors coalesce in different contexts and intensities (Yeo & Heng, 2014) to produce convivial forms of nightlife. This responds to calls for "more research on the heterogeneity and complexity of patterns of going out, nightlife venues and the subcultures and scenes oriented around night-time spaces" (van Liempt et al., 2015, p. 415) considering how complex urban nightlife is. A notable strength of assemblage thinking is its careful attention to the multiple materialities of socio-natural relations (Brenner et al., 2011). Also, it provides deep insights regarding the ways in which social lives are woven together through thick description of social practices and material forms in cities (Storper & Scott, 2016).

In spite of this, assemblage has been criticised for among other reasons, because it is too broadly framed and indeterminate by attributing agency to the non-human world (Dovey et al., 2018; Scott & Storper, 2015). It has also been criticised because it leaves out important questions regarding the broader (global, national and regional) structural contexts within which actants operate (Brenner et al., 2011). To address these limitations, I also deploy piracy and other theoretical concepts including contingent neoliberalism.

1.3.3. General motivations

From a general and practical viewpoint, it is important to study nightlife because it is a key feature of social life world over with various socio-economic benefits, including strengthening

solidarity (Grazian, 2009), creating job opportunities, attracting foreign direct investment, attracting creative talent and boosting tourism (Collins, 2006; Owuor, 2013; Yeo & Heng, 2014). In the context of African cities, it is important to study nightlife because it can help bring out the richness and vitality of everyday life in African cities. Literature on urban life in African cities is dominated by one-dimensional explanations, usually of either promising development or decline (Ferguson, 1999). Yet, life in African cities is much more complex than that. The challenges for African urban studies are no longer simply about paying more theoretical attention to the marginalised in these cities. Important as this may be, the challenges are more about explaining how urbanisation processes in these cities might contribute to efforts to improve the quality of life for the inhabitants (Myers, 2011).

From the literature reviewed, there is no evidence of a similar study having been done anywhere, let alone in Zambia. This study has brought out insights with potential to enrich the understanding of nightlife particularly from the perspective of cities in the Global South. This is not to imply that I am advocating an exclusive southern urban reality, neither am I advocating theoretical approaches that are exclusively about cities of the Global South. Below, I reiterate the purpose of this study.

1.4.Problem statement

There is a growing body of scholarship on the affectual dimension of nightlife (Eldridge, 2019; Jensen & Hunt, 2020).[5] Nightlife is seen as facilitating celebratory behaviours (Campo and Ryan, 2008). This includes work on nightlife in Entertainment Zones (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Nofre et al., 2019; Tutenges, 2012; Yeo & Heng, 2014). In a number of these studies, assemblage thinking is increasingly being deployed as a theoretical tool (Bøhling, 2015; Brands et al., 2014; Pedersen et al., 2017; van Liempt et al., 2015). In spite of this, much of this scholarship focuses on the city centre (Bavinton, 2010; Farrer, 2011; Grazian, 2009) not the periphery. Also, much of the literature focuses on the disorderly and harmful effects of night leisure venues with high outlet density (Giordano et al., 2019; Marco et al., 2017; Nordfjærn et al., 2016; Roberts & Eldridge,

[5] The notion of affect concerns the role of emotions including sensing, feeling, and bodily reactions in people's lives (Jensen and Hunt, 2020).

2009; Tutenges, 2012) with the view of how to manage alcohol outlet density (Giordano et al., 2019; Morrison et al., 2016; Rowland et al., 2016; Vocht et al., 2020) and less on its positive outcomes (Nofre et al., 2017) and how they are created.

Also, in spite of the potential that the night-time economy has in relation to urban development, and the demands that it has in terms of management, it has not received much attention in the urban development agenda of many cities. Instead, nightlife has been marginalised (Lovatt & Connor, 2010) and it is often treated as a minor element in town centre development, covered in a few paragraphs (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) in city plans and development policies. Often, it is treated as a minor aspect of tourism (Pratt & Gill, 2019).

1.5.Research questions

In light of the above, the study sought to address the following key question:

In what ways do concentrated night-time entertainment districts, characterised by informality, impact nightlife?

To answer this question, the following sub-questions were examined:

1. What is the contribution of non-formal processes in the development of EZs on the periphery of the city?
2. How do the various socio-spatial elements of nightlife in an EZ coalesce to create varying forms of sociality?
3. How does excess in nightlife and the challenges regarding its governance impact the growth of nightlife in EZs?

1.6.Study site

To answer the questions laid out above, I dwelt on Florida Street, a concentrated evening entertainment district located north-west of the city centre in Emmasdale residential area (see the street marked red parallel to Lumumba Road in figure 1 below). It is located next to Matero. One

of the largest constituencies on the outskirts Lusaka. This is implied in the name Matero which, according to one narrative, is drawn from the term *'kumatero'* (meaning 'at the end of' in Chinyanja). Also known as 'Devil's Street', Florida Street is lined up with a string of pubs, night clubs, restaurants, sports betting cafes, lodges, motels and other evening entertainment venues stretching about 770m from one end of the street to the other. It is partly on account of the many alcohol outlets and the multitudes that Florida Street hosts that it is nicknamed Devil's Street. It is also on account of the happenings in the street, including the imbibing of beer and other alcoholic beverages, and the attendant activities associated with the leisure economy such as live music, sport, and sex work. Accompanying these activities are several vices and goings on that have tainted Florida Street's otherwise lively entertainment district, including the presence of street kids, use of illicit drugs, underage drinking, violence and theft. It is such vices that often capture public attention through press reports when police or the council conduct raids in a bid to rid Florida Street of such ills (Times of Zambia, May 13 2017). This is a challenge that is inherent in Florida Street's spatial makeup given the existence of many entertainment nightspots side by side a residential area.

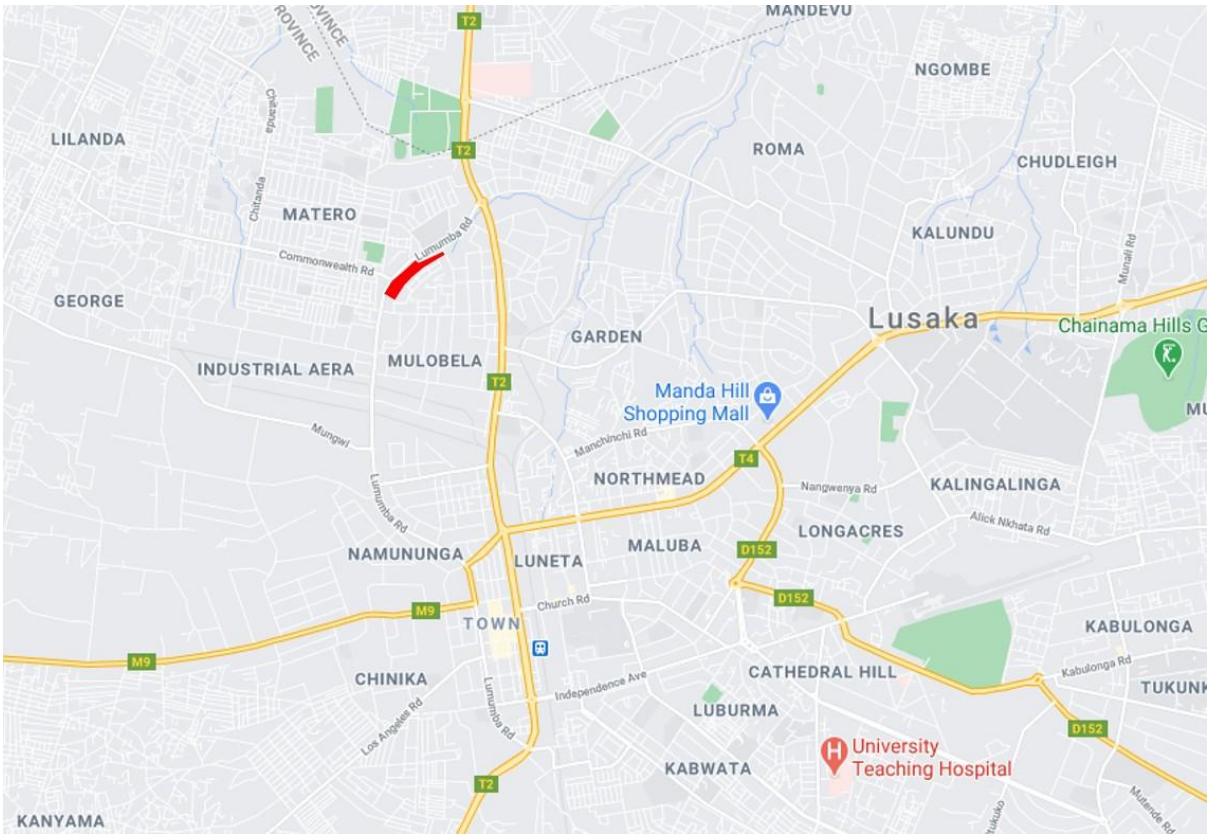


Figure 1: Location of Florida Street Entertainment Zone

Emmasdale largely consists of houses built by state companies including the National Pensions Scheme Authority (NAPSA) formerly known as Zambia National Provident Fund (ZNPF) and Zambia National Commercial Bank (ZANACO).[6] But part of Emmasdale (near Florida Street) was established as a site and service area. The site and service scheme was a housing policy which the Zambian government embarked on in 1965 in order to relieve the housing backlog for

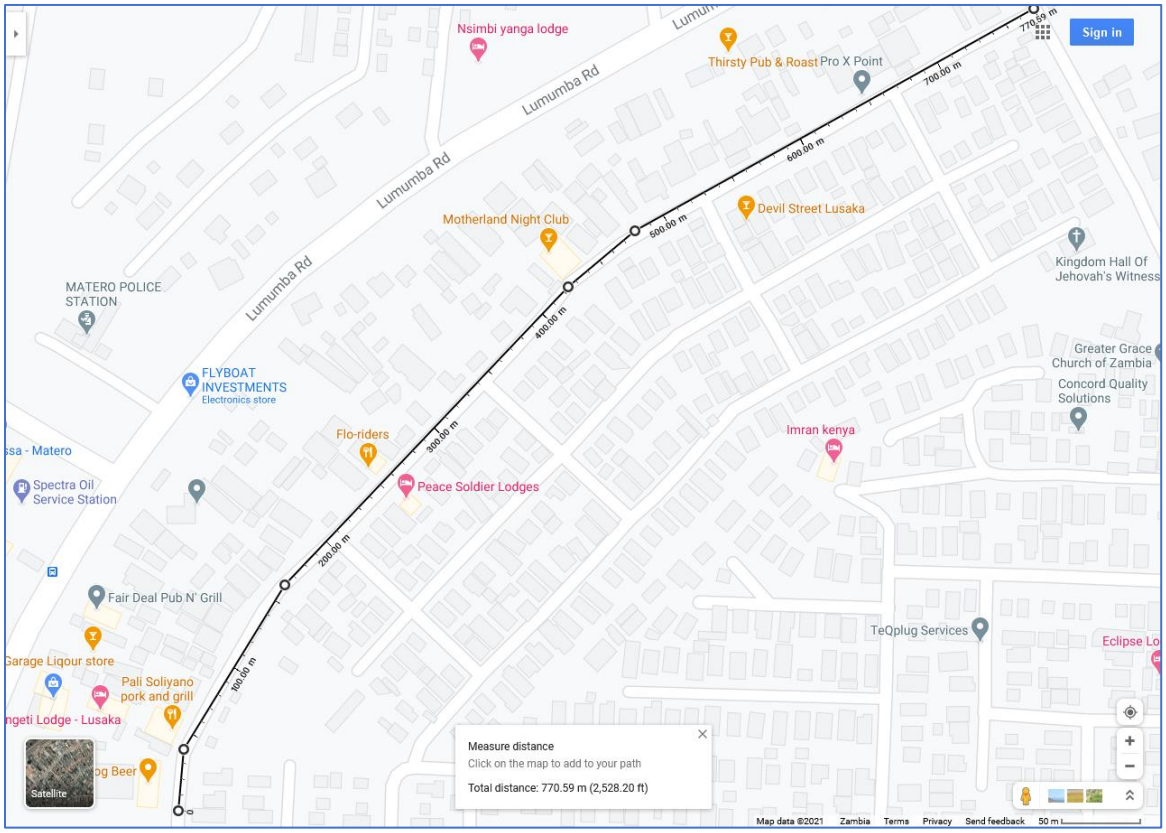


Figure 2: Florida Street end to end

[6] These houses were sold to sitting tenants in the late 1990s and early 2000s as part of the home ownership scheme introduced by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) administration under Fredrick Chiluba. Since the sale of the houses, Emmasdale experienced an aggressive process of gentrification as many housing units have been bought off by the more well-off Asian community who are erecting mansions instead of the smaller 2–3-bedroom houses for former bankers and ZNPF employees.

low-income people (Hansen, 1982) and address the continued growth of squatter settlements. The schemes involved the provision of plots of land along with basic essential infrastructure needed for habitation (Urban Planning and Design Branch UN-Habitat, 2012). To the southern side of the street, residential plots were allocated, while commercial plots were allocated north of the street. In spite of it being well planned, most of the commercial plots were subdivided by the owners and sold to others resulting in several additions or extensions on the plots often without council approval. It is important to note that the area was not intended to be an entertainment district. Initially, only a few pubs and bars existed with the majority being grocery shops. But through subdivisions, many more evening entertainment spots were built turning Florida Street into a popular entertainment destination for people from all over Lusaka and beyond. It is on account of its popularity and high concentration of night-time leisure spots that I was particularly interested in Florida Street because this made it a unique night-time entertainment zone. However, I do acknowledge that other EZs also exist in Lusaka and other towns and cities in Zambia where a vibrant nightlife is produced and experienced.

1.7.The informal roots of Lusaka's periphery

The informal elements of nightlife on the periphery of Lusaka can be understood within the broader history of the city's periphery. From the beginnings of the colonial era in the 1890s, the colonial government in Northern Rhodesia as Zambia was called then, imposed closed city policies that prevented Africans from settling in urban areas. Only male migrant workers were allowed in urban areas to provide cheap labour to the white settler population. They were expected to return to their rural homes after the expiry of their contract of employment (Mulenga, 2003). Any unauthorised structure was supposed to be demolished (Bamberger et al., 1982) as they were believed to provide sanctuary to illegal urban residents, unproductive and non-law abiding citizens (Mulenga, 2003). However, "illegal" communities did develop outside the city limits (Bamberger et al., 1982). Many of these settlements became permanent, attracting people who were not under any contract (Hansen, 1982). In some cases, white farmers and businessmen rented plots to Africans for a nominal fee in a practice that came to be known as 'Kaffir farming'. George compound located north-west of Matero which is one of oldest and

largest unauthorised settlements in Lusaka, and Mandevu to the East, developed in this manner around the 1920s (Hansen, 1982).

In 1948, some restrictions on movement were lifted in an attempt to have a more stabilised urban workforce through The Urban African Housing Ordinance. This provided for self-help African housing on the outskirts of the main urban centres without insisting on the statutory building standards prescribed in the Town and Country Planning Act imported from the United Kingdom (Mulenga, 2003). It also allowed a minority of urban male employees to be joined by their wives and children, but only for the duration of their work contracts. The relaxation of restrictions resulted in an initial influx of African families into urban areas, hence worsening the shortage of housing for African workers. In addition to self-help African housing, there was an attempt to provide more public housing for the growing population of African workers through the local authorities. It was under this plan that Matero township was constructed by the Lusaka Municipal Council in the 1950s (Mulenga, 2003).

After independence, no clear guidelines existed for the development of these squatter areas. After initial attempts to continue the colonial policy of demolition, it was accepted that eradication of the settlements was neither feasible nor consistent with the official philosophy of Humanism adopted by the African government (Bamberger et al., 1982). It was acknowledged that although squatters' areas were unplanned, they represented assets both in social and financial terms. What they needed was planning and services. This led to the introduction of site and services in 1965. The city council was to provide services (plot pegging, water supply, sanitation and roads, roofing loans), while residents were to construct their own houses (Hansen, 1982). As I have indicated, a large section of the housing stock on Florida Street was built under this scheme (Zambia Daily Mail, 1 February 2019), so was Chunga situated north-east of Matero (Hansen, 1982). This continued in 1972 through a new policy for upgrading squatter settlements targeted at three largest squatter complexes in Lusaka namely, George, Chawama, Chaisa/Chipata. In spite of these efforts, new squatting continued (Hansen, 1982). Up until the time of the study, residents continued to encroach unoccupied or reserve land usually on the periphery of the city in Lusaka. In fact, many were eventually granted legal status. Although the council was able to halt some of these developments, for instance, through demolition, it was very challenging to

completely stop them. It was almost rendered irrelevant by members of the ruling political party who often demarcated land parcels (USAID, 2018) illegally.

Informality has also been a large part of the history of nightlife in Lusaka. For instance, Hansen (1982) observes that in the 1930s, markets developed in the townships providing services legally unavailable in the employer-controlled native compounds. Chief among them were the sale of home-brewed beer and sex which found a ready clientele, given the unbalanced male-female ratio resulting from migration control and employment ordinance (Hansen, 1982). By the 1950s, many women had migrated to town illegally as African town life became firmly established. However, since women were not allowed to work, brewing beer – though also illegal – was one of the few ways a townswoman could earn cash. After independence, selling *chibuku* (at their shebeens) and brewing and distilling a variety of alcoholic drinks continued among shantytown women due to limited income-generating activity (Hansen, 1982).

1.8.Prelude to methods

This study is based on ethnography because it sought to describe and interpret behavioural patterns of a culture-sharing group within its natural setting, from the standpoint of the meanings that participants attach to their behaviour (Creswell, 2013; Shkedi, 2019). Ethnography is appropriate for this topic since it was aimed at developing a composite portrait (Creswell, 2013) of nightlife in Lusaka's Florida Street with regard to the activities that took place in its night-time entertainment venues and the ways in which the high concentration of these outlets impacted nightlife. Florida Street was chosen because it is a well-known and unique night-time entertainment zone in Lusaka owing to its high outlet density and a lively nightlife. The study focused on pubs and night clubs as they were among the most common types of night-time entertainment venues in Lusaka's nightscape scene including that of Florida Street. Two pubs and two nightclubs were selected using non-probability sampling based on their popularity. The selection of these two types of venues was meant to make it possible to compare and accommodate rival explanations that were expected to emerge between the two types of venues (pubs and nightclubs), and between two of the same type of night-time entertainment venues (nightclub and nightclub; pub and pub). Studying such a small number of units made it possible

for me to focus on the social rhythm, the pattern of events and expected behaviour (Burgess, 1990) of patrons.

A significant amount of the data was collected through participant observation spread over a period of fourteen months. This made it possible for me to examine the topic at hand through the different periods of the year (Yin, 2011). Participant observation was deemed appropriate because it made the task of interpreting the meanings and experiences of social actors in their natural set up possible through interaction with them (Brewer, 2000; Burgess, 1990). Additional data was collected through semi-structured interviews with participants who frequented the four venues. The aim was to select people with vast knowledge of the selected night entertainment venues. On this basis, ten patrons were selected from each of these venues.

Unstructured interviews – in the form of conversations, not straight question and answer sessions – were held with key informants including bar owners or operators, officials from the Bars and Nightclubs Owners Association of Zambia (BANCOAZ), Lusaka City Council (LCC) and Matero Police. Unstructured interviews provided rich detailed data to complement data from observations and documents (Burgess, 1990). In total, 44 interviews were conducted. This is within the 25-50 range considered to be the acceptable number of interviews, practices and actions to include in ethnography (Yin, 2011). Documents also formed a key source of information (Glaser and Strauss, 1967 as cited in Prior, 2008) especially with regard to the significance of night-time entertainment in the urban development agenda. Data were analysed using content analysis as an analytic technique (Schreier, 2014). This was done with the aid of a qualitative data analysis software known as QDA Miner Lite.[7]

1.9.Structure of the thesis

The thesis is made up of eight chapters. Chapter 2 is a review of literature on nightlife with particular focus on EZs with high outlet density. It also provides a review of literature about nightlife in Lusaka. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework anchored on urban assemblage

[7] QDA Miner Lite is a free-to-use version of computer-assisted qualitative analysis software developed by Provalis Research. It can be used for the analysis of textual data such as interview and news transcripts, open-ended responses, etc. as well as for the analysis of still images.

thinking and piracy. These are complimented by other theoretical approaches, including contingent neoliberalism and peripheral urbanisation. Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of the methods used in the study as well as my experience during data collection and analysis. The findings are analysed in the subsequent three chapters beginning with chapter 5 which examines the production of nightlife with particular reference to the development of EZs with high outlet density on the periphery of the city like Florida Street. Chapter 6 examines sociality in its different forms experienced at different times of the evening and on different occasions. In particular, it explains how interaction in playgroups, norms regarding appropriate behaviour in venues and the larger society, lead to an environment that is largely sociable and pleasurable. Focus is also on explaining how music, people, alcohol, and sport combine to create an atmosphere of excitement. Chapter 7 examines how the excesses of nightlife, and the inadequate attention that it receives in urban planning and policy hinders the growth of nightlife. Also examined in this chapter is the impact of understanding night-time entertainment from the perspective of tourism. Chapter 8 concludes the analysis regarding nightlife in concentrated districts on the periphery of the city.

Chapter 2: Nightlife in entertainment zones on the periphery: The state of knowledge

2.1. Introduction

Scholarship examining nightlife on the periphery of the city is scanty. Available literature largely focuses on entertainment zones (EZs) existing in central areas (Nofre, 2020; Nofre et al., 2019) of the city where they are depicted as mainly catering for privileged groups such as international tourists (Chew, 2009), students and young urban professionals (van Liempt et al., 2015). This chapter is an expedition into scholarship on nightlife bringing the periphery into conversation with EZs, sociality, tourism as well as governance in relation to the challenges posed by nightlife excesses, planning and policy lacunae. The chapter is anchored on the arguments outlined below.

Firstly, while literature conceives of EZs as evolving through well planned strategies of urban development (Campo & Ryan, 2008) often in the centre (Farrer, 2011; Prais, 2014), it does not give much consideration to the evolution of EZs on the periphery of the city through processes that are outside the purview of the government.

Secondly, literature recognises that nightlife is a pleasurable (Bavinton, 2010; Jensen & Hunt, 2020; Nofre, 2020; Tutenges, 2012) and sociable experience (Thurnell-Read, 2021) but it misses the point by ignoring what anchors sociality in nightlife, including interaction within playgroups among people who already know each other, and the observance of norms regarding appropriate behaviour within evening entertainment venues and the larger society, outside playgroups.

Thirdly, while explanations concerning the threat that the excesses of nightlife pose abound in literature (Brands et al., 2014; Ngonga, 2016; Tutenges, 2012), there is need to distnguish those which are a consequence of conflicted co-functioning (or contra-functioning) among elements of nightlife assemblage, and those that are a result of failure by the elements responsible for its governance, including venue owners or operators and the authorities. Connected to this, contemporary literature is alive to the inadequate attention that nightlife receives in urban planning and policy (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). But there is room to advance this understanding by bringing into the conversation how this restricts the growth of

nightlife. Also important is to extend the conversation to the impact that framing nightlife in terms of tourism has on its growth.

I commence these conversations with a discussion regarding the conceptualisation and debates surrounding the term EZ and the periphery.

2.2.Urban nightlife on the periphery

Literature conceptualises the periphery in terms of two major strands. The first one views the periphery in geographical terms of location, wherein the periphery is seen as occupying the outskirts of the city or suburbs (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2011). This is a view heavily influenced by the ecological configurations of city growth proposed by the sociologist Ernest Burgess (1925) and the Chicago School. Within this frame of understanding, some contradictions can be noted concerning the demographics associated with this part of the city. On one hand, the periphery is considered to be made up of economically advantaged upper-class commuters (Karp et al., 2015) residing away from the core of the city where most of the economic activities are concentrated. On the other hand, the periphery is seen to be home to the majority poor population especially in the context of the Global South (UN-Habitat - United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2022).

A body of literature is emerging which rejects the idea that the core is where most of the economic activities of the city are concentrated. It argues that development may also start on the periphery. The “suburbia is becoming a major zone of industrial expansion in its own right, while the central city has lost its role as the dominating node of a regional economy” (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2011, p. 137). This is attributed to the decline of manufacturing resulting in considerable unemployment among the working class. In its place, service economies, high-technology and other “new spaces” of production have emerged. This is considered to be part of the process of industrial restructuring that has taken place in many parts of the world, including the United States and Europe, owing to government policy and global economic shifts. Similar trends have been observed in cities of the developing world such as Calcutta and Nairobi (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2011).

The other strand of thought argues that the periphery does not simply refer to a spatial location in the city, but it is a mode of producing space or mode of urbanisation that can be anywhere. Hence, this process is peripheral not in the sense of its physical location, but in relation to the role residents play in the production of space and the manner in which it unfolds – that is – slowly, transversally in relation to official logics amidst political contestations (Caldeira, 2017). It is the predominant mode of producing space in the Global South (Narayan, 2023). Residents are not simply consumers of spaces developed and regulated by others, but they are agents of urbanisation. This can be observed from the manner in which they build their houses and cities step-by-step depending on the resources that they have at their disposal at each moment (Caldeira, 2017).

Literature also depicts nightlife as a strategy for local development of the periphery (Lorentzen, 2013) and urban renewal meant to change local representations about the poorer neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the city (Picaud, 2019). For example, Picaud (2019, p. 12) cites the experience of Paris, where the development of poor neighbourhoods on the outskirts has been embraced following concerns that Paris

> was morphing into a museum of past glories. A more vibrant club and party scene has been deemed an essential asset in changing this image. This has been implemented in old industrial buildings that are squatted, empty buildings that are due to be destroyed or renewed by temporarily occupying and animating them.

Similarly, Lorentzen (2013) observes that nightlife has been adopted as part of the new wave of spatial development strategies in small, peripheral municipalities in several Scandinavian cities based on the notion of the experience economy. These strategies are aimed at addressing inequalities that are prevalent in most cities. As Gwiazdzinski (2015, p. 1) notes: “At night the center-periphery differences become clearer. The more we advance into the night, the harsher center-periphery differences become, both in terms of lighting and services…The night is sadder at the margins than in the centers.” To a large extent, these inequalities are tied to the capacity of a city to attract investment especially with intensified globalisation and competition between

firms as well as cities (Picaud, 2019). Small cities have not been spared the competition, hence they have had to devise localised spatial strategies to enable them stand out. This is compounded by the fact that while the knowledge economy prospers in big cities, localities outside of such cities have less possibility to develop along post-industrial paths as they often lack a critical mass of highly skilled labour and knowledge institutions (Lorentzen, 2013).[8] Similar experiences have been documented in Chinese cities, where cities on the periphery face difficulties, compared to relatively wealthy ones in the centre which may be able to promote bars, restaurants and nightclubs for foreign tourists and the rising middle classes. Consequently, they have engaged in other strategies of nightlife led development by, for instance, opening hostess club districts for regional tourists and businessmen at lower prices (Farrer, 2008).

In line with this, literature also portrays the margins of city centres as being among the few places where traditional authentic nightlife can be experienced in the face of the increasing dominance of 'mainstream' modes of urban nightlife largely characterised by corporately owned up-market bars, pubs and night-clubs with heavily stylised décor. In contrast, traditional authentic nightlife outlets offer a more localised mode of nightlife characterised by "a conscious identity, style or lifestyle, rather than a passing consumer fancy" (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002, p. 110). For instance, the periphery is increasingly becoming a haven of sociability for homosexual women and men. Based on his work on bars and nightclubs located in "peripheral" regions of the cities of São Paulo and Belém, Reis (2018) argues that such places remained "invisible", despite their local expressiveness, or being occasionally incorporated into the mainstream leisure and entertainment scene.

In addition, nightlife on the periphery is considered to be an outcome of measures that have been taken to manage the negative impacts of nightlife in the centre. This has been achieved by locating nightlife supply in remote areas such as industrial estates with no activity at night located on the outskirts of towns (Ramón-Cardona et al., 2021). For instance, it has been observed "that as a consequence of the mass arrival of tourists partying with no regard for local

[8] In his analysis, Lorentzen (2013) cites the post-industrial Scandinavian cities, Danish ones in particular, as an example where this strategy has been implemented in response to the challenges of globalisation and industrial restructuring.

norms in central urban areas of European capital cities such as Lisbon, Prague, Paris, Barcelona or Berlin and London, local partygoers have migrated to other (often peripheral) areas of the city, until now unaffected by the pressures of tourism" (Nofre, 2020, p. 7).[9]

Another narrative about nightlife on the periphery is that it is dangerous owing to anti-social behaviours which take place in its clandestine and cheap entertainment spots. It is also blamed for the risk of crime and violence that is associated with nightlife in the city centre. It is believed that these problems are perpetrated by the youth from the urban periphery who also come into the city centre for entertainment (Marquardt, 2010).

It is evident that a growing body of scholarship examines the existence of nightlife on the periphery as a strategy for local development especially in light of the wide inequalities most cities are fraught with when one compares the centre and the periphery, and the decay experienced in many cities. Much scholarship is also available pertaining to the periphery as a site for traditional authentic nightlife experience, sociability for groups such as homosexuals and lesbians, as well as lively conviviality. Further, literature covers the dangers which nightlife on the periphery is associated with. In spite of this, there is still a gap in scholarship on nightlife in EZs on the periphery. There is need to build on literature regarding the conviviality and sociability of EZs in the urban periphery, especially in relation to how such an atmosphere is created. Before examining literature on EZs, I first turn to the production of nightlife.

2.3.The production of nightlife

Literature considers the evolution of night-time entertainment as part of the struggle for control over night-time (Lovatt and Connor, 2010) and a growing trend toward more and more activity at all times of the day and night. It has been observed that before humans mastered fire, their activity was restricted to day time. Apart from cooking, early humans also used fire for sociable assemblies after dark in military bases, at prayer vigils, for guard duty at city gates, to serve

[9] This refers to the rapid and intense expansion of the tourism-oriented nighttime leisure economy characterised by the expansion of hotels (or tourist apartments) together with the expansion of new tourist-oriented facilities (Nofre, 2020).

travellers at the inn (Murray, 1978) and other activities. Despite this fact, around-the-clock activity was not common until the advent of gas and later electric lighting for street lighting, commercial lighting (including illumination of shop fronts and interiors), and lighting places of entertainment in the nineteenth century. This resulted in an increased pace and scope of wakefulness at all hours (Murray, 1978; Neal, 2010). The link between the city at night and pleasure was intensified by the opening up of the streets and the bright lights of night cafés and theatres thereby enabling urbanites to shop, dine, and entertain themselves. By making use of artificial light, the division between day and night, time for work and rest (or pleasure) became less strict. This contributed to the growth of the night-time economy in the early twentieth century based on a successful balance between pleasure and profit. For instance, in England and Wales, the number of premises licensed to sell alcohol increased rapidly, so did other attractions like the music hall and cinemas (Neal, 2010).

In more recent times, the production of nightlife is considered to have been driven by various factors. As shown in Chapter One, the production of nightlife has been part of the revitalisation of many former industrial cities in the developed world which experienced de-industrialisation in the middle of the twentieth century (Farrer, 2011; Measham, 2004), especially those historically associated with manufacturing industries (Bavinton, 2010; Grazian, 2009). Examples include the 'rust-belt' cities of the USA like Detroit and Pittsburgh; the Northern UK industrial cities, including Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow; the industrial cities of Scotland; Northern France; the Ruhr; The Netherlands, and Australia (Newcastle, Wollongong, Geelong and Ipswich) (Bavinton, 2010; Lovatt & Connor, 2010). De-industrialisation left large portions of older city centres derelict and significantly undermined the working and living conditions of the local population in cities and regions which had grown around industrial production (Lovatt & Connor, 2010).

To revitalise and renew such cities, nightlife was adopted as a strategy by transforming such cities into centres of leisure and consumption (Bavinton, 2010; Farrer, 2011; Grazian, 2009). According to Hadfield (2015), the incorporation of the '24-hour city' concept by planners in their strategies to extend the 'vitality and viability' of central cities beyond 5 pm, formed the first wave of research on the night-time economy. Non-industrial cities in the developed world have

also undergone a similar experience of redevelopment as certain old residential neighbourhoods have been transformed into entertainment spots (Farrer, 2011).

The renewal and revitalisation of cities through nightlife is also considered to have been a cultural regeneration strategy that sought to exploit the economic benefits of the arts and cultural industries sector (Bavinton, 2010). This idea taps into traditional arguments of urban agglomeration and vitality long advocated as a foundation of the civil sphere whereby the night-time economy would provide the settings for public interactions deemed fundamental to the development and maintenance of effective civil society and vibrant public life (Bavinton, 2010). For example, Petersen et al. (2014) have observed that shebeens provide an environment for socialisation where residents can meet to engage socially in conversation, watch television, play pool, dance and relax. These venues are therefore crucial for the creation of community and the strengthening of ties between friends, neighbours and countrymen and countrywomen (Petersen et al., 2014). It has also been observed that places that are active at night tend to enjoy 'natural surveillance' and a feeling of safety due to the presence of people (Montgomery, 1995). Furthermore, night-time venues serve as centres for political expression (Glazer, 1997) and mobilisation for action during turbulent periods (Bryceson, 2002).

The neoliberal agenda is also considered to have been very influential in the expansion of the night-time economy since the 1980s both in developed and developing countries (Collins, 2006). For example, in the UK, since the 1990s, legislation which had previously helped local authorities to protect city centres from excessive alcohol consumption, has been removed (Hadfield, 2006), paving the way for the proliferation of multinational or nation-wide chains (Shaw, 2015). In Sub- Saharan Africa, the imposition of structural adjustment policies during the 1980s led to a decline in clear beer-drinking as the market for the cheaper alcohol products of the informal sector expanded (Bryceson, 2002). This was followed by a resurgence in the night-time economy with the opening up of markets to foreign investments in several African countries in the 1990s as part of their reform programmes (Collins, 2006).

Among the major impacts of neoliberalism is the commodification of nightlife experience by commercial urban entertainment industries through branding (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002).

This has led to the production of new increasingly generic urban entertainment landscapes (Bavinton, 2010; Chew, 2009; Farrer, 2011) found throughout the world (Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015) aimed at new consumer demands (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). Transnational alcohol companies have significantly contributed to this change through the promotion of alcohol consumption among youths sometimes using sophisticated marketing strategies (Dumbili, 2016). For instance, in East, West and Southern Africa, beer manufacturing companies have played an important role in transforming nightlife since the colonial era through the introduction of clear lager beer (Collins, 2006).

The increasingly standardised experience of nightlife described above in some cities (which Hollands and Chatterton describe as 'McDonaldisation'), has in fact been one of the worrying developments observed by several authors due to the increasing dominance of big entertainment organisations over large parts of downtown areas. This has led to the marginalisation of traditional community pubs or small independent traditional venues (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Nofre et al., 2019). Also, as mainstream nightlife by corporate actors aims to maximise profits by attracting relatively risk-free cash-rich consumers such as students and young urban professionals, many have been excluded from accessing these venues (van Liempt et al., 2015), hence contributing to a general decline of real consumer choice and diversity in many urban entertainment districts (Campo & Ryan, 2008).

The production of nightlife is also considered to be heavily influenced by the policies adopted by governments in power (Collins, 2006) particularly in the developing world. Thus night venues have flourished at certain times (Chew, 2009) or declined (Farrer, 2011) at other times depending on the policies adopted. In many African countries including Zambia, Kenya and Ghana for instance, the government has promoted night-time leisure entertainment as a political strategy of pacification. In Kenya, during the colonial era, this strategy was based on the conviction that boredom among Africans was a cause of social delinquency (Collins, 2006). In Ghana, from the period of internal self-rule (1952) and full independence (1957), Prime Minister (later President) Nkrumah, included popular entertainment as a vital component for developing a national identity on account of the support that concert parties gave to Ghana's independence struggle. Nkrumah

therefore introduced many changes which positively impacted on night-time entertainment in Ghana (Collins, 2006).

In Zambia, in the 1970s, the government policy encouraged drinking as a means of promoting political stability and social control by providing beer halls (town council taverns) and bars in many parts of the country. As Glazer (1997) has noted, somehow, Zambia Breweries beer trucks always managed to get around the country to ensure the uninterrupted consumption of Chibuku and Castle even though the National Agricultural Marketing Board failed to send its trucks to pick up farm products from rural peasants.

Literature has greatly enhanced the understanding of the production of nightlife as a triumph over night-time (Lovatt and Connor, 2010) by increasing activity at all hours of the day and night (Murray, 1978). It sheds light on the various factors that have driven the production of nightlife, including its adoption as part of the economic and cultural revitalisation of former industrial cities after undergoing de-industrialisation; the neoliberal agenda since the 1980s both in developed and developing countries (Collins, 2006; Shaw, 2015); and how neoliberalism has contributed to the commodification of nightlife experience with increasingly generic spaces of consumption (Bavinton, 2010; Chew, 2009; Farrer, 2011) by commercial urban entertainment industries (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002) and the consequences thereof. These include the exclusion of certain social groups from accessing these venues (van Liempt et al., 2015). Literature also sheds light on the deployment of night-time leisure entertainment by governments (Chew, 2009; Farrer, 2011) as a political strategy of pacification (Glazer, 1997) and developing national identity.

I argue that much of the focus in literature on the production of nightlife is on formally instituted strategies spearheaded by either national governments or the private sector. I acknowledge that non-formal processes have been recognised as a factor in the production of urban nightlife as can be observed from the incremental and unplanned manner in which EZs develop with little guidance from the authorities describe by Campo and Ryan (2008). But literature still misses the point in that it overlooks the way nonformal processes tend to unfold within formally instituted ones in the production of nightlife in cities, including EZs on the periphery. The next section

examines literature concerning EZs which, as will be noted, forms a large part of nightlife on the periphery.

2.4.Entertainment Zones

Literature stresses outlet density in defining EZs, that is, as a concentrated nightlife district (Campo & Ryan, 2008), or a large nightlife zone (Chew, 2009). It is considered to be a new type of urban district that evolved in the 1990s.[10] EZs are also defined in terms of location and clientele. On one hand, they are seen as occupying the margins of downtowns in former commercial and industrial areas, underutilised retail corridors or underdeveloped waterfronts. This makes them easily accessible to downtown workers and nearby residents, unlike nightlife venues associated with 'high-end' entertainment serving the needs of corporate clients (Campo & Ryan, 2008). On the other hand, some EZs are still considered to exist in central areas (Nofre, 2020; Nofre et al., 2019) as an urban regeneration strategy of evening and night-time leisure experiences (Nofre et al., 2017). Among these strategies include the development of large-scale nightlife zones near foreign embassy districts, international hotels, the re-development of old residential neighbourhoods, old warehouses and so on. These are high end developments that can be distinguished from previous bar streets both in terms of location and cost. They mainly cater for privileged groups such as international tourists as has been observed in Chinese cities like Shanghai and Beijing (Chew, 2009). A similar trend has also been observed in several European cities like Berlin, Belgrade, London, Paris, Barcelona, Madrid and Lisbon with the rise of new tourist-oriented, youth-oriented urban nightscapes (Farrer, 2008).

Literature depicts evening EZs as contributing to the creation of lively and economically successful urban districts, especially where there is high outlet density (Bavinton, 2010; Campo & Ryan, 2008; Nofre et al., 2019; Tutenges, 2012). This is attributed to the organic and piece-meal manner in which entertainment zones develop as opposed to large-scale design of urban development created by centralised authority, or by laws, or by master plans (Campo & Ryan,

[10] It has been observed that alcohol outlet density is an indicator of an "alcogenic" environment, that is, an environment or community characterised by high consumption of alcohol, easy access to alcohol and lax management of alcohol marketing and supply (harmful alcohol use) (Marco et al., 2017; Rowland et al., 2016).

2008). It is out of this messiness and conflict that everyday vitality is created. Therefore, entertainment zones are seen as contributing to the uniqueness of cities by boosting the identity and sense of place which is absent in conventional entertainment-related urban developments (Bavinton, 2010).

Conviviality in EZs is also attributed to the relaxation of the rules and social conventions of everyday life in such venues. This in turn facilitates celebratory and sometimes rowdy social behaviours that are less acceptable at other times and places in the city described as "collective joy" or "collective ecstasy." "With its patrons temporarily free from expectations, responsibility and everyday routine, the entertainment zone provides a setting for escape, play, intimate engagement with others and with the urban environment" (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 309). Duff (2008, p. 388) adds that "a complex assemblage of situational factors come together to give such environments the affects that individuals tap into and contribute to, including the use of substances, bodily movements, and interactions with human and nonhuman actors". This often takes place during rock or popular music performances and sports, and can be likened to what people experienced during medieval feasts, carnivals, and other similar group behaviour (Campo & Ryan, 2008). This energy or affective experience further acts as an attraction to people. "It is an intensity machine that fabricates emotional energy for the masses…where, people are given an opportunity to become wild and adventurous" (Tutenges, 2012, p. 133). It is argued that this experience is a vital part of human existence though it has historically been mistaken for abnormal, deviant or dangerous behaviour.

It is acknowledged that this escapism from authority can also be problematic leading to among other problems, crime, but it is argued that the vast majority of social behaviours in the EZs are more modest than the extremes cited by most authors (Campo & Ryan, 2008). This brings the discussion to the other body of scholarship concerning EZs – that which associates EZs with several problems which significantly undermine community livability during night-time hours (Nofre et al., 2019). They include health risks caused by drug use and alcohol abuse, increase of violence, noise, intoxication (Giordano et al., 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) and other forms of social vices. Most of these problems are linked to high outlet density (Vocht et al., 2020). For this reason, authors are increasingly focusing on how to manage alcohol outlet density. For

instance, it is suggested that moderating or altering the density of alcohol outlets could be an efficient and effective means of reducing adolescent alcohol consumption (Giordano et al., 2019; Morrison et al., 2016; Rowland et al., 2016).

While available literature provides important insights regarding the way EZs evolve and the factors that account for its celebratory forms of nightlife, there is room to extend the understanding in both lines of thought. For example, there is need to consider the various contexts that allow for the organic piecemeal growth Campo and Ryan (2008) refer to, such as a high population and an easily accessible location. Also, there is need to unravel the existence of EZs on the periphery because literature often describes EZs as existing within the vicinity of downtowns in former commercial and industrial areas, underutilised retail corridors or underdeveloped waterfronts. In addition, I argue that while literature addresses the challenges that high outlet density poses to nightlife, it does not adequately explain how evening entertainment destinations morph into places with high alcohol outlet density and become, among other outcomes, sites of convivial forms of nightlife. It is in this light that I move to literature concerning sociality in nightlife in the next section.

2.5.Sociality in nightlife

Contemporary literature increasingly stresses the pleasure and fun side of nightlife (Eldridge, 2019). This is considered to be part of the affective 'turn' in scholarship observed in recent years among researchers with increasing attention paid to the role of affect in people's lives.[11] It cuts across disciplines and theoretical frameworks, and it has also begun to get the attention of scholars in nightlife studies. Such an affective focus has opened up a more in-depth understanding of how emotions play out in specific contexts especially those involving the youth (Jensen & Hunt, 2020). It is argued that urban nightlife creates unique forms of sociality and conviviality that are not normally encountered during daylight hours (Jensen & Hunt, 2020; van Liempt, 2015). Along with other public spaces in the city like parks, malls, and sports venues, night-time venues are considered to be a type of public space where people of different

[11] By affective turn is meant the growth of studies on emotions, including sensing, feeling, and bodily reactions (Jensen & Hunt, 2020, p. 2).

backgrounds co-exist in a relaxed manner (Anderson, 2004; Collins, 2006; Roberts, 2015). People do different things during such interaction. For instance, they may engage in what Anderson (2014) calls folk ethnography by watching others unobtrusively from a safe distance and sometimes eavesdropping on conversations that interest them. In the process, they may either reinforce certain stereotypes about others or uncover some unexpected truths about them.

Among other reasons, sociality obtains in nightlife because people relate differently to each other given the more relaxed and permissive social atmosphere provided at night with the easing of the flows and pressures of the city (Murray, 1978). Night-time entertainment simply offers a good time, a chance to get away from the responsibilities of the week, or to get 'out of one's head'(Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Contrary to the common unidimensional understanding of cities at night as places of either danger or pleasure, a considerable amount of literature looks at nightlife as a space-time where the everyday and extra-ordinary exist side by side (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Campo and Ryan (2008) draw on Foucault's notion of heterotopia, or 'other spaces' to describe this state of being. They suggest that rather than being utopian or dystopian, evening leisure sites exist as a temporal and physical space in which social inhibitions are loosened and social norms are reconfigured. With reference to tourists at international nightlife resort, Tutenges (2012) likens them to Erving Goffman's back stage where individuals are hidden and are able to act with less restraint than they do at home. Such venues

> "are reputed to be hedonistic havens devoid of censure where individuals can indulge in playful deviance without fear of condemnation**.** In general, the tourists do not drink alcohol for the taste, for quenching of the thirst, or for minor mind alterations. Rather, they drink copiously and continuously in order to move far beyond the mundane and into states of abandon and memorable excess" (Tutenges, 2012, p. 147).

Literature also advances certain purposes that sociality in nightlife serves. For instance, urban nightlife is seen as a means through which consumers seek, create and maintain certain identities (Calafat et al., 2003; Measham, 2004). According to Eldridge (2019), nightlife spaces "are heavily invested with specific cultural meanings and can be central to the constitution of our identities…The night… is strongly associated with a very complex set of desires and practices of belonging" (Eldridge, 2019, pp. 8–9). This is among the reasons why night-time leisure activities

have become a very important aspect of today's societies especially among youths (Calafat et al., 2003). These identities revolve around age, gender, etcetera, and have an impact on the emotions that nightlife denizens experience during their night out (Jensen & Hunt, 2020). They also concern the type of alcoholic beverages, the type of clothes, music and other consumer items that are consumed in night-time leisure venues (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). This is very evident in increasingly dominant corporately owned bars/pubs and night-clubs with a more up-market feel where consumers are separated from the more traditional mainstream venues and provided an atmosphere for networking, socialising and meeting other social climbers. Therefore, these exclusive venues appeal to the wealthier elements of the student population and an increasingly older, more mature and upwardly mobile section of local working-class populations, who view such places as sites to express their perceived status and maturity (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002).

Literature depicts similar experiences in Zambia's nightscape. For instance, in the 1970s, consuming clear beer was considered a status symbol among the white-collar rank and file of rapidly expanding government bureaucracies and commercial sectors in Zambia (Collins, 2006). It must be noted that such types of venues are a source of concern because they contribute to social division in nightlife (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002). Hence the idea that the night is space for friendship, sociability, and leisure has been described as highly romanticised with potential to reproduce existing forms of inequality based on gender, race, class, and age with regard to access and the choices available to night-time denizens (Jensen & Hunt, 2020).

The creation and maintenance of identities can also be observed in more localised and less-corporate night-time leisure venues which cater for the needs of particular identity-groups based on certain genres of music and/ or clothing, ethnicity, politics or sexual identity. Consumption here is usually related to a conscious identity, style or lifestyle, rather than a passing consumer fancy (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). In some instances, night-time leisure creates a bond between patrons and the place of entertainment. This evokes strong emotions such as pride among consumers linked to that place. For example, Hollands and Chatterton (2002) have observed this kind of behaviour in Newcastle where people usually had something positive to say about the city, its culture, nightlife and its people during their nights out. Similar observations have been made with regard to the important role which bars play in the formation, development

and consolidation of gay identity in a number of South African cities like Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria (Visser, 2003). Bars are among the few places where gay and lesbian communities are free to openly display affection by holding hands, kissing and using terms of endearment without worrying about the need to conform to the heterosexual norm (Visser, 2003).

Some authors argue that sometimes these identities may be contradictory to reality (Prais, 2014; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). For instance, in Accra Ghana during the 1920s and 1930s, dance and leisure activities reflected the aspirations of non-elite Africans to be modern and part of the elite. In order to appear like members of the elite, youths who were not even in a position to provide for their daily needs recklessly borrowed money in order to buy such luxury goods as high class suits for going out in at high-society dancing (Prais, 2014). It is argued that "these efforts were but a melancholy delusion because in reality, there was no high-class society in Accra, and those who proclaimed to be members of high society were merely posing without power or authority" (Prais, 2014, p. 204).

While literature examines many of the factors that make nightlife pleasurable and fun, as well as the purposes that it serves, it misses the point on the reasons that account for the relaxed and permissive atmosphere experienced in nightlife. There is still room to extend this understanding by, for instance, interrogating the role that interactions in playgroups among people who already know each other play, as well as the contribution that social norms within venues and the larger society make in creating such an atmosphere. More research is required to improve our understanding of the lived practices of night-time denizens (Yeo & Heng, 2014). "Specific accounts of the experience of the `urban' and of the public space of the night-time are needed in terms of attitudes to pleasures, to sin, to sexuality, to sociality etc. given that it is not universal" (Lovatt & Connor, 2010. p. 131).

Among the sectors that capitalise on nightlife is tourism as can be seen from the growth of nightlife tourism in recent times. The next section moves to literature regarding nightlife tourism given its close relation with nightlife, but also – from the policy and planning perspective – because of the challenges that it poses to the expansion of nightlife.

2.6.Nightlife tourism

A close relationship between night-time entertainment and tourism (Nofre et al., 2018; Porthé et al., 2021; Tutenges, 2015) exists as can be noted from the increasingly popular concept of tourist night-time entertainment destinations in many parts of the world (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015; Nofre et al., 2018).[12] There has been a rapid expansion of nightlife tourism especially in resort cities. With it has been increasing academic interest in urban studies (Garcia, 2016; Nofre et al., 2017) whose focus can be placed in two broad categories related to either the negative or positive impact of nightlife tourism on the host community, and to a certain extent, patrons. Beginning with the latter, it is argued that nightlife resorts play an important role in the lives of youth in that they serve as venues for rites of passage; for celebrating occasions such as graduation; places for summer holidays (Tutenges, 2012); and stag and hen parties (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021).

Another line of inquiry examines the type of experience that nightlife tourists desire. Some scholars argue that nightlife tourists demand a distinct type of experience different from the ordinary everyday experience, while others argue that urban nightlife tourists desire more 'authentic' or more 'ordinary' experiences associated with the cultural and creative environments of working class and ethnic minorities. This is considered to blur the boundary between the tourist and resident, or host / guest binary in that it becomes difficult to distinguish the latter from the former. This is particularly the case in a period of increased mobility and access to a vast amount of information about places even before one ventures there (Eldridge, 2019).

[12] Tourism has ripple effects in creating more jobs indirectly as a result of the subsequent spending by the recipients of the tourists' initial expenditures on accommodation, food, shopping and in other businesses. These are able to spend and pass on the benefit to their staff, suppliers, and meet tax and other obligations (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006). Also, night-time economy is one of the ways in which the country's cultural heritage can be preserved and promoted by providing venues for the production and marketing of cultural goods and services, and establishing an institutional framework for apprenticeship training in various artistic skills such as visual arts, popular theatre, music and dance, the film industry and entrepreneurship skills (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006; Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2011). Furthermore, arts and cultural activities also have immense potential in harnessing local talents, skills and providing innovative possibilities for employment creation and income generation (Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2011, 2017).

With regard to the impact it has on the host community, there is a body of scholarship which argues that nightlife tourism has great potential to contribute to national and local economies where the party enclaves are situated. For instance, wine tourism is often considered to be a form of tourism in which the tourist is able to participate in the local food and drink offerings and traditions as well as in the activities which are supportive of the local economy (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021). This can lead to improvements in living standards of host communities through increased job opportunities (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015). Despite the positive contribution that tourism is perceived to have on nightlife, it is argued that night-time entertainment only plays a minor supporting role to tourism in some instances (Pratt & Gill, 2019).

Moving to scholarship focusing on the negative impact, nightlife tourism is linked with different kinds of transgression such as binge drinking, drug use, unsafe sex, violence (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021; Mekinc et al., 2017; Tutenges, 2012), vandalism, and public urination (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015). In some instances, "no-go" entertainment zones have emerged, where the police find it difficult to maintain order and protect property (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015). These challenges are attributed to the mass arrival of partying tourists with little or no regard for local norms (Nofre, 2020) given their different cultural background (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015).

They are also attributed to the easy availability and consumption of alcohol within party tourism destinations with nightclubs and bars in close proximity to support a party carnivalesque atmosphere (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021). Borrowing Erving Goffman's idea, Tutenges (2012) describes nightlife resorts as "back places," meaning, locations where individuals are hidden from authority figures like parents, teachers, or the criminal justice system (Tutenges, 2012). They are considered "to be hedonistic havens devoid of censure where individuals can indulge in playful deviance without fear of condemnation" (Tutenges, 2012, p. 132). This encourages tourists to act with less restraint than they do at home.

Some of these tendencies have adverse health consequences such as increased risk of different diseases, injuries, and death owing to heavy drinking (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021; Tutenges, 2012). It also has an impact on public peace and order (Mekinc et al., 2017) traffic congestion, prostitution (Ramón-Cardona et al., 2021). Consequently, a low degree of acceptance of nightlife

tourism among locals has been observed in many tourist destinations (Ramón-Cardona et al., 2021). In some instances, opposition is seen to take the form of direct conflict between residents with visitors (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015; Garcia, 2016).

In addition to the lack of sensitivity on the part of tourists to the culture of the visited community (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015), literature also attributes the conflict between nightlife tourists and local residents to the lack of involvement of local residents in tourism planning and the absence of effective regulations and policies. It is argued that the performance of a tourism destination depends primarily on the type of collaboration among the different tourism stakeholders including tourism service providers, local residents and Destination Marketing Organizations (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015). Therefore, there is need to raise awareness among residents on the economic and cultural benefits of nightlife. It is also recommended that local authorities should create an environment in which different users of the city at night coexist, including those at home, those seeking leisure, and those who work (Mekinc et al., 2017).

Another strand of literature argues that despite being pleasure seekers with an urge for risky forms of fun, "nightlife tourists are not out-of-control debauchees with no concern for their own health or safety" (Tutenges, 2012, p. 147). Many have no intention to consume excessive amounts of alcohol (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021) and the vast majority abstain from illicit drugs during vacation, the same way that they do at home. This means that nightlife tourism resorts are not at odds with but are a part of the tourists' normal weekend activities (Tutenges, 2012).

Available literature has significantly enhanced the understanding of nightlife tourism in relation to the role that nightlife resorts play in young people's life course; the contribution that it makes to national and local economies; the challenges that it comes with; and the need to develop effective regulations and policies as a way of creating conditions for a healthy coexistence between the different users. Whilst acknowledging the negative impact of tourist-oriented nightlife on certain local forms of entertainment, there is need to demonstrate how this threat extends to nightlife more broadly—specifically, how approaching the growth of nightlife from a tourism perspective undermines it from the standpoint of local consumption.

Despite its sociability and conviviality, nightlife is also characterised by several challenges.

2.7.Excesses of nightlife

It is argued that while the night-time leisure experience offers opportunities for pleasure, it also provides opportunities for the violation of social norms that are generally observed during the day-time (van Liempt et al., 2015). Nightlife is depicted as a time-space during which different types of activities take place including illicit ones (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). "When night falls, a variety of practices emerge within a particular space–time which generate a special atmosphere and possibilities ranging from criminal acts, friendship, and love, to organizing rebellion" (van Liempt et al., 2015, p. 408). It is for this reason that violence and antisocial behaviour are rife in entertainment nightspots (van Liempt et al., 2015) including excessive drinking (Brands et al., 2014; Bryceson, 2002; Calafat et al., 2003), violence (Bavinton, 2010; Glazer, 1997; Graham et al., 2006; Mugala & Imataa, 2007; Ngonga, 2016), drugs (Tutenges, 2012) and unsafe sex (Singh et al., 2011).

For instance, it has been observed that excessive drinking is such a widespread culture among nightlife consumers that it is often regarded as socially acceptable (Body-Gendrot, 2010; Calafat et al., 2003). Therefore, many people who drink, actively seek to consume considerable quantities of alcohol – 'drinking to get drunk'. Some of them deploy deliberate measures like not eating while drinking, in order to maximize alcohol absorption (Bryceson, 2002). Drunkenness has been linked to several other problems including violence. This is because when people are in a drunken state, rules of normal behaviour are abandoned resulting in violence – sometimes quite ferocious (Winlow et al., 2003). This makes public drinking establishments such as bars, taverns, clubs and pubs among the riskiest of drinking contexts (Graham et al., 2006). Prais (2014, p. 203) notes the following about nightlife at Accra's only nightclub in 1937 known as 'The Club': It was "the city's trouble spot where molestation, vagrancy and other social and moral wrongs could be found every moment after nine o'clock every night as men and women loitered".

Nightlife is also considered to perpetuate social division. It is argued that although night spots appear to be places of 'welcoming diversity' with multitudes of young people of various

backgrounds, upon closer examination, this is not the case as the social boundaries found in other social contexts apply here as well (May, 2015). Nightlife can reflect existing inequalities in society based on gender, race, class, and age (Eldridge, 2019). This division is attributed to the anonymous nature of urban life, which extends to night venues especially the up-market ones frequented by affluent young men and women in today's cities (Grazian, 2009). In such venues, participants coming from various backgrounds compete and interact in the same social space (Chew, 2009) challenging each other for social status, self-esteem (Prais, 2014) and sexual prestige throughout the evening as if they were in a sporting contest (Grazian, 2009). Patrons tend to socialise with members of their own social group on the basis of characteristics such as race and class, and maintain boundaries to outside contact through spatial practices like sitting arrangements (Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). Although interactions across social groups occur, they are often momentary and superficial. In fact, meeting people from outside the group is discouraged (May, 2015).

Literature places the blame for some of the social divisions in nightlife on the producers of nightlife especially venue owners and entertainment corporations through some of the consumption practices that they encourage. For example, Hollands and Chatterton (2002) observe an increasing tendency among producers of nightlife to target certain groups of young people to the exclusion of others through price, geographical marginality, racism etcetera. Consequently, a large proportion of young people is confined to consuming nightlife within their local venues. Similar observations have been made in African nightlife where different venues exist for the urban (and rural) poor selling local brews such as *akpeteshie* (a local liquor made from distilled palm-wine) in Ghana, and *chibuku*; and venues for the middle and upper classes that sell lager and imported liquor (Bryceson, 2002; Collins, 2006).

Several other reasons are advanced for the problems surrounding nightlife. It is argued that the problems associated with nightlife are worse where there is lack of enforcement of regulations (Fox & Sobol, 2000) or where the authorities have failed to anticipate the scale and pace of the expansion of nightlife (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). This is an indictment on how poorly conceived urban governance policy and research on NTE is (Hadfield, 2015). This is a matter which I discuss further in the next section. Despite the above observation, some authors argue

that the perceived disorderly behaviour in nightlife is not without control as many patrons are still cautious about exposing themselves to danger. For instance, they show signs of fear and an aversion to illicit drugs and hence, abstain from using them (Tutenges, 2012). Consumers are also concerned about violence and are therefore cautious which venues to go to (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Concerns about such problems have shifted discussion to how best nightlife can be managed whilst ensuring safety (Hadfield, 2015), vibrancy, accessibility and diversity (Lovatt & Connor, 2010). This has resulted in renewed optimism as some cities "have been able to avoid, adapt or transform the monofunctional alco-centric model of nightlife as a result of cultural immunity or population diversification" (Hadfield, 2015, p. 2).

Existing scholarship advances the understanding of excess in nightlife considerably by among other issues, drawing attention to night-time entertainment venues as spaces for transgression, and perpetuation of social division (Fox & Sobol, 2000; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). In spite of this, it does not adequately address how excess in nightlife arises. In particular, there is still need to draw a distinction between excesses that are a result of conflicted alignment of elements of the nightlife assemblage – for instance – where evening entertainment emerges side by side with housing, and those that are a result of failure by the elements responsible for governing nightlife, including the authorities, and venue owners or operators, and how this in turn hinders the growth of nightlife. There is also need to draw attention to the problems that are created both within the venues and outside the venues. With these challenges in mind, the chapter moves to the governance of nightlife.

2.8.Nightlife governance

Substantial scholarship examines the regulation and management of nightlife. Here, there are generally two lines of argument: the first one is the idea that night-time entertainment presents several opportunities including employment and earnings in the city, and should therefore be looked after (Roberts and Eldridge, 2012). Hence, local authorities have the responsibility to plan town centres that appeal to a wide selection of groups in society (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). They also have a responsibility to regulate the night and increase the economic relevance of the night-time economy and consumption practices in order to make their cities competitive by providing an attractive business climate, amenities and entertainment options (Füller et al.,

2018). Hence, where there has been proper planning, clubs, pubs and cafes have experienced a boom, while desertion has been the outcome where there has been bad planning, over-regulation and over-zealous policing. Therefore, it is argued that in order to reclaim' the city at night and address these problems, much thought is required in supplementing regulation with positive management (Lovatt & Connor, 2010). This can be done by relaxing licensing laws and extending hours of operation for services such as transport from 8 to 24-hours in order to cater for both workers and pleasure seekers. This strategy is partly influenced by the idea that infrastructure could be better utilised if the activities were spread over more hours. This would simultaneously help mitigate certain social problems associated with nightlife, such as the congestion that occurs at pub closing times (Pratt & Gill, 2019).

The other point of emphasis in literature is that the night-time economy is by its nature characterised by transgression and liminality (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Roberts & Eldridge, 2007). This is attributed to the unique atmosphere that nightlife generates (van Liempt et al., 2015). In light of this, how to control and bring order in nightlife whilst tapping into its potential opportunities, becomes crucial (Füller et al., 2018; Pratt & Gill, 2019). This can be achieved by tightening regulations and control through technology and lighting (Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015), surveillance (Brands et al., 2014; van Liempt, 2015) and more restrictive regulations on licensing and use of public space (Giordano et al., 2019).

Other interventions that have been considered in regulating nightlife include those focusing on venue owners (Feltmann et al., 2021; Mekinc et al., 2017; Porthé et al., 2021; Søgaard et al., 2017) in collaboration with police and private security agents. For example, Feltman et al. (2021) propose a multi-component community-based programme for preventing drug use in nightlife through such collaboration. Through this kind of arrangement, stakeholders should ensure that nightlife is safe by, for example, enforcing zonal bans (Søgaard et al., 2017).

From a policy perspective, it is argued that despite the significant role that the night-time economy plays in economic and cultural development (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009), and the problems that it is associated with, the night-time economy has seldom been the focus of attention among policy makers (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Instead, it is considered a minor element in town centre development in national planning

guidance documents that are mainly devoted to day-time retailing (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Often, the night-time economy is considered to be a supporting minor concern for tourism. It is also argued that the economic value attached to the night-time economy is at best ritualistic because most policy actions do not concentrate on the economy, but on the social externalities which include noise, alcohol consumption, prostitution, public disorder and street cleaning (Pratt & Gill, 2019). As Lovatt and Connor (2010, p. 130) observe: "it seemed that this nightlife was not a legitimate object of attention other than as something to be regulated and contained… a space and time… conceived in terms of social dysfunction. In short, a problem".

It is evident that literature recognises the need for policy intervention in nightlife. It also acknowledges the lack of adequate attention that it receives in the policy and planning discourse. Despite this, it remains silent on a number of issues. For instance, it does not probe much the observed disconnect between the potential that nightlife has and its coverage in policy. This is one of issues this study set out to unravel through an analysis of the local processes or factors that accounted for the inadequate attention given to nightlife in the Zambian context. Also worth noting is that literature recognises the importance of policy intervention in tapping into the opportunities of nightlife as well as managing its excesses. Despite this, literature does not adequately address the role that actors responsible for governing nightlife play in contributing to these excesses, and how this in turn hinders the growth of nightlife.

2.9. Conclusion: narrowing the gap

As shown in this chapter, scholarship examining nightlife on the periphery of the city – in EZs in particular – is scanty. I acknowledge that literature explores the evolution of EZs; recognises the pleasurable and sociable experience of nightlife; and that it ponders on the challenges of governing nightlife. In spite of this, literature still misses the point or does not sufficiently address the following issues:

i) the distincticton between the excesses resulting from conflicted co-fucntioning (or contra-functioning) among elements of nightlife assemblage, and those that are a result of failure by the elements of nightlife assemblage tasked with the responsibility

of governing nightlife, including the authorities and venue owners or operators, as well as the impact that framing nightlife in terms of tourism has on its growth;

ii) what anchors sociality in nightlife within playgroups and outside playgroups;

iii) the evolution of EZs through processes that are outside the purview of the state

Regarding the evolution of nightlife, I build on literature which examines non-formal processes in the production of urban nightlife (Campo & Ryan, 2008). I argue that there is need for approaches that go beyond giving an account of the evolution of nightlife in the city centre, and include the periphery. In line with that, there is need to bring into the conversation outcomes of such processes in relation to outlet density and the resultant convivial forms of nightlife.

Regarding sociality in nightlife, literature increasingly stresses the pleasure and fun side of nightlife (Anderson, 2004; Collins, 2006; Jensen & Hunt, 2020; Roberts, 2015; van Liempt et al., 2015). In spite of that, it misses the point on what accounts for the comradery surrounding nightlife in relation to interaction in playgroups, and the contribution that social norms within evening entertainment venues and the larger society make to sociality in these venues.

Coming to nightlife tourism, literature acknowledges the negative impact that tourist nightlife has on the host community including the threat that it poses to certain local forms of entertainment, but it does not show how tourism-oriented nightlife undermines the growth of locally oriented nightlife.

As for nightlife governance, literature acknowledges the transgressive and liminal nature of nightlife (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Roberts & Eldridge, 2007), hence the need to control and bring order in nightlife on one hand, whilst tapping into the potential opportunities it offers on the other hand (Füller et al., 2018; Pratt & Gill, 2019). Despite this, literature does not adequately address how excess in nightlife comes about. In particular, it does not distinguish between excesses that are an outcome of conflicting co-functioning of parts of nightlife assemblage, and those that are the result of failure by the elements responsible for governing nightlife.

These arguments are explained within the framing of assemblage thinking together with piracy and other theories, including peripheral urbanization and contingent neoliberalism as complementary approaches in understanding the production, consumption and governance of

nightlife. While literature recognises the contribution of the neoliberal agenda in enhancing the spirit of entrepreneurship in various economic sectors (Choongo et al., 2020), it is mute when it comes to the influence of neoliberalism on entrepreneurship in nightlife. Also, literature focuses on the threat that large commercial and entertainment companies pose to small businesses – as their role in nightlife increases – through possible takeovers (Nofre et al., 2019; van Liempt, 2015) as well as an increasingly standardised nightlife experience that excludes low-income groups (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). Literature misses the point in that the influence of these entertainment companies can be more complementary than hostile to local small independent businesses small (as the case may be in instances where venues still remain under the control and ownership of local small independent businesses). Another difference is that while literature focuses on the increasing role of large entertainment corporations in providing upmarket venues especially in the centre of the city (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Nofre et al., 2017), it ignores the influence of such corporations on smaller venues on the periphery.

Chapter 3: Understanding the production and consumption of nightlife

> Since every theoretical perspective comes with its inevitable blind spots, none can be privileged *apriori* when it comes to understanding the urban night. Any perspective that draws attention to the formation of urban night-time spaces in the myriad ongoing and contingent processes across multiple timescales through which those spaces obtain stability and change would seem useful (van Liempt et al., 2015, p. 409).

3.1 Introduction

Assemblage thinking – one of the theories that have generated a lot of interest in the human and social sciences recently (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011; Buchanan, 2015) and urban analysis (Brenner et al., 2011) – is among the theoretical perspectives that can be brought to bear productively on the social construction of the urban night given its focus on the interaction between human and non-human elements (van Liempt et al., 2015). This chapter starts with a brief review of theoretical perspectives that have been deployed in nightlife studies. Then it hones in on assemblage thinking, explaining its conceptualisation of social reality and why it is a useful theoretical tool in understanding nightlife. But considering its limitations, which I outline towards the end of the chapter, I also deploy other theories, including piracy and peripheral urbanisation to complement assemblage thinking in understanding the production and consumption of nightlife.

Thereafter, I assess the usefulness of a theoretical framework anchored on assemblage thinking in unpacking the arguments on which the study is premised starting with the argument that: (a) the production of nightlife, including Entertainment Zone (EZs) on the periphery of the city is an outcome of processes that include those outside the purview of the government, global, national and regional processes such as neo-liberalism, as well as the influence of locational factors; (b) nightlife in EZs is an affectual experience (characterised by sociality) based on interactions among people who already know each other in playgroups, and the norms concerning appropriate behaviour within venues and the larger society; (c) the potential of nightlife expansion is hindered by excesses resulting from the spatial disorder of nightlife assemblage,

tension between formal rules and informal practices regarding the regulation and management of nightlife, as well as the absence of, and the touristification of nightlife in urban planning and policy.

3.2 Theoretical considerations

There are several theoretical approaches that examine the social and cultural practices of nightlife (Bavinton, 2010), including approaches which came to be known as sub-cultural theories. These emerged in the 1970s with a focus on youth practices in popular culture. They were heavily influenced by the pioneering work of the Birmingham School. Situated within the social and historical context of post-war Britain, the Birmingham School perceived young people's cultural practices in pathological terms of deviance and delinquency whereby youth subcultures were seen as manifestations of adolescent rebellion. They were considered to be a site of struggle where young people challenged the power of the dominant classes. In spite of its massive influence, this approach was criticised for its preoccupation with social class whilst neglecting gender, race and sexuality. It was also accused of over-politicising youth culture, while celebrating resistance to adult authority by the youth (Buckingham et al., 2014).

Another line of enquiry known as club-cultures or post-subcultural theory emerged in the 1990s in a bid to disentangle analysis of youth culture from the predominantly class-based resistance paradigms of the Birmingham School (Bavinton, 2011). It considered nightlife to be an important part of a rapidly changing youth culture (Bavinton, 2010). For instance, according to Malbon (1999, as cited in Bavinton, 2010, p. 240) 'the club' is "a space organised around visceral, experiential modes of fluid collective consumption". Post-subcultural theory has been criticised for the conceptualisation of nightlife as being primarily a 'youth issue', a problem which it still struggles to break free of to date. Another approach that has been widely applied to interpret practices associated with nightlife is Foucault's notion of heterotopia or 'other spaces' (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Gallan, 2012; Tutenges, 2012). It is believed that rather than being utopian or dystopian, evening leisure sites exist as a temporal and physical space in which social restraints are relaxed and traditional norms are reshaped (Campo & Ryan, 2008). "Hidden from the public and devoid of censure, individuals are able to act with less restraint than they do at home, and

they can indulge in playful deviance without fear of condemnation; by for instance, drinking into states of abandon and excess" (Tutenges, 2012, p. 147).

With regard to understanding the production of urban nightlife, Henri Lefebvre's work on the 'Production of Space' is one of the key theoretical perspectives that have been deployed. It seeks to explain how certain activities – illegal ones in particular – come to be tolerated in particular areas at night (van Liempt, 2015). Building on this framework, Williams (2008) argues that

> night- time spaces are socially mediated and constituted: night spaces do not exist prior to, or apart from human practices and the attendant social relationships that seek to appropriate, even to control, the darkness. Night spaces are constituted by social struggles about what should and should not happen in certain places during the dark of the night and who is welcome where (Williams, 2008 as cited in van Liempt, 2015, p. 408).

While the Lefebvrean perspective is very useful in understanding the social construction of the night, it is argued that the production of nightlife is more than a struggle over ideas and representations (van Liempt, 2015).

Another line of enquiry considers the commodification of nightlife experience and the role of global capital in the production of nightlife. Such analyses consider night-time leisure as part of the rise of cultural economy and the production of new urban landscapes of consumption and exclusion described as the 'corporatisation' of nightlife (Bavinton, 2010). Contemporary nightlife is seen as increasingly taking place in "generic spaces of consumption offering commodified experience with a seductive emphasis on play and hedonism" (Bavinton, 2010, p. 240). Further, there is a strand of literature on nightlife that is heavily influenced by a criminology lens and mainly focuses on issues of governance. It argues that urban nightlife is made up of a hedonistic, youth-orientated 'culture of intoxication' characterised by violence. As a result, a significant portion of night-time economy research focuses on disorder and governance of nightlife (Bavinton, 2010).

These theoretical orientations have advanced the understanding of nightlife practices significantly. In spite of this, there is need to go beyond such narrowly focused interpretations. Those concerned about consumption lead to interpretations that are either focused on particular

groups (such as youths) or practices that are mainly perceived to transgress social norms, while those concerned about the production of nightlife tend to interpret it in unidimensional terms such as global capitalism (Bavinton, 2010), and the struggle over ideas and representations (Van Liempt, 2015). In light of this, I have opted for a theoretical approach that is broader in focus and combines both social and spatial dimensions to explain the production and consumption of nightlife. This approach is assemblage thinking and it will be supported by other approaches, key among them being piracy.

Assemblage thinking has gained momentum in urban studies including nightlife, where it has been deployed in the analysis of surveillance and policing of nightlife districts (Van Liempt, 2015); studies on fear of crime in the night-time economy (Brands et al., 2014); alcoholic assemblages (Bøhling, 2014); and one-night sexual experiences in nightlife (Pedersen et al., 2017) among other analyses. It is argued that "the assemblage thinking—based on fundamental relationality of human and non-human agents should be in the centre of such research" (Pedersen et al., 2017, p. 161). Each of these agents or elements becomes meaningful only in the assemblages that they form both in terms of the events that they are associated with and the apparent reality that they produce (Alldred & Fox, 2015, as cited in Pedersen et al., 2017). Similarly, van Liempt (2015) also believes that assemblage thinking is one of the theoretical perspectives that can be applied successfully in understanding the social construction of the urban night. She sees night time entertainment "as the assemblage of bars, clubs, cinemas, theatres and cultural festivals and events at night which are, in a context of urban entrepreneurialism, supposed to contribute to urban regeneration and local economic growth" (van Liempt et al., 2015, p. 412). She applies this in her study of safe nightlife collaborations in Utrecht and Rotterdam (The Netherlands), and shows how different systems, practices and technologies are merged into a larger whole of what she calls surveillant 'assemblage'. She also shows how variations in the formation and organisation of assemblages in relation to different interests and power dynamics among actors, play out in reality leading to different outcomes (van Liempt, 2015).

Coming to piracy, the growing interest in the notion of informality in nightlife (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Nofre, 2013; Yeo & Heng, 2014) makes it a very useful concept. In spite of this, I have not come across a study on nightlife that is conceptualised in terms of piracy. Therefore, this makes

this study among the very few to apply the concept, hence offering a potentially significant contribution in terms of the theoretical understanding of nightlife.

3.3 Assemblage thinking

3.3.1 Setting the scene: key concepts in assemblage thinking

In reading assemblage thinking, among the key concepts that stand out is “assemblage” itself. There are many roots to the term ‘assemblage’, key among them being Deleuze and Guattari’s work on agencement in *A Thousand Plateaus* published in the late 1980s (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011; Buchanan, 2015).[13] The term encompasses a range of meanings that include 'to arrange, to dispose, to fit up, to combine, to order'. It is suggested that ‘arrangement’ is a more appropriate translation “in the sense of a 'working arrangement', provided it was kept clear that it described an ongoing process rather than a static situation” (Buchanan, 2015, p. 383). Hence, assemblage can be understood as “a multiplicity constituted by heterogeneous terms which establishes liaisons, relations between them” (Deleuze and Parnet, 2007 as cited in McFarlane, 2011a, p. 207). It is argued that urban actors, forms, or processes are defined more by the assemblages that they enter and reconstitute, and less by pregiven definitions. An assemblage is defined by the individual elements through their co-functioning or mutual constitution. They can be stabilised or destabilised (McFarlane, 2011a). Based on this understanding, I talk of nightlife assemblage whose main elements – starting with the non-human elements – are the buildings, furniture, music equipment and other entertainment accessories. For the human elements, the major ones include patrons, venue owners or operators, residents of the residential area where the study site was located, other interest groups in the vicinity, and government authorities.[14] Also important are the norms and regulations guiding nightlife both within the venues and those

[13] It is argued that only a small portion of what has today come to be known as ‘assemblage theory’ is linked to Deleuze and Guattari’s philosophical framework. This includes emergent approaches to global anthropology and the ‘actor-network theory’ (ANT) developed by scholars such as Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, John Law and others (Brenner et al., 2011).Therefore, to make full use of the concept of assemblage, Buchanan (2020) argues that it is important to return to the work of Deleuze and Guattari.

[14] Among the interest groups were members of Bread of Life International which was located nearby.

guiding social life in general. Emphasising the 'co-existence' of the many elements in assemblage, Buchanan argues that "the multiple components of the assemblage are integral to its existence, hence to understand reality we need conceptual tools that can disentangle and reveal these components" (Buchanan, 2015, pp. 385–386).

Another important feature of assemblage thinking especially as understood by Deleuze and Guattari is the rhizome/root conception. This contrasts the horizontal network connectivity of a rhizomic structure with tree-like systems organised hierarchically into stem and branches (Deluze and Guattari, 1987, as cited in, Dovey et al., 2018). The rhizome/root idea has particularly been applied in understanding informality by scholars including Dovey (2012). The root structure resembles the striated and horizontal growth of informal settlements with no strict boundaries in its operation, while the rhizomic structure resembles the formal hierarchical order of the formal city. He adds that "informal urbanism… emerges within the interstices of hierarchic order of the formal city." (Dovey, 2012, p. 28). I find this conceptualisation suited to the co-existence of the informal and formal practices both in the emergence and operation of Florida Street entertainment nightspots. Despite starting as a formally planned retail area, many outlets in Florida Street emerged informally. In many ways, informality continued to form a large part of the activities that took place in Florida Street right up to the time of data collection, including the expansion of venues without approval from the building and planning authorities, operating without licences, and other related 'illegalities'.

In addition, an assemblage has agential power to produce a range of effects (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011; Buchanan, 2015). The elements have agency individually but also when they are put together as a collective in interaction (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011). It is important to note that through this very interaction, the agential power of an assemblage changes over time (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011). Closely connected to the idea of agential power is that an assemblage is purposeful. This means that "it is not simply a happenstance collocation of people, materials and actions, but the deliberate realisation of a distinctive plan" (Buchanan, 2015, p. 385). Further, component parts of assemblages may be taken out of and attached to a different assemblage in which their interactions are different (DeLanda, 2006, as cited in McFarlane, 2011a). The agential power of nightlife assemblage can be seen from the type of nightlife

produced in a particular locality, that is for instance, whether lively or not. This depends on assemblage elements such as outlet density and accessibility. Concerning the idea that an assemblage is purposeful, I contend that while it might be true of assemblages created through the actions of well organised groups in pursuit of a clearly defined goal, it might not be the case in situations involving a loosely organised group such as Florida Street's plot owners who sublet or sold pieces of their plots to others. Although each of them sought to establish a business and eke a living, they could not have envisioned that their stall would, together with those of others, grow into a concentrated entertainment district that Florida Street turned out to be.

Closely connected to its purposeful nature, assemblage is also understood in broad political terms as a means of thinking the play between the actual and the possible, that is, not only thinking about how cities are, but how they might be otherwise (McFarlane, 2011). "This makes it possible to grasp the spatially processual, relational and generative nature of the city, both with regard to the historical processes and political economies and to the eventful random juxtapositions that characterize urban space" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 650). In this regard, assemblage orientates the researcher to the multiple practices through which urbanism is achieved in terms of the actual and the possible (McFarlane, 2011). It can be argued that this articulation of assemblage makes it applicable to analyses of structural issues of urbanity. In the case of this study, this concerns the analysis of neoliberalism and the influence that it has had on the evolution of the night-time economy in Lusaka, and Florida Street in particular. Despite this, it must be noted that the analysis of such structures of urbanity has been one of the issues that has attracted much criticism in assemblage thinking. Critics contend that assemblage thinking does not sufficiently address questions regarding the broader (global, national and regional) structural contexts within which actants are situated and operate (Brenner et al., 2011).

> Whilst acknowledging the careful attention to the multiple materialities of socio-natural relations and their ability to generate agency, without recourse to political economy or to another theoretical framework attuned to the structuration of urban processes, an ontologically inflected appropriation of assemblage analysis confronts serious difficulties as a basis for illuminating the contemporary global urban condition. Consequently, it

> cannot explain the sociospatial, political– economic and institutional contexts in which urban spaces… are positioned (Brenner et al., 2011, p. 233).

To compensate for this limitation, I deploy the theory of piracy by AbdouMaliq Simone since it pays sufficient attention to the issue of political economy and other processes within which everyday urban life takes place.

3.4.Understanding the context of assemblages

3.4.1. Pirate towns

The term *piracy* is used to describe diverse "urban practices concerning the pursuit of livelihood and opportunity by taking things out of their normal or legitimate frameworks of circulation and use" (Simone, 2006, p. 361). It is a phenomenon commonly associated with urban Africa given the dilemmas faced by residents trying to make do in cities burdened by a persistent state of crisis resulting from the collapse of established norms concerning the provision of various services. This is worsened by intensifying global urbanisation, which has significantly disturbed previously recognised systems of social organisation. Also, many African cities have lost many of their productive capacities as a result of global capitalism, which continues to allow the maximisation of economic profit for a select few to the exclusion of the majority (Simone, 2006). Further, it is observed that concerted efforts continue to be made by national and municipal governments to bring order and efficacy to African cities through zoning, cadastre, property and administration, but with little or no success, mainly because of underfunding and lack of a viable system of administration. Given such constraints and in order to enhance their chances of survival, citizens use resources of all kinds at their disposal, including illegitimate ones by delinking themselves from their social context as they know it, and participating in it from a different perspective (Simone, 2006).

I deploy piracy mainly in relation to the non-formal processes associated with the production of nightlife in EZs on the periphery of the city as demonstrated by the case of Florida Street. Despite the suitability of piracy in explaining such informal processes of growth, I find Simone's depiction of life in African cities to be too unstable and unpredictable to resemble what obtains in reality. I argue that there is a fair amount of predictability and stability in many African cities in

spite of the high degree of piracy they experience. For instance, as I argue in Chapter Five, although many entertainment nightspots in Florida Street emerged informally, they were subsequently regularised as part of the larger retail area of Florida Street with access to a range of services provided by the local authority such as liquor licences and security. Also, although acts of informality continued in the operations of many outlets, they still operated within the confines of the law and larger societal norms. To his credit, Simone (2006, p. 361) does not argue for "a particular notion of piracy, but uses this notion flexibly, even heuristically, as a way of talking about and then intersecting diverse urban practices concerning the pursuit of livelihood and opportunity". In that sense, it becomes applicable to different scenarios of informality.

Closely linked to this line of thought, but in order to also accommodate the peripheral nature of Florida Street, I also deploy the concept of peripheral urbanisation.

3.4.2. Peripheral urbanisation

Peripheral urbanisation is a mode of urbanisation in which residents act as agents of urbanisation in the production of space, not simply as consumers of spaces developed and regulated by others. It does not necessarily refer to the growth of cities towards their hinterlands or to a spatial location on the margins of the city (Caldeira, 2017). Instead, "it unfolds slowly, transversally in relation to official logics, and amidst political contestations" (Caldeira, 2017, p. 4). It is the predominant mode of producing space in the Global South (Narayan, 2023) whereby residents build their houses and cities step-by-step according to the resources they are able to put together at each moment in a process described as auto construction (Caldeira, 2017).

> Peripheries are spaces that frequently unsettle official logics—for example, those of legal property, formal labor, state regulation, and market capitalism. Nevertheless, they do not contest these logics directly as much as they operate with them in transversal ways. With little concern shown by planners and policy makers, residents are left to their own devices to build their neighbourhoods according to their needs (Caldeira, 2017, p. 4).

To this list I add nightlife, that is, both as a form of entertainment and a source of livelihood. On one hand, the process of urbanisation in question in Florida Street was peripheral in the

geographical sense of location given that it lay near the margins of the city. On the other hand, it was peripheral in Caldeira's sense of autoconstruction with respect to the subdivisions which preceded the growth of pubs and bars contrary to the plan envisaged by the local authority.

Equally useful in understanding the context in which everyday life in cities occurs is the concept of contingent neoliberalism. This is with particular reference to the influence that neoliberalism has had on the political economy of countries that adopted neoliberal policies in recent times, including Zambia.

3.4.3. Contingent neoliberalism

Contingent neoliberalism is among the growing list of approaches which understands neoliberalism in assemblage terms. This includes work by Higgins and Larner (2017) in which they examine neoliberalism through the contingent urban framing of neoliberalism. An extensive body of literature has grown over the years which discerns neoliberalism as a political rationality (Ural, 2017) or form of governance that is contingent in nature. Whilst acknowledging the political, social and economic change that has come as a result of neoliberalism, it assesses political, social and economic change as a process which is specific in terms of historical and geographical contexts, not in monolithic terms attributed to neoliberalism (Brady, 2014; McGuirk & Dowling, 2009). Such change is constituted and reproduced in different historical and geographic settings resulting in a patchwork of varying neoliberal governances in different places in terms of rules, regulations, policies, capitals (Wilson, 2004). At the core of neoliberalism are fundamentally situated political and social factors. Hence, it is argued that "neoliberal governance is made up of contingent realities influenced by specific social and political contexts, not pre-determined processes. As Wilson (2004, p. 773) describes it: "(n)eoliberal governance, then, is not prior to situated individuals or collectivities but creations from their ongoing initiatives within deeply textured social and political life."

I find this to be a highly productive framework for conceptualising the production of nightlife. It makes it possible to highlight the ways in which EZs "are spaces produced through specific situated assemblages of actors, policy frameworks, political projects, and governance practices"

(McGuirk & Dowling, 2009, p. 177). For instance, whilst acknowledging the influence that neoliberalism had in relation to jump-starting the entrepreneurial spirit in Zambia, it must be noted that this occurred against a backdrop of an already existing culture of entrepreneurship which had for a long time been stifled. I am mindful of some of the limitations in this approach. For example, it has been argued that contingent neoliberalism "obscures the assault waged by neoliberalism on relatively egalitarian state-based institutions. It is important to recognise the power of the very top-down imposition of neoliberalism in individual places" (Hackworth & Moriah, 2006, p. 514). It is in this line that I acknowledge its impact on the Zambian political economy including its negative impact.

3.4 Why assemblage thinking and piracy?

I find that a theoretical framework based on assemblage and piracy to have a lot of potential to open up our understanding of urban social life, including nightlife. As MacLeod and Jones (2011, p. 2449) observe:

> along with McFarlane, AbdouMaliq Simone's writings about everyday acts of improvisation and resilience in cities in the global south have been at the forefront of efforts to recalibrate theoretical approaches about urban processes like informality, revanchist urbanism, infrastructure privatisation and political insurgence that have long been dominated by a Euro-American hegemony. Therefore, they present an opportunity to 'blast open theoretical approaches with which to inform our investigations into cities across the world and possibly open entirely fresh conceptualisations of how we begin to interpret them.[15]

[15] For instance, in his work on housing in marginalised neighbourhoods in Mumbai and Sao Paulo, McFarlane perceives urban housing as an incremental process of assembly comprising a set of contingent sociomaterial orderings, the constitutive geographies of which extend far beyond the territory of the house. The acts of 'housing' and 'dwelling' are a coproduction between those who are housed and the variant technologies that do the work of housing: ornaments and decorations, architecture and bricks and mortar, sanitation and communication technologies, too, but also housing policies and practices, and finance" (McFarlane, 2011b, pp. 656–657).

Suffice to state that I do not seek to advocate an exclusive theoretical approach nor a separate ontology of cities of the south. In many respects, the two approaches complement each other. As will be shown below, assemblage thinking opens up our understanding of the urban world as being made up of a multiplicity of materials, human actors, practices, policies and other elements (Storper & Scott, 2016). It draws attention to the agency of these elements individually as well as that of the assemblage as a whole in creating particular kinds of environments such as the one experienced in Florida Street.

With regard to piracy, it opens up the space for engaging in a detailed conversation about the context within which different aspects of social life exist. In the case of my study, part of this context involved what I consider to be a dysfunctional administrative system for the provision of key social services such as land and livelihood opportunities, leading to residents devising modes of response outside formal processes. In light of the above, the two theoretical approaches have much to offer to the understanding of contemporary urbanism, including nightlife. Each has its limitations, but used together, their analytical potential is enhanced significantly. In the next section I make an attempt to demonstrate this potential in understanding urban nightlife in concentrated EZs on the periphery, starting with assemblage thinking.

3.5 Through the lens of assemblage thinking and piracy: understanding nightlife on the periphery

3.5.1 Nightlife assemblage: Entertainment Zones on the periphery

Although a vibrant nightlife in the city centre has been the focus in most of the studies on nightlife, nightlife on the periphery can be equally vibrant. Among such sites for evening revelry are EZs. These are considered to be a relatively recent form of nightlife that evolved in the first two decades of the 2000s. They often exist on the margins of downtowns in former commercial and industrial areas, underutilised retail corridors or underdeveloped waterfronts (Campo & Ryan, 2008) or in central areas (Nofre, 2020; Nofre et al., 2019). I argue that EZs also develop in informal ways without or with little intervention from the authorities, and grow into large evening entertainment districts with high outlet density. Florida Street built a reputation of a

lively nightlife mainly on account of the large number of evening entertainment venues it hosted. At some of these venues like Garage Liquor Store, and Pops Nightclub, there were several smaller venues which together formed a complex structure of night-time entertainment venues. Of particular interest to the study was how such an evening entertainment form was created.

3.5.2 Socio-spatial interaction in the production of nightlife

Here I put the first of my three specific arguments through the theoretical grinding mill arguing that concentrated night-time entertainment districts on the periphery are an assemblage produced through the interaction between various socio-spatial elements, including human and non-human, physical and non-physical (Pedersen et al., 2017). Among the key elements in the evolution of Florida Street nightlife were the individuals who subdivided plots. Also key were the authorities with regard to the role they played in allowing this 'illegality' and subsequently regularising it. The circumstances of Florida Street's emergence are befitting to be labelled piracy or informality when one looks at the actions of the plot owners and those that they sold the subdivided lots to on one hand, and failure by the authorities to arrest the situation in its early stages, on the other hand.

As Roy (2012, p. 826) observes, "the notion of piracy is one of the most complex articulations of agency and subaltern subjecthood … and how informality becomes a way of 'operating more resourcefully in under resourced cities in Africa". It is argued that in many African countries, many urban agglomerations have become 'pirate cities' where people must rely on pirate operators, such as mobile water vendors or illegal electricity connections in the absence of genuine state engagement. It is also due to the strain on already weak service-delivery mechanisms placed by increased demographic pressure (Rosenick, 2014). I adopt Keith Hart's conceptualisation of informality as activities that are beyond the purview of the state (Hart, 1973 as cited in Sinha & Kanbur, 2012). For instance, Hart notes that while 'formal' incomes come from regulated economic activities, 'informal' incomes, both legal and illegal, lie beyond the scope of regulation. Building up on Hart's understanding, Roy argues that informality should not only be looked at in terms of the role of the state in regulating the formal and the informal. Instead, it should be conceived as a wider economic response to crisis instigated by the state (Roy, 2012).

Piracy still continued to form a large part of the operations of Florida Street night-time entertainment spots as could be observed from the continued extensions of bars (for instance at Garage) often without approval from the council; the operation of bar or pubs without licenses; hawking etcetera. All these point to contestation in the use of urban space among various actors (Charman & Govender, 2020). The elements involved in the development of Florida Street demonstrate agential power to produce certain effects (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011; Buchanan, 2015). Having said this, it is debatable to what extent some of these effects were purposeful. Take for instance the actions of the plot owners. It is debatable whether they were a deliberate realisation of a distinctive plan (Buchanan, 2015). I argue that while their immediate goal might have been clear, that is, to set up business premises, they could not have foreseen that their actions would lead to the growth of a large entertainment district with a lively nightlife that Florida Street came to be known for. Thus, I am inclined towards the idea of 'unintended consequences' advanced by among others, Massey (2001). It holds that in spite of the fact that – through their behaviours and interactions with others – people constantly alter existing spatial arrangements and construct new spaces to express their needs and desires (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2011), "the social forms and spatial arrangement that a particular place evolves into are not 'inscribed' in a pre-existing space. Instead, there are several mediations in terms of the action of groups, knowledge, ideology, representations" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 82) at play, leading to particular forms of urban phenomena. Hence "much as the spatial form is socially 'planned' and… in itself directly socially caused, there is also an element of 'chaos' which is intrinsic to the spatial" (Massey, 2001, p. 266).

It must be noted that the form in which nightlife exists also impacts the type of nightlife it hosts as could be observed from the multiplicity of venues in Florida Street, and how that led to the gathering of multitudes on several occasions. As the socio-spatial analysis of urban form argues, urban spaces draw their character from the people who create and inhabit them. But at the same time, people are conditioned in various ways by the spaces in which they live and work (Knox & Pinch, 2010). Similarly, in his account of Oxford Street's evolution in Accra, Quayson argues that both the spatial aspect and the social ecologies are pertinent in understanding a city's overall evolution (Quayson, 2014). As I have already indicated, one of the key spatial features of Florida Street was its high outlet density characterised by a multiplicity of venues. In the next section I

explain how this aspect of nightlife assemblage influences interaction and the atmosphere obtaining in EZs.

3.5.3 Sociality in Entertainment Zones

I argue that once an assemblage of concentrated evening entertainment outlets has emerged, its elements (including venues, music, people, norms, alcohol and other drugs) in turn coalesce to create different forms of sociality. I understand sociality as the mundane everyday (night) activities involving comradery in nightlife (Roberts, 2009). To a large extent, Florida Street's nightlife was an affectual affair in which patrons from different play groups interacted with a significant degree of civility. This kind of tolerance could be interpreted as a demonstration of civilised behaviour (Elias, 2000) among members of these groups. According to Nobert Elias (2000), the notion of 'civilising process concerns the observed gradual changes in expectations of people's interpersonal conduct as well as the way they approached their own bodily functions and emotions in European societies. Elias observes that "standards concerning violence, sexual behaviour, bodily functions, eating habits, table manners and forms of speech became refined with an increasing threshold of shame, embarrassment and repugnance. Consequently, more and more of such aspects of human behaviour were regarded as 'distasteful and removed from social life" (Krieken, 1998, pp. 91–92). I particularly pay attention to the manner in which patrons avoided aggressive behaviour in evening entertainment venues.

A key feature of assemblage thinking to bring to bear here is the co-functioning of individual elements. It is by co-functioning that the agential power of an assemblage to produce certain effects is realised (Deleuze and Guattri as cited in Buchanan, 2015). In the case of Florida Street, this could be observed from the different kinds of atmosphere obtaining at different times of the night, the week, as well as on different occasions. It ranged from a subdued atmosphere to rapturous moments of revelry. At the beginning of the week, the venues were almost deserted with very few people. As the week progressed, the number of patrons increased and the atmosphere brightened. Even during the same evening, there was a discernible pulse to the atmosphere at the nightclubs especially during week days as the night progressed. One moment the dance floor was occupied, and a few moments later, it was empty. But often the crowds grew as the night wore on. This subdued atmosphere culminated in a much livelier atmosphere as

more people turned up on Friday and Saturday or holidays; or when there was a high-profile football match on TV involving the Zambia national team or the renowned giants of European football; or when there was a live music performance. Thus, in his study on 'alcoholic assemblages', Bøhling (2015) argues that drinking opened up various possible forms of sociality (and subjectivity) in nightlife assemblage mediated by other components of nightlife such as the atmosphere, the other guests, and the materiality of the club.

The agential power of nightlife assemblages explains why the form that assemblages evolve into often goes beyond what its 'architects' might have predicted. This is because in spite of the fact that people construct new spaces to express their needs and desires (Gottdiener et al., 2011), the social and spatial form that a particular place develops into is not known a priori. But through the influence of several factors, particular forms of urban phenomena are created (Lefebvre, 1991). At this stage, space is considered to have attained some degree of autonomy as *a Thing*.

> Any space contains and dissimulates social relationships - and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products). Might we say that it is or tends to become the absolute Thing? The answer must be affirmative to the extent that everything which achieves autonomy through the process of exchange (i.e., attains the status of a commodity) tends to become absolute… The Thing, however, never quite becomes absolute, never quite emancipates itself from activity, from use, from need, from 'social being' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 90).

Here, the significance of co-constitution of elements in an assemblage is amplified in that despite its agency, the *Thing* never quite becomes absolute nor quite emancipates itself from activity or use. It still remains heavily influenced by the activities and behaviour of people who use this space (Lefebvre, 1991). From the spatial viewpoint, Florida Street was a reflection of the needs and desires of those involved in setting up buildings for various businesses most of which were of an evening entertainment nature. In spite of this, it developed some features – especially high outlet density – which those behind its origins could not have anticipated. Regarding its social form – particularly the lively scenes of excitement that Florida Street came to be renowned for – it was still dependent on patrons, among other elements, who recreated these scenes day in day out, week in week out on different occasions. For instance, during live music performances or

football matches involving popular European clubs or the Zambia national team. These ebbs and flows resemble what is described using the notion of rhythmicity. It refers to the "repetitive patterns of everyday social practices and other events that shape urban places in time and space" (Lefebvre, 2008, as cited in Wunderlich, 2013, p. 393).

3.5.4 Planning, policy challenges and nightlife excesses

I argue that nightlife is prevented from reaching its potential due to its excesses (Brands et al., 2014; Ngonga, 2016; Tutenges, 2012) and the inadequate attention that it receives in urban planning and policy (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). The excesses of nightlife, including excessive drinking (Brands et al., 2014; Bryceson, 2002; Calafat et al., 2003), violence (Bavinton, 2010; Glazer, 1997; Graham et al., 2006; Mugala & Imataa, 2007; Ngonga, 2016), and drugs (Tutenges, 2012), can be understood as a result of a conflicted co-functioning of elements in a nightlife assemblage. For instance, where high outlet density occurs alongside a residential area. Although high outlet density contributes to a lively nightlife, it also contributes to several problems such as overcrowding and noise pollution. Here, I stretch the understanding of assemblage thinking which pays more attention to elements that are generally aligned with each other, to instances where they clash. The study builds on scholarship regarding the link between high outlet density and the problems associated with nightlife by bringing into the picture, the impact of unplanned development.

I also argue that the growth of nightlife is hindered by tension between formal rules and informal/illegal practices concerning the management and regulation of nightlife both within and outside the venues. This is with particular reference to the role that the council, police and venue owners or operators are expcted to play. This is further hampered by the inadequate attention which night-time entertainment receives in urban planning and policy, as well as the conceptualisation of night-time entertainment in terms of tourism. In spite of its importance, nightlife has been marginalised (Lovatt & Connor, 2010) and it is often treated as a minor issue covered in a few paragraphs (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) in city plans and development policies.

For cities in the Global South like Lusaka, the omission of the night-time economy in the local economic development agenda of the periphery can be seen as part of the wider neglect that the

urban periphery has suffered since colonialism (in formerly colonised countries where the urban periphery is home to most of the unplanned settlements). This is in spite of the viability of the periphery in relation to small-scale business, including those involved in liquor trade and other businesses associated with nightlife. From the perspective of conflicting rationalities, this is a reflection of a disconnect between systems of government administration with regard to planning and service provision, and the everyday lives of the urban population (Watson, 2009).

In relation to the notion of peripheral urbanisation, the evolution of Florida Street can be interpreted as the construction of means of entertainment and livelihood by residents contrary to official logics given the apparent lack of concern among planners and policy makers (Caldeira, 2017). I acknowledge that the authorities did strive to maintain a certain level of control over new developments, for instance, through zoning; by providing guidelines for building; and facilitating other related processes for different kinds of development. But many new developments still took place outside these processes.

The notions of conflicting rationalities and peripheral urbanisation can also explain the paucity of policy guidelines in Zambia specifically targeted at the night-time economy. As I show in Chapter Seven, there was no policy focusing on night-time entertainment in Zambia at the time of the study. Instead, nightlife only appeared under other sectors such as tourism and culture (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006). There was no mention of night-time economy, night-time entertainment or nightlife in any of the national development plans other than reference to a few types of venues associated with night-time entertainment such as hotels and lodges. The two perspectives also explain why key legislation for local government such as the Local Government Act No. 281, and the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2015 did not specifically cater for night-time entertainment, let alone look at how to tap into its potential. But when it came to the control of nightlife, legislation was very explicit as could be observed from the Liquor Licensing Act 2011, which provided a detailed set of regulations regarding the possession, sale and supply of intoxicating liquors.

3.6 Merits and demerits of assemblage thinking

Assemblage urbanism has received considerable criticism from scholars of urban studies. Among

its fiercest critics are Brenner et al. (2011) who particularly have criticised the ontologically oriented understanding of assemblage espoused by McFarlane. They contend that it displaces the investigation of capitalist urban development and the core concerns of urban political economy such as uneven spatial development, the commodification of urban space, inequality and power relations, state intervention, and polarisation. They also argue that it leaves out important questions regarding the broader (global, national and regional) structural contexts within which actants are situated and operate (Brenner et al., 2011). Another criticism is that assemblage is too broadly framed, at times even indeterminate since it attributes agency to the non-human world, that is, materials, things and spaces (Dovey et al., 2018; Scott & Storper, 2015). It does not have a way of distinguishing relevant and irrelevant actants, whether of a human or nonhuman nature thereby levelling the significance of all actors and ending up with what has been termed a 'naïve objectivism' (Scott & Storper, 2015). It is also argued that the theory does not show "which assemblages are important and which are insignificant and fleeting, which are empowering and which are disempowering, and what kinds of policy interventions are most likely to bring about desired forms of social change. This results in a largely indeterminate concept of the city as a complex aggregate of disparate phenomena tied together in a haphazard mix of causal and contingent relationships" (Scott & Storper, 2015, pp. 24–25). It has been further argued that assemblage thinking is too focused on the particularities of the city, hence making it difficult to develop a general theory of cities (Dovey et al., 2018).

There have been some attempts made to address some of these criticisms. For example, with regard to the criticism of 'naive objectivism' it is argued that this criticism does not hold when one considers the ontology of assemblage thinking which is 'flat' in the sense that it does not recognise a transcendent order to which the immanent world can be reduced. Assemblage thinking asks that we abandon the hegemony of scale – the presumption that the global subsumes the local (Dovey, 2018). As for the criticism that assemblage does not distinguish relevant and irrelevant actants, Dovey et al. argue that in assemblage theory, power is distributed and embodied in material spatial arrangements. They contend that this is not a displacement of human agency, but a recognition that power is produced and practiced through the materiality and spatiality of the city. As they put it: "power is capillary and it is not simply held by human agents" (Dovey et al., 2018, p. 8).

Moving to the charge that assemblage is too focused on the particularities of the city, it is argued that this is a misunderstanding that stems from a desire to see the particulars of the city subsumed into a general theory of cities (Dovey et al., 2018). Dovey et al. (2018) acknowledge that while assemblage is a general theory, it is not a model of the world within which the particulars can be reduced to the general. Instead, the relations of particular to general within assemblage thinking are reciprocal. The particular is not an instance of the general, rather what becomes general emerges in part from the interactions of particulars.

As for the criticism that assemblage is not sensitive to issues concerning the broad context within which it occurs, it can be argued that assemblage does in fact address this. For instance, this is evident from McFarlane's framing which holds that assemblage can also be thought of as broadly political as a way of thinking about not just how cities are but how cities might be otherwise. This makes it possible to think about the spatial and relational nature of the city, both with regard to the historical processes and political economies (McFarlane, 2011a). Notwithstanding this counter-argument, I deploy piracy by AbdouMaliq Simone in order to sufficiently deal with the issue of political economy and other broader processes within which everyday urban life takes place.

To emphasise the usefulness of assemblage thinking with regard to understanding cities in spatial and relational terms even its critics acknowledge that "a notable strength of assemblage thinking is its careful attention to the multiple materialities of socionatural relations" (Brenner et al., 2011, p. 6). This is useful in the investigation of nightlife in an evening EZ with a multiplicity of outlets. Assemblage can provide deep insights regarding the ways in which social lives are woven together through thick description of social practices and material forms in cities as demonstrated by scholars including de Boek and Plissart (2004); Mbembe and Nuttall (2004); and Simone (2014). Having engaged with assemblage thinking and other theoretical approaches, I conclude my theoretical arguments.

3.7 Conclusion: set for the night

In concluding this chapter, I reiterate that a collaborative undertaking employing assemblage thinking and piracy in the study of nightlife can be brought to bear successfully. As Brenner et al. (2011, p.6) observe,

> it would be highly problematic to suggest that any single theory, paradigm or metanarrative could, in itself, completely illuminate the processes in question. Today more than ever, there is a need for a collaborative, open-minded spirit to prevail in urban studies.

In deploying assemblage thinking and the supporting theoretical perspectives explored above, I argue that nightlife assemblages on the periphery can be equally as vibrant as those found in the city centre. I also argue that such concentrated night-time entertainment districts are an assemblage produced through the interaction between various socio-spatial elements which they are made of. Here I contend that EZs are capable of developing through informal processes without or with little intervention from the authorities (piracy), growing into sites of lively evening entertainment. In Florida Street, this could be seen from the illegal or informal subdivisions of commercial plots which characterised the early stages of its evolution as well as the informal manner in which many of its night-time entertainment spots continued to operate. Further, I argue that once an assemblage of night-time entertainment (including those in the form of an EZ) has emerged, its elements in turn coalesce to create different forms of sociality. But in spite of the potential that the night-time economy has in relation to urban development, and the demands that it comes with in terms of regulation and management, I argue that not much importance has been attached to it in the urban development agenda of many cities (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Roberts & Eldridge, 2007), including Lusaka.

In the chapters that follow (chapter five, six, and seven), I deploy the various aspects of the theoreatical framework constructed in this chapter and demonstrate the efficacy of an assemblage undertaking in interpreting urban nightlife. I also point out some of the aspects of social life that the theory can be extended to, including those involving conflicting relations among elements of an assemblage. But before getting there, I give an account of how I went about gathering the data that fed into this theoretical apparatus.

Chapter 4: Method: Unravelling Florida Street's nightlife

> Reality exists in the empirical world and not in the methods used to study that world; it is to be discovered in the examination of that world . . . Methods are mere instruments designed to identify and analyze the obdurate character of the empirical world, and as such their value exists only in their suitability in enabling this task to be done. In this fundamental sense the procedures employed in each part of the act of scientific enquiry should and must be assessed in terms of whether they respect the nature of the empirical world under study – whether what they signify or imply to be the nature of the empirical world is actually the case (Blumer, 1969, as cited in Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 7).

4.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the methodological approach adopted in this study both from an ontological and epistemological standpoint. It is informed by *social constructivism* which holds that although social reality exists independently (Miles et al., 2014), our perception of truth and reality is generated through social interaction (Jupp, 2006). It acknowledges the complexities involved in studying and accurately depicting social reality, hence it considers methods as tools by which reality can be discovered and understood. In light of this, my task as a researcher was to craft a method that would enable me to get as close as possible to the bottom of Florida Street's nightlife by deploying ethnography as the general approach for the study. The chapter provides justification for deploying ethnography and links it to assemblage thinking as the theoretical framing within which the study is placed. Other than determining how the study is designed, assemblage thinking also influences the way a researcher goes about conducting their study and analysing data. Generally, assemblage thinking demanded that I look at nightlife as an ever-shifting, complex social formation in relation to its components including human and non-human, and how the interaction between the two produces certain types of nightlife (Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015). Therefore, one of the advantages that an assemblage approach has in the understanding of social phenomena is that it gives the researcher an opportunity to investigate the relation between different factors that would otherwise not be brought together (Lameu, 2016).

In the next section, I present the study design, followed by selection procedure and other ensuing steps of the research process from data collection to data analysis.

4.1. Research Design: a guide to the study of Florida Street's nightlife

On 4th August 2018, I went to Garage Pub and Grill on Florida Street where I joined two colleagues. They were workmates who lived in Matero, adjacent to Emmasdale where Florida Street was located. They introduced me to Mr. Chulu who ran one of the small bars near Garage Liquor Store. I also had the opportunity of meeting Gabani, who would be quite instrumental in facilitating access to Garage being close friends with the manager. At the hint of what my mission was, he went into giving me an account of how the surrounding neighbourhood had changed since the 1990s, with emphasis on how young people in the neighbourhood had become delinquent over the years. The thought of interrogating such information was an exciting prospect. There was going to be ample time for this. Now was time to lay the parameters for the study. Looking around, there was much going on as revellers sat in various locations drinking. I remember a white salon sliding into a drainage while reversing. In an instant, about seven men were on hand to lift the vehicle and put it back on track. Such acts of goodwill and the generally relaxed atmosphere at Garage was at variance with the common narrative about nightlife in Lusaka in general, and Florida Street in particular. This too, I was eager to get to the bottom of.

At that moment, I was convinced that this was where I was going to conduct my study. It was a realisation that came after considering two other potential sites with the first one being Solwezi, the provincial capital of the north western province of Zambia about 586 km from Lusaka. I was drawn to Solwezi by tales of a lively and vibrant nightlife well summed in the popular saying, *'Solwezi mabanga'*, which in Kaonde, the local official language of the area, means 'Solwezi in the evening' (Negi, 2014). Beginning early in the evening as the sun set, Solwezi was a hive of activity ranging from trading in various merchandise on the street, to beer drinking in the many night spots spread around the town. This was against the backdrop of rapid economic growth following huge mining developments that had taken place there since the early 2000s (The Bulletin and Record, June 2012). But given the long distance between Solwezi and Lusaka where

I lived, this was going to be a difficult undertaking as it would have meant spending extended periods away from home and work. For this reason, I decided to move the study site to Kafue about 44 km south of Lusaka. I was attracted to Kafue mainly because of the resilience that it had demonstrated after the collapse of its manufacturing sector in the wake of liberalisation of the Zambian economy in the 1990s. My aim was to explore the contribution that nightlife had made in rebuilding the town. In spite of this, Kafue was also going to be challenging as it was going to require either driving at night on a regular basis for observations and interviews, or lodging there for quite extended periods. As a result, I decided not to pursue Kafue.

All the while there was an evening entertainment zone that was renowned for its lively nightlife within Lusaka right within my backyard which I had been overlooking – Florida Street. Popularly known as 'Devil's Street', it was located in Emmasdale north west of the central business district. It must be noted that I was not a stranger to Florida Street having hang out there at night a couple of times in the past. In fact, I had spent a good part of my teen years as an Emmasdale resident where Florida Street was located. Could it be that I settled for Florida Street because I was familiar with it? Could it be because of its easy access? I contemplated on these and other related questions in a bid to divorce myself from any undue biases. Although I did not realise at the time, this was the beginning of my navigation with the politics of fieldwork. Therefore, it was crucial that I devise an appropriate research design taking into account such concerns, through which I could deduce Florida Street's nightlife assemblage in relation to its production, consumption and governance.

A research design is a strategic plan that sets out the broad structure of the research. Suffice to say that in qualitative research, it is flexible since amendments can be made (Brewer, 2005) in the course of a study. From the research questions that I had developed, it gradually became clear that a longitudinal exploratory qualitative research design would be appropriate. "Qualitative research investigates aspects of social life which are not amenable to quantitative measurement… with focus on the meanings and interpretation of social phenomena and social processes in the particular contexts in which they occur" (Summer, 2006, p. 248). In a longitudinal study, data from research cases are collected over a series of time points with the aim of establishing what has happened over time (Alasuutari et al., 2008). An exploratory study

design is largely a descriptive approach that is adopted when a researcher does not really know the parameters or dynamics of a social setting (Miles et al., 2014, p. 53). For instance, when starting out, I was not even sure which ones were the popular venues on Florida Street.

I sought to describe and interpret shared behavioural patterns of a culture-sharing group within its natural setting, from the standpoint of the meanings participants attach to their behaviour (Creswell, 2014; Shkedi, 2019). Hence ethnography suited my study as a general approach. The primary aim should be to describe what happens, how the people involved see and talk about their own actions and those of others, the contexts in which the action takes place, and what follows from it (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In this instance, the culture-sharing group in question comprised various actors involved in the production and consumption of nightlife in Lusaka's Florida Street, including patrons, venue owners or operators, and the authorities. Ethnography was appropriate for this study as it aimed at developing a composite portrait (Creswell, 2013) of nightlife in Florida Street with regard to the activities that took place in its night-time entertainment venues given its high outlet density, among its other key features. Consequently, this required that as a researcher, I plug into this assemblage, in the interconnected perspective and shared construction of meaning (Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015) of nightlife. This served as a constant reminder of the epistemologies of urban nightlife, and social life in Lusaka in general.

In conducting fieldwork and processing data, I focused on recreating Florida Street's nightlife scene both in terms of general observations as well as the voices of actors. This was complemented by literature related to the concepts that emerged from the field data especially those concerning the regulation and management of nightlife. I share in the view that "social phenomena exist not only in the mind but also in the world—and that among the idiosyncratic messiness of life, some reasonably stable relationships can be found. From these patterns, we can derive the constructs that underlie individual and social life" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 26). Hence, as I have indicated above, I lean towards social constructivism in terms of orientation.

4.2.An introduction to ethnography

In many ways, this study was an introduction to ethnography. Although I was familiar with this approach from my studies in research methods at undergraduate and postgraduate level, it is an approach that I had not hitherto deployed. I had to fend off a strong urge to settle for a quantitative oriented design (Creswell, 2014). I attribute this to my orientation at undergraduate level in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zambia (UNZA) which had a bias towards quantitative approaches in its research methods courses. Hence, every stage of the study was a learning process about both ethnography and the study site.

Having settled for ethnography, I had to constantly reflect on how assemblage thinking could be deployed in ethnography. I conceive of assemblage in relational terms of alignments or wholes comprising different actors, that is, human and non-human (McFarlane and Anderson, 2011). Of particular interest in this study was the agency of assemblage as a whole and its parts which accounts for both stability and change. Equally of interest was the process through which assemblages are formed, in addition to form (how the whole and its parts co-function). This was crucial as it addressed the possibility of new social-spatial relations and forms emerging through the redeployment of existing elements into new arrangements (McFarlane and Anderson, 2011). Assemblage data must make visible multiplicity, process, and labour in the production of socio-spatial phenomena. Hence from an epistemological viewpoint, assemblage requires a methodological orientation that delivers in depth qualitative understanding (to make multiplicity, process etc. visible) of situated contexts (Baker & McGuirk, 2017). The researcher is required to produce 'process-generated data' from the interaction between human actors and non-human elements of assemblages (Yu, 2016). Ethnographic styles of research address this requirement (Baker & McGuirk, 2017).

Here, scholarly work in which assemblage and ethnography are drawn into one methodological approach known as assemblage ethnography (Baker & McGuirk, 2017; Gale & Wyatt, 2013; Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015) came in handy. Assemblage ethnography focuses on the ever-shifting, complex social formations in relation to their components, including human and non-human and the resultant forces from the encounters of these components (Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015). Its aim is to account for the fine-grained detail of the components of

assemblages, the nuances of the productive relations between these components, and the far-reaching assemblages that these relations produce (Youdell & McGimpsey, 2015, pp. 120–121). In this study, an ethnographic sensibility allowed me to develop a detailed and situated account of nightlife in relation to its production and consumption that shows the multiple actors, interactive processes, and diverse labours at work in assembling it. Based on this understanding, my task was to explain the process through which Florida was formed, the type of nightlife that it was able to create, and how some of its elements prevented its expansion.

While the above conceptualisation suggests that instability or disruption in assemblage emerges through the redeployment of existing elements into new arrangements (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011), my experience of Florida Street indicates that seeds of discord may be sown at the beginning of the formation of an assemblage. For example, a key aspect behind the formation of Florida Street was the subdivision of commercial plots by owners, leading to the densification of outlets. It must be noted that this was contrary to the official council plan for the area, though it was eventually regularised. This brings to the fore one of the criticisms against assemblage thinking that it cannot explain the socio-spatial and institutional contexts in which urban spaces are positioned because it is not attuned to the structuration of urban processes (Brenner et al., 2011). It is for this reason that I also deployed piracy contending that to a large extent, these were acts of piracy whereby things are removed from their usual or proper contexts and applications in the pursuit of urban livelihood opportunities (Simone, 2006). The notion of co-functioning among parts of an assemblage also calls for close scrutiny. Whereas many authors emphasise a stable and orderly relationship, a large part of Florida Street nightlife's excesses suggests otherwise. Instead of co-functioning, assemblages can be characterised by what I describe as contra-functioning when its elements come into conflict with one another.

4.3.Reflexivity

Florida Street was an entertainment district that I was quite familiar with given that I hung out there in the past like any other patron. Also, it was a common subject of public discussion though often covered in negative light. Therefore, I was mindful that I was part of the social world in which I conducted the study and the potential biases that I had to look out for (Corcoran et al.,

2019). Reflexivity involves "thinking critically about what you are doing and why, confronting and often challenging your own assumptions, and recognizing the extent to which your thoughts, actions and decisions shape how you research and what you see" (Mason, 2002, as cited in Saldana, 2016, p. 44). This demanded constant reflection on my part as a researcher at different stages of data collection and analysis which I discuss below. In particular, I made an effort to be unobtrusive and to reduce my influence on the natural situation especially given that I was significantly embedded in the research (Fetterm, 2016) as a participant observer.[16]

This was quite easy when carrying out observations given that I was unrecognisable in the mass of patrons who frequented Florida Street's evening entertainment hotspots. While the venue owners and or operators were aware of my presence, patrons were not. But when it came to interviews, this veil was taken off because I had to directly interact with the selected patrons as a researcher. Hence, I had to be cautious in the way I selected them, and the manner in which I organised and conducted the interviews. For female participants in particular, I had to emphasise that the study was not about sex workers, but it was open to all those who frequented the chosen evening entertainment venues, male and female. Also, in instances where I noticed some gaps in the data, I acknowledged and ventured back in the field. I explain further how I strove to be reflexive at the stage of data analysis. In the next section I explain the selection procedure that I devised.

4.4.Multiple data collection units

Having identified the study site, I had to narrow down the study to when, where, what and whom I was going to observe and interview (Burgess, 1990) out of the close to fifty night spots on Florida Street and the multitudes of patrons who frequented them. Apart from being able to accommodate a lot of people at the same time, the large number of venues on Florida Street also afforded patrons many options of where to hang out depending on their taste. Hence, I purposively chose four venues – two of each type – based on their popularity. I noticed that there were basically two types of night-time entertainment venues on Florida Street – nightclubs and bars or pubs. With this in mind, I decided to focus on the most popular bars or pubs and

[16] I oscillated between observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer.

nightclubs at the time. Garage Liquor Store, a largely outdoor venue, easily came out tops for pubs, while Motherland came tops for nightclubs going by the crowds that it hosted especially on weekends. Several days into my observations, I established that Pops was another popular nightclub, though not as popular as Motherland. The second pub proved quite difficult to identify. After the first round of observations at Garage, my field guide advised that I consider a venue known as Kamenga Pub and Grill. This was a relatively small venue compared to Garage, but very popular among the middle aged more mature patrons for its exclusive offering of Congolese music. There were suggestions of other venues like Crossroads which I turned down because they were far from Florida Street.

After one week of observations, my attention was drawn to a venue next to Garage known as Fair Deal Pub and Grill. It was also largely an outdoor type of venue which offered a more diverse experience being the only venue which staged live music shows at the time. I substituted Kamenga for Fair Deal with a considerable sense of loss as it meant doing away with a week's worth of field observation notes. A little consolation came later when I found myself referring back to some of the data from Kamenga when drawing a general sketch of Florida Street venues. The four venues formed my specific units of focus during data collection. The selection of multiple subsites was meant to provide a broad perspective of Florida Street's nightlife. From each of the four venues, I identified six to eight people who frequented those venues as interviewees. The aim was to select people with vast knowledge of the selected night entertainment venues. The selection of the two types of venues was meant to cover the topic sufficiently and to also enable me compare between two different types of night-time entertainment venues (pub/bar and nightclub), and between two of the same type of night-time entertainment venues (nightclub and nightclub; pub/bar and pub/bar).

I acknowledge that such a selection of the venues was not strictly representative of the whole of Florida Street, but studying such a small number of units made it possible for me to focus on the social rhythm, the pattern of events and expected behaviour (Burgess, 1990) in the venues in considerable detail. According to the Liquor Licensing (Permitted Hours) Regulations of 2012 of the laws of Zambia, pubs and bars were supposed to open at 10:00 hours and close at 22:00 hours, while night clubs/social clubs were supposed to open at 10:00 hours and close at 24:00 hours. Consequently, for the majority of night-time entertainment consumers, a typical evening

out started from the pub or bar, and extended to the nightclub later in the evening. Hence, I was able to establish variations with regard to forms of sociality between the two types of venues during the two time periods of the evening. In addition, I was able to observe the network of social situations in which patrons were involved. This is because some of them hang out at more than one venue. These became my prime targets at the interview stage. In addition to the venue participants, I also conducted interviews with key informants including bar owners/ operators, officials from the Lusaka City Council (LCC), Bars and Nightclubs Owners Association of Zambia (BANCOAZ), and Matero Police.

In the next section, I reflect on how I engaged and related with the study participants and key informants during the study (Brewer, 2005) in a bid to have access to data whilst ensuring that the data so gathered approximated the situation on the ground as much as possible.

4.5.The politics of fieldwork

4.5.1. Negotiating access

I commenced fieldwork on 1st June, 2019, marking the beginning of what was to turn into fourteen months of field observation, interviews and document review. The extended period of fieldwork enabled me to examine the topic at hand through the different periods of the year (Yin, 2011). Initially, I intended to be in the field for nine months, but my plans were disrupted by the Covid-19 outbreak in March 2020. The extension was also necessitated by the need to go back in the field in order to fill up some gaps in the data. Before commencement of observations, there were numerous visits to the site to map out the place and get permission to conduct observations from venue owners or operators. To gain access to the Florida Street community, I relied on my social networks. I sought the help of two co-workers that I refer to at the beginning of the chapter, who resided in Matero near Florida Street for introductions to venue owners and operators. I also relied on a friend's brother who was quite well known on the street to organise some of the interviews. In addition, I was able to make acquaintances with other contacts directly, including the DJ at Garage who also helped in facilitating access to study participants.

There were some participants whom I also approached directly and asked to take part in the interviews.

Although negotiating access became easier with time, it was an issue that I had to grapple with throughout the period of data collection (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) especially as I moved from one stage of data collection to another. For instance, gaining access to officials at LCC, BANCOAZ and Matero Police added another dimension to the politics of fieldwork. So were the times that I had to go back in the field to fill some gaps in my data. In some cases, it felt like I had to renegotiate entry all over again. In other instances, contacts or interviewees pulled out without warning by either stopping to answer the phone or refusing to take part in an interview after agreeing to do so. Also, there were times when it was difficult to stay very late into the night for observations. To cover for this, I enlisted the services of a research assistant who lived within Emmasdale. He would share with me his observation notes the following day. He would also narrate any incidents and provide clarification verbally on phone or in person when we met.

4.5.2. Navigating the field

During the visits to the site, I was usually accompanied by at least one colleague. But, there were evenings when I ventured out by myself especially as I became familiar with the place. In the initial stages, I felt overly self-aware of my presence in the venues especially with glasses on, and I thought I could easily be spotted as an outsider. I also found myself being too polite, perhaps out of the same self-consciousness. This resulted in a minor mishap at Kamenga Pub and Grill one evening. While receiving some drinks from the bar tender, I mistakenly knocked over a bottle of a gentleman seated at the bar with a lady. In spite of my apology, the gentleman would have none of it accusing me of spilling his beer deliberately. As a peace offering, I got him another beer though it did not seem to have improved his mood. With time, I became more comfortable in my role after realising that no one barely noticed me. Besides, several other patrons wore glasses.

At the beginning of fieldwork, I constantly thought about how best to take notes without attracting undue attention to myself. I dismissed the idea of carrying a note book as it would have easily given me away. Alternatively, I considered leaving the notebook in the car and making

periodic trips to the car to write down something. I could also try to soak up as much as I could during the evening, and later write down my observations at the end of a visit (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Both options had significant challenges. Going to and from the car constantly was not always going to be practical as I was not always able to park near the venues given the high number of vehicles that were often packed. Also, there was a risk that such constant movements could raise undue suspicion. Writing at the end of a night out meant running the risk of leaving out or forgetting a significant amount of detail. All these worries were put to rest with the aid of Samsung Notes, a note taking application on my Samsung smartphone. I realised that it was easy to take notes unobtrusively using a smartphone given that many patrons were fond of using their smart phones during an evening out making or taking calls, sending messages, taking photos or videos and so on. After a night's visit, I immediately sent a copy to my email box as a back-up, but also for editing the following day.

I found most evenings to be fun. Although I was out at night for work, listening to music, watching people dance and engage in other activities was often therapeutic. But there were many quiet uneventful long nights too. One issue I had to be cautious about was security especially given that most of my observations were conducted at night. Worse still, I could sense some fear in my wife and kids each time I set off at night to Florida Street. As I show later in Chapter Six on sociality, Florida Street manifested many of the excesses that nightlife is often associated with including violence. Hence, in spite of its fame as a lively nightlife district, it was also a place some people dared not to venture out into. I remember one evening jokingly asking a workmate to accompany me to Florida Street. His reaction was so negative that to the uninitiated, it would have put much fear in them.

Another issue that I had to carefully negotiate concerned the varying power relations that emerged in the course of fieldwork. This started right at the beginning of the study as I sought permission to carry out observations from the four venues mentioned above. Here, I was at the mercy of venue owner/operators. Over the course of the study, different situations would arise in which my position changed. In some of these situations I was in an advantaged position. In either case, I had to manoeuvre and ensure that I got the data that I sought after so much. For instance, during interviews, I provided two lagers or the money equivalent as a token of appreciation to

each interviewee. Whilst modest, this became a motivating factor to some patrons. But I had to be careful not to compromise my selection criteria as many feigned being regular patrons in Florida Street just so they could have a free beer.

I experienced similar pressure from Mooya and Golden, the two gentlemen that I hired to help me mobilise study participants for interviews. In spite of paying Mooya as agreed at the beginning of the exercise, he asked for money to celebrate his birthday a few days after the end of the exercise. As for Golden, he developed a habit of asking for money for beer on weekends. On a few occasions I obliged by sending him money through Mobile Money, but I had to make it very clear to him that this needed to come to an end. I also had similar challenges with some of the interviewees. One was a welder and another one a painter. Both of them took the interaction during the interview as an opportunity to market their trade. I almost entertained the idea of hiring the painter, but resisted the temptation.

Further, many months after fieldwork, a colleague who served as my guide told me that his wife was still waiting to receive 'something' for the times she had to open the gate for him late in the night after our field visits. This was in spite of buying him drinks, giving him a ride home each time we were together, and paying him for his services, including his brother who stood in his place when he was not available. I took this as an indirect way of telling me that I needed to top up on what I had paid him, which I obliged to. One of the lessons that I learnt from this was to manage expectations of such individuals. In hindsight, a basic contract clearly showing what was due to each of these individuals, would have helped solve this problem. Also, as I have indicated above, some people mistook the focus of my study to be sex workers. For instance, some patrons would recommend that I interview certain ladies because they were renowned sex workers. Much as this could have been an easy and convenient count on my tally of respondents, I declined, not wanting to validate the stereotyping nor distort my sample.

As I have also indicated, the threat of physical danger always lingered, hence being in the company of locals was some kind of security guarantee. Once, a friend to my regular guide assured me: *'Kukugwilani boss pangapwanyike chiumba pano",* meaning if anyone dared touch you 'boss', the wall (behind us) would break. This was after being introduced to him by my field

guide one evening at Fair Deal. One of the potential sources of trouble were 'cadres' for the Patriotic Front, the ruling party at the time.[17] For instance, during my observations at Kamenga (which I later removed from the list of venues and replaced with Fair Deal Pub and Grill), a Toyota Land Cruiser 4x4 pickup, beige in colour without a number plate, pulls up outside. Out steps a man in his late thirties, sporting an afro, who takes a leisurely stroll around. Later that evening, I learnt that he took the owner of the pub to task demanding to know who we were. After explaining to him what we were from the university undertaking an academic exercise, he reluctantly left. Another day I spotted him at Fair Deal, which rather unsettled me. This was a politically charged period characterised by a lot of violence between the PF and the United National Development Party (UPND) which was the main opposition party in Zambia at the time. Worse still, the week that I was doing observations at Kamenga coincided with campaigns for a parliamentary by-election in a nearby constituency called Katuba. In an area such as Matero which was dominated by the PF, strangers like me could easily be mistaken for agents or cadres of the UPND and therefore risked being lynched. Notwithstanding the above concerns, I was able to stay safe throughout the period of fieldwork.

4.6.Data collection methods and protocols

Collection of primary data was preceded by visits to Florida Street and its surrounding venues with the aim of identifying suitable study units and getting permission from operators or owners to conduct research on their premises. This took about a month, and enabled me to acclimatise to the study site. I was cognizant of the fact that the ethnographer's task is not only to collect information from the emic, or insider's perspective but also to make sense of all the data from an etic, or external social scientific perspective (Fetterm, 2016). Therefore, I deployed methods that would enable me get both an insider's perspective of study participants, and an external perspective by gathering data through observation, interviews and document review. As observed by McGuirk (2017) ethnography need not only be limited to participant observation or other immersive methods, but should include interviews and documentary analysis. Both provide opportunities for constituting detailed accounts of practice. From an assemblage perspective, interviews should be treated as an opportunity to actively probe the contingent socio-material

[17] Cadre is the term commonly used to refer to a supporter or member of a political party in Zambia.

alignments and taken-for-granted labours of the process involved in the production of the phenomenon under study.

While observations provided sufficient outsider perspective of the consumption and management of Florida Street, interview data provided insights to these data which could not have been discerned through observation from a distance. Through interviews it was also possible to peek into the past for some answers behind the spatial characteristics of Florida Street's nightlife. In addition, interviews provided vital insights regarding policy. For its part, documentary analysis provided a window into the thinking concerning the management and regulation of nightlife from the authorities' viewpoint. For each method, data collection protocols were developed. Protocols, instead of instruments were used because the former are not as restrictive as the latter hence, they are better suited for qualitative studies (Yin, 2011). To cater for participants who were not able to speak English, I translated all the sets of protocols to *Chinyanja* with the aid of Google Translate. Generally, the application was useful but, there were considerable corrections that I had to make to get the correct translation. This was not a very difficult task since *Chinyanja* is a language that I am fluent in. I pre-tested the protocols on a few workmates who frequented the social club at the University of Zambia as well as employees who worked at the club. The latter were key in testing the *Chinyanja* versions of the protocols, while workmates provided equally valuable feedback concerning the phrasing of some of the questions and suggested additional questions for inclusion.

4.6.1. Participant observation

To choose interview participants, I employed the big-net approach (Fetterm, 2016) by visiting different venues in Florida Street before narrowing my focus to specific venues under study. Data collection started with participant observation with focus on the types of activities that took place in the four selected venues, and the ways in which Florida Street's high outlet density among its other major characteristics, influenced nightlife. Participant observation was deemed appropriate because the task of interpreting the meanings and experiences of social actors in their natural set up can only be achieved through participation with the individuals involved (Brewer, 2005; Burgess, 1990). As a researcher, I took the role of participant-as-observer by participating and observing whilst developing rapport with potential informants. The participant-as-observer role

has the advantage of allowing the researcher to penetrate social situations and understand the world of his or her informants.

I conducted fieldwork both covertly and overtly. Overtly in the sense that the owners or operators of the venues were aware of my presence since I had to seek permission to conduct the study on their premises. Covertly from the patrons' viewpoint because they did not know about my work except the few that I approached to take part in the interviews later on. Fieldwork entailed hanging out at the pubs, bars and nightclubs like any other patron as outlined in the observation protocol with particular attention to features such as space or layout of the venues, the actors, activities, objects, events, goals, and feelings (Burgess, 1990) of those involved. I was conscious of some of the disadvantages of this method of data collection such as the problem of bias and the question of the extent to which a researcher participates (Burgess, 1990). The problem of bias was addressed through the collection of data from multiple sources within each of the selected venues. Regarding the second problem, caution was taken to maintain a certain amount of objectivity by not getting overly involved in the activities under observation (Murchinson, 2010).

I started fieldwork by visiting each of the four venues for a whole week so that I could establish a pattern in relation to the activities that took place on a daily and weekly basis. Most of my visits were between 19:00 and 24:00 hours and beyond, depending on how busy the venue was or the time that it was closed.[18] After the initial week of observation at a venue, I took a break for a week before moving to the next one. This approach allowed me to conduct intensive fieldwork, pull back and make sense of what I had observed and recorded, and then return to the field to test my hypotheses. After the first round of observations, I visited the site once per week during which I focused on two venues per visit. I rotated the visits in such a way that each venue was visited the same number of times and on different days of the week. For example, if the visit was on a Monday in week one, the next one would be on a Tuesday the following week, and Wednesday after that and so on. I also visited the venues on public holidays and special occasions, including Heroes and Unity Day, National Day of Prayer, Independence Day, Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, New Year's Eve and New Year's Day, and Valentine's Day.

[18] According to the Liquor Licensing (Permitted Hours) Regulations of 2012, bars or pubs must open at 10:00 hours and close at 22:00 hours, while night clubs/social clubs must open at 10:00 hours and close at 24:00 hours. In spite of this, all the four venues remained open beyond midnight on many occasions, especially weekends.

This approach enabled me to take note of any variations in activities or patterns of behaviour (Fetterm, 2016) on different days of the week, the month and the year. After being in the field for nine months, it was time to conduct interviews. With hindsight, I should have commenced the interviews earlier because splitting them from the period of observation created some challenges. I had to go back to the site several times to verify some of the information that emerged from the interviews.

4.7.1. Interviews during a pandemic

Interview data were meant to complement the data from participant observation and document review. I opted for unstructured interviews in form of conversations not straight question and answer sessions. This strategy gave informants an opportunity to develop their answers outside a structured format thereby providing rich detailed data to complement data from observations and documents (Burgess, 1990). But before I could get started with the interviews, Covid-19 struck resulting in the closure of pubs and nightclubs. The fear and uncertainty that came with the pandemic also extended to my study. For a few weeks, I did not know how I was going to continue with the study. An opening appeared when pubs and bars were allowed to operate on takeaway basis. I decided to visit the site during the day. To my relief, I found that some outlets served alcohol on their premises inconspicuously. While the main entrance would be closed, the back door would be left open for patrons to enter. This was a window that enabled me to mobilise respondents for interviews. The main criterion for selection was regular presence at a given venue.

To organise the interviews, I sought the assistance of two gentlemen who were from within Emmasdale and Matero and also regulars themselves at the selected venues. The DJ at Garage was also helpful in making contacts at the beginning. Interviews were held at Bankers Nest which was located just behind Garage. I also conducted some at a lodge next to Motherland. In some instances, I had to follow the respondents to a convenient place near their home. I had initially intended to select the participants directly from the venues but this was disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic. Hence the few that the research assistants and I identified and requested to have interviews with, helped to identify others through snowballing. The offer of two drinks or

the money equivalent to participants as a token of appreciation acted as a motivating factor for many of these participants, hence as I have indicated above, I had to take caution not to comprise my selection criterion by not allowing everyone who showed willingness to be interviewed.

Table 1: Study participants

#	ID	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	YEARS OF PATRONAGE
1	F1	24	F	Cosmetic trader	6
2	F2	28	F	Liquor trader	1
3	F3	26	F	Bar tender	Unspecified long time
4	F4	23	F	Unemployed	3
5	F5	39	M	Unemployed	2
6	F6	30	M	Marketing	Unspecified long time
7	F7	32	F	Shoe and clothes seller	4
8	F8	37	F	Owns salon and sells clothes	2
9	F9	34	M	General business dealer	3
10	P1	26	M	Cleaner	8
11	P2	24	M	Car washer	6
12	P3	40	M	Liquor trader	13
13	P4	20	F	Mobile money booth attendant	1
14	P5	34	M	Plumber	Unspecified long time
15	P6	33	F	Bar tender	1
16	P7	28	M	Teacher	3
17	P8	35	M	Mobile money booth attendant	2
18	G1	27	M	Mobile money booth attendant	Since opening of Garage
19	G2	24	M	Driver	4
20	G3	25	M	Student	Unspecified long time
21	G4	33	M	Metal fabricator	3
22	G5	30	M	Salesman	2
23	G6	28	M	Process controller – paint making	5
24	G7	34	F	Receptionist/secretary	5
25	G8	33	M	Marketing researcher	5
26	ML1	26	M	Bar tender	4
27	ML2	33	M	Home interior designer	3

28	ML3	22	F	Unemployed	2
29	ML4	22	F	Unemployed	1
30	ML5	21	F	Unemployed	Unspecified long time
31	ML6	23	F	Cook	2
32	ML7	30	M	Clerk	1
33	ML8	21	M	Bouncer	2
34	ML9	31	M	Unemployed	2

Thus, 34 patrons comprising 21 male and 13 female – who were regulars at any of the four venues, were interviewed. Whilst acknowledging that there is no formula for defining the desired number of instances for each broader or narrower unit of data collection in a qualitative study, 34 falls within the accepted range of 25-50 participants to be included in interviews, practices and actions in ethnography (Yin, 2011). I also interviewed the owners of some of the most popular venues in Florida Street at the time, including Motherland which was formerly known as Mr C; the manager for Garage; the Public Relations Officer for LCC, the former LCC Field Officer for Lusaka East; the Officer in Charge at Matero Police, and the president of BANCOAZ. In total, 44 interviews were conducted between 4th April 2020 and 27th August 2020[19]. I also had informal interviews with bar/pub owners outside Florida Street, venue staff, hawkers, and other patrons. These provided clarification on a number of observed occurrences. Interviews were particularly a useful source of assemblage data in that they provided an opportunity to – among other processes – probe the contingent socio-material alignments and labours (Baker & McGuirk, 2017) of Florida Street's evolution.

Table 2: Key informants

ORGANISATION/VENUE	***AGE***	***POSITION***
Motherland Nightclub	59	Owner
Garage Liquor Store	37	Manager
Lusaka City Council	46	Public Relations Officer
		Retired site officer
BANCOAZ	51	President
Matero Police	39	Officer in Charge

[19] Without factoring the period of extension for follow-ups, which went up to May, 2024.

The interviews were recorded in audio and note form, with the latter applying to the participants who were not comfortable being recorded with an audio recording device. I shed more light on my field experience of recording data below. After each round of interviews, I typed the notes and uploaded the transcript on QDA Miner Lite. It was possible to do the analysis manually considering that the number of interviews conducted were few, but I decided to use this as an opportunity to acquaint myself with a qualitative data analysis software. In addition to field observations and interviews, data were collected through document analysis.

4.7.2. Documents

Documents formed a key source of information especially with regard to policy related issues. As Prior (2008) cited in Glaser and Strauss (1967) puts it: documents are as important in sociological research as informants are to an anthropologist or an interviewee to a sociologist. I sought relevant content from various documents including the Local Government Act No. 2 of 2019, the Urban and Regional Planning Act 2015, Final Report on Comprehensive Urban Development Plan for the City of Lusaka in the Republic of Zambia Study, National Development Plans (2002 to 2022), the Tourism Policy of Zambia, as well as magazine and newspaper articles. I was able to download a number of these documents (especially legislative documents) from government websites including the National Assembly of Zambia website. For others, I had to rely on my personal and professional networks to get hold of hard copies. Similar to interview data, documentary analysis also requires the researcher to treat documentary materials, such as reports

> as ethnographic artefacts that provide windows into the creation, mobilization, and application of...knowledge. These artefacts function, on the one hand, as texts that reveal particular ways of thinking and acting, and on the other, as lively objects whose itineraries and effects can be apprehended by following their 'traces' in different contexts" (Baker & McGuirk, 2017, p. 10)

As indicated above, documents were very useful in gaining insights on policy related matters surrounding the management and regulation of nightlife.

4.7.3. Recording data

I recorded data in the form of field notes and audio recordings. The observation data were recorded in the form of notes as I have indicated, using Samsung Notes. I also recorded the interviews of those who declined to be recorded using an audio device in note form in a note book. Some of the reasons such respondents advanced were that they feared their recordings being publicised on social media. The notes were reviewed and refined on a daily basis by typing them in a word document. In this way, I was able get back to the respondents in instances where there were gaps in information or to seek clarification. Using the phone made it easy for me to take notes in an unobtrusive manner without distracting patrons. This was made easier since it was common for patrons to use their smartphones during an evening out. When carrying out observations, I was conscious of the need to focus on the actions taking place instead of describing what was going on in order to minimise stereotyping. I came to appreciate this fully at the stage of writing because the raw description of actions provided ample material with which to present a "vivid image" rather than a "visual stereotype" (Yin, 2011, p. 179) of nightlife in Florida Street.

For interview data, I found a smartphone audio recording application like Samsung Voice Recorder very handy. I transcribed the recordings within a day or two of conducting an interview. When conducting interviews, I focused on capturing spoken words in verbatim. Also, I paid attention to the gestures and expressions used by the interviewee with the aim of gaining insight into the meaning of the interviewees' thoughts, rather than relying on my own inferred meaning (Neuman and Robson, 2009). To complement the field notes, I also took pictures depicting patrons and other people who frequented the venues, in different kinds of situations. I also got spatial maps of the field sites through Google Earth. These were meant to locate the places and objects in terms of physical space and to show where activities were taking place (Neuman and Robson, 2009).

4.8. Data processing, analysis and presentation

4.8.1. Data analysis

I analysed data from field notes and the transcripts of audio recordings using content analysis as an analytic technique. I found it to be the appropriate method of analysis because it enabled me to focus on selected aspects of meaning that were relevant to the overall research question Yin (2011). I was mindful of the fact that abstracting from the specifics of a given passage inevitably results in the loss of concrete information. In spite of this, I was able to gain a sense of how different parts of the data could be compared and related to each other. The other reason why I found qualitative content analysis appropriate for the study is that it is highly systematic in that it requires creating categories and applying them to the data by following a certain sequence of steps. Here, I was guided by the phases of qualitative data analysis outlined by Yin (2011) namely: compiling, disassembling, reassembling, interpreting, and concluding. This approach helps in counteracting the danger of analysing data only through the lens of the researcher's assumptions and expectations (Schreier, 2014). It must be noted that the analysis did not proceed with these phases in linear fashion. Instead, it involved several back-and-forth movements with some of the phases overlapping.

I started the analysis by sorting the interview transcripts. This involved creating a file for each study participant as well as assigning them a unique code. For instance, P1 for the first respondent representing Pops, and G1 for the first respondent representing Garage. I also checked the data for clarity. As I have indicated, I sorted interview transcripts for patrons with the aid of a qualitative data analysis software (QDA Miner Lite). I chose QDA Miner because it is one of the few qualitative data analysis software with a free version. Although it is limited in its functions (for instance, it does not allow for analysis of text entered), it still provides enough room for one to organise their data in a form that allows for easy analysis. With the aid of instructional videos by Provalis Research, the makers of QDA Miner, and researchers who were well versed with the software, I was able to navigate the QDA interface and create files for each respondent. As for key informant interview data, I organised them manually.

I created categories based on the key variable(s) in each question in the interview guide. Next, I developed substantive themes (or clusters of codes) by reorganising the categories into different broader subtopics. These were partly informed by literature. Thereafter, I collapsed the subtopics that were closely related into one single sub topic. For instance, on sociality in nightlife, the sub-topics that emerged from empirical data were presentation of self, comradery, hawking, sexual liaisons, heightening revelry, and disorderly conduct. From literature, I picked out pleasure, creating and maintaining identities, disorderly behaviour, and social division. From these, I ended up with civility in nightlife, rhythmicity in nightlife, and rousing conviviality in nightlife forming the basis of discussion of the chapter on sociality in nightlife.

In compiling the categories, I took steps to ensure that they met the criteria of comprehensiveness, exhaustiveness, mutual exclusiveness and independence (Scott, 2009).[20] These criteria helped me to address one of the weaknesses of content analysis, that is, the possibility of bringing out or presenting a range of possible messages from study participants, thereby making it difficult to point out any one of them as the key message (Scott, 2006). The next phase involved interpreting the reassembled data in order to create a narrative (Yin, 2011). As I have already indicated, I went back and forth many times before figuring out a way to interpret the data. Particularly challenging was how to bring together empirical data, literature, and the theoretical framework. As new themes emerged in the process of analysis, I had to go back to literature for a better understanding of concepts involved, including sociality, informality and neoliberalism. Having set forth "an organised, compressed assembly of information, I was able to draw conclusions (Järvinen and Mik-Meyer, 2020). Through this process of analysis, I am confident that I have developed a composite picture of Florida Street's nightlife that reveals the common patterns of activities and ideas (Creswell, 2013) of its producers and consumers.

4.8.2. Reliability and validity

To ensure that the conclusions that I arrived at reflected the situation studied on the ground

[20] Exhaustiveness, requires that every relevant item is classified into one of the categories. Mutual exclusiveness, is achieved by striving not to classify any item into more than one category with the aim of reducing the ambiguity in classification (Scott, 2009).

accurately, I had to ensure that data were properly collected and interpreted. To achieve this, fieldwork was spread over a period of fourteen months. First for an initial nine months which was extended by five more months due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the need to go back in the field to fill up gaps in data. Over this period, I was able to make repeated observations and develop an in depth understanding of nightlife in Florida Street. In many ways, it was an enlightening experience since it was the first time that I was in the field for such an extended period of time. The first few visits were overwhelming, but the more visits I made, the more I got into the groove and got comfortable in my role as a participant observer. I became more decisive with regard to when and what to take note of.

I was also able to achieve data reliability and validity by collecting data from different study units and different sources including patrons, venue owners and operators, officials and documents. This made it possible for me to validate the gathered data. Having specific venues from which to carry out the study helped me focus especially during observation. Having multiple sources of data outlined above is in keeping with the view that reality is made up of multiple perspectives, hence the need to understand the subject of study from the point of view of different participants (Creswell, 2013) and sources. I paid particular attention to rival explanations (Yin, 2011) by the respondents and key informants. I now move to the ethical issues that played out during field and how I navigated them.

4.9. Ethical considerations

Ethical problems in research arise from the tensions between the search for new or better knowledge, and the rights and interests of individuals and groups who may be affected. Among those affected are those who participate directly in the research as providers of data which the researcher seeks. One basic principle is that research should not bring harm to respondents. The researcher must balance the need to obtain valid data against the rights of individuals and groups to privacy and autonomy (Summer, 2006, as cited in Jupp, 2006). This is a delicate balance that can tilt in one or the other direction depending on the kind of information involved and the methods employed. In particular, anonymity can be quite difficult to attain such that one can only protect the respondent by ensuring that research findings are kept secret, and also restricting

dissemination of information to a small community as the case is with academic research. In this study, several measures were put in place in anticipation of likely ethical challenges considering that the study involved human participants. To ensure that the research design was compliant with the requirements for ethics and biosafety clearance, ethical clearance was acquired from the Human Research Ethics committee of the University of the Witwatersrand (Protocol Number: H18/11/48). Putting these requirements into practice in relation to informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality and privacy came with its own politics that I had to grapple with during data collection and processing.

4.9.1. Privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality

Privacy concerns "control over others' access to information or preservation of boundaries against giving protected information" (Miles et al., 2014). I recognised that there was a likelihood of participants revealing private information during data collection (Neuman and Robson, 2007). To protect their privacy, I kept the information that they shared with me and the research assistant secret. Apart from the research team, no one else had access to it. Audio recordings were securely stored on my computer with a secured password, while backup files were saved on an external hard-drive also with a secured access password. The field notes were securely stored in similar fashion on my computer and external hard-drive. The note pads for interview transcripts were kept in a filing cabinet at my office that was always locked, while the typed back-up interview transcripts were safely saved on my computer and external hard-drive.

With regard to confidentiality and anonymity, they go hand in hand. Confidentiality refers to providing assurance that the information collected will be used only for research purposes (Summer, 2006, as cited in Jupp, 2006), while anonymity concerns giving assurance that the individual will not be identifiable from the way in which the findings are presented (Miles et al., 2014). While I could guarantee confidentiality, it was difficult to guarantee anonymity. I kept the identity of participants anonymous as none of them was referred to by their real names. Instead, pseudonyms were used where necessary (Murchinson, 2010). Similarly, I used pseudonyms for the venues. As for key informants, I also used pseudonyms for bar owners and operators. Those who were interviewed in their official capacity were not identified by name but only by their

title. In spite of these measures, I acknowledge that key informants were not fully anonymous because in an event that other people within the setting read their case (Creswell, 2014), it would be possible to identify them. As I have indicated above, the fallback protective measure here, lay in upholding confidentiality and privacy.

It is also important to note that I used some visual media, digital photos to be specific, in data collection and reporting considering that image is a powerful medium of communication (Mannay, 2016). However, this raised further issues of privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity (Fisher and Anushko, 2008, as cited in Alasuutari et al., 2008). To address this, the photos were blurred to conceal the identity of the people in the photos, while concerns about revealing place were addressed by getting permission to conduct research from the venues where the images were taken from. Despite these efforts, I acknowledge that anonymity and confidentiality with regard to the people in the photos could not be guaranteed (Mannay, 2016). Hence, here too, privacy protection measures served as a way of atoning for this limitation.

4.9.2. Informed consent

Informed consent requires that prospective participants are provided with all information about the study that would be expected to influence their willingness to participate (Fisher and Anushko, 2008, as cited in Alasuutari et al., 2008). The participant should have the capacity to give consent from the legal point of view and they should be in a position to choose to participate freely without any element of force or deceit (Burgess, 2006). Hence all the participants were informed about the purpose of the study and the activity that they were taking part in as research informants (interviewees). It was also made clear to the participants that their participation in the study was voluntary, hence they were free to withdraw from the interview at any point (Creswell, 2014). This was clearly stated on the participant information sheet which participants were required to read and understand before signing the accompanying consent form.

A matter that had potential to create ‘undue inducement’ was the reward of drinks or the money equivalent to interviewees as it could lure some people into participating. This was ameliorated considering that the number of drinks provided (two) was very minimal and only meant as a

token of appreciation to those who agreed to take part. I argue that participation was non-coercive (Fisher and Anushko, 2008, as cited in Alasuutari et al., 2008) but largely remained voluntary as most participants could afford a drink. The likelihood of being lured into participating was negligible. This can be demonstrated by those who declined to take part in the interviews in spite of knowing about the two drinks. In fact, many did not know about the drinks until the end of the interview.

4.10. Conclusion

I have endeavoured to show the procedures that I employed to enable me give as accurate as possible the picture regarding the nature of Florida Street's empirical world. As I wind up this chapter, I would like to emphasise three points about conducting longitudinal studies like ethnography. The first one concerns the timing of field observations and interviews. It is advisable that once a researcher has sufficiently familiarised themselves with the study site, they should consider commencing other data collection methods especially interviews so that they run concurrently with field observations. This gives the researcher ample time to verify information from interviews with that coming from observation, within the planned period of observation. This can save the researcher among other inconveniences, the trouble of having to re-negotiate entry into the field when field observations are done separately from interviews. Suffice to note that it is imperative to keep open lines of communication up to the end of a study, given that follow ups with study participants and informants are likely to arise in the process of data collection.

The second issue concerns the ethics of confidentiality, privacy and anonymity. As I have shown in this chapter, in practice, it is rare that all three of them can be fully guaranteed. In particular, anonymity can be very elusive considering that it is possible for someone coming from the same social setting to identify an individual or place presented in a report if they came across such information. At best, a researcher can only protect respondents by adhering to the principles of confidentiality and privacy as a safeguard.

Thirdly, literature on ethics largely focuses on study participants. It is silent on issues surrounding the other people that a researcher engages with during research, including research

assistants. I argue that there is need to bring this out in literature on research ethics because there are many issues that a researcher has to navigate in the process of recruitment, relating to terms of engagement, etcetera. A set of standard guidelines on these and other related issues could help avoid some of the difficulties of managing expectations such as those that I ran into.

Chapter 5: The production of nightlife

> With little guidance from those charged with enhancing the physical and economic functions of downtowns, the development of entertainment zones is incremental and unplanned. The self-organizing ecologies of EZs emerge as the product of many individual actors who transform small pieces of the urban landscape without drastic physical interventions or a unifying plan. Yet these independent actors collectively contribute to the larger-scale thematic nature of EZs, creating a coherent cultural geography within a larger and often undistinguished urban context (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 293).

5.1 Introduction

What is described above fits Florida Street considering how the influence of different actors came together in the creation of its ecology. What is missing here from the assemblage perspective is the influence of non-human actors. Also imbedded in the quote above are some elements of piracy and related concepts such as peripheral urbanization given the lack of or the minimal guidance provided by the authorities in its evolution. This chapter is an attempt to craft a theoretical perspective bringing together assemblage thinking and piracy. I argue that the production of a nightlife assemblage, including EZs on the periphery, can occur through nonformal processes within formally instituted ones; wider global, national and regional processes such as neo-liberalism; as well as the influence of locational factors, including easy access and a large population. With regard to locational factors, literature overlooks the potential that the periphery has as a site for vibrant and lively nightlife. Concerning the influence of the neo-liberal agenda, literature tends to focus more on the threat that large commercial and entertainment companies pose to small businesses – as their role in nightlife increases – through possible takeovers (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Nofre et al., 2019; van Liempt, 2015). This ignores the contribution that neoliberalism has made to nightlife through the introduction of new forms of entertainment and by catalysing the spirit of entrepreneurship in nightlife. As for non-formal processes, literature dwells more on formally instituted strategies in the production of

nightlife spearheaded by either national governments or the private sector, to the exclusion of non-formal processes.

The chapter highlights densification of venues – which lay at the centre of Florida Street's revelries – as one of the major outcomes of non-formal processes in the growth of nightlife. I explain this in detail in Chapter 6. I argue that it is to its unplanned nature that Florida Street owed much of its high outlet density and by extension, its vibrant nightlife. This is based on the understanding that the form of urban spaces plays a key role in how a city works and how it is experienced (Neal, 2010). But at the same time, urban form is influenced by the activities and behaviour of various actors who use this space (Lefebvre, 1991).

I examine the interaction between high outlet density, the large population residing in Florida Street's neighbouring localities, easy accessibility, and the influence of neoliberalism and show how these resulted in a vibrant and lively nightlife. I discuss neo-liberalism in the context of processes taking place in the wider society and the impact that they have on nightlife assemblages. From a theoretical viewpoint, a conversation to be had here is how useful assemblage thinking is in terms of such broader (global, national and regional) structural contexts within which elements of an assemblage are situated and operate (Brenner et al., 2011). This is important because one of the major criticisms against assemblage thinking is that it does not sufficiently address structural issues of urbanity (Dovey et al., 2018). It is for this reason that I deploy piracy and peripheral urbanisation in order to address this limitation. Similar to piracy, peripheral urbanisation brings into light the way residents construct their own neighbourhoods transversally in relation to official logics (Caldeira, 2017).

With particular reference to the impact of neoliberalism on Florida Street's nightlife, I build on a growing list of work which understands neoliberalism in assemblage terms including work by Higgins and Larner (2017) who examine neoliberalism through the contingent urban framing of neoliberalism. Whilst acknowledging the political, social and economic change that is associated with neoliberalism, it assesses political, social and economic change as a process which is specific in terms of historical and geographical contexts not in monolithic terms attributed to neoliberalism (Brady, 2014; McGuirk & Dowling, 2009). I begin the chapter by showing how piracy was at the centre of the production of nightlife in Florida Street.

5.2.Transversing the formal logic: the genesis of a nightlife assemblage

It is argued that peripheries are spaces that frequently unsettle official logics such as those relating to legal property, formal labour, state regulation, and market capitalism. While they do so indirectly within these logics, they do so in transversal ways (Caldeira, 2017). Building on scholarship which examines informal urban growth in relation to the assemblage perspective (Draus et al., 2021; Peimani & Kamalipour, 2022), I argue that the growth of Florida Street EZ was a process involving contestation between the formal and informal logics concerning the production of urban space. As indicated already in Chapter 1, Florida Street started as a site and service scheme which was implemented by the Zambian government to relieve the housing backlog for low-income people (Hansen, 1982), and stem the continued growth of squatter settlements. South-east of the street, residential plots were allocated, while commercial plots were allocated north-west of the street. In spite of it being well planned, most of the commercial plots were subdivided by the owners and sold to others resulting in several additions or extensions on the plots often without council approval. It is important to note that the area was not intended to be an entertainment district. Initially, only a few pubs and bars were built out of the 18 commercial plots provided in the initial stages, with the majority being grocery shops. But through subdivisions, many more evening entertainment spots were built. At the time of the study, there were about fifty of them. A retired council official who presided over the development of Florida Street in its early stages as a Field Officer for Lusaka East, Mr. Mataa Ngebe, recounted as we took a walk down the street one afternoon:

> Here, mostly, there were, you know, there were residential plots on one side and commercial plots on the other side. Both started as part of the site and service scheme. The plots were allocated under the Housing Project Unit. On the commercial plots, they have made a lot of extensions. You can see what damage they have done. That time it was quite smart. The plots were quite big. Because they were big, you see even the trading was done properly. The first 18 were all legally allocated by the council. At the time, there was no illegality. As time went by, you know, people started building illegally. Because what was happening somebody like this one will come to the owner and say: "look your plot is too big. Why can't you sell me part of it?" So, the owner will sell. After the owner has sold then that person will start building. When he was noticed that he was

> building illegally, then now you will see he will start pushing to get papers. The plots were big. The standard was 18 by 27 metres. All these (pointing at some shops) were just additions. At the beginning, the buildings were there but one by one. Certain spaces were undeveloped. It is those spaces people would approach owners to buy. You can see even the financial capacity. You can see those that had no money, they were building very small, useless shops. But those ones with the money, built bigger and better structures (Personal communication, 13th January 2024).

This illustrates how the informal emerges and occurs alongside the formal in the growth of cities. The former council official describes it as 'damage' since from the official or formal logic view point, it adulterated city plans or the 'smart way' of doing things as he put it. But to those behind it, it demonstrated a degree of resourcefulness described by Simone (2006, p. 359) in marginalised or "under resourced cities in crisis, where production possibilities are severely limited". This can be interpreted as indication of a disconnect between the systems of government administration with regard to service provision and planning and the everyday lives of the urban population. Whilst "the former had increasingly come under the influence of market and the property industry aligned with urban modernist visions of city governments, the latter survived under conditions of informality and were increasingly marginalised and impoverished, hence benefitted very little" (Watson, 2009, p. 2260). For instance, it is argued that the Lands Act of 1995 of the Laws of Zambia does not adequately provide for procedures for allocation and sale of land, hence certain groups, such as women and the youth, may be excluded from the acquisition of land (Mandhu et al., 2019). This made residents to resort to informal channels of land acquisition.

Whilst the idea of marginalisation holds true in most instances of informality, it is questionable when one considers that some of the individuals who owned plots on Florida Street belonged to the elite class. This can be confirmed from the former council official's remarks when he talks about the financial capacity of plot owners: "You can see those that had no money, they were building very small, useless shops. But those ones with the money, built bigger and better structures" (Personal communication, 13th January 2024). In fact, I discovered that most of the first owners of the commercial plots on Florida Street were either employed by central

government, the council, or they were established businessmen or political party officials. In relation to the early entertainment nightspots, my interlocutor explained:

> There were three nightclubs. One of them belonged to Mrs. Margaret Zulu. Our Lenje woman, the one I used to say, you, my wife.[21] They bought three business plots. The owner of Blue Night was Mr. Mulenga. He worked for National Building Society. There was Mr. Banda who used to own Cold Inn. He was a business man. Now the majority just rent. That time there was no connection. Anyone could get a plot. What was happening at that time was that there was a standard. If you applied for a plot here, then they will ask you if you have met that standard. If the standard was met, then they will allocate you that plot. Then we monitor the development. If it fails, if you fail to construct according to the standard and within the period mentioned, then there was a warning followed by repossession (Personal communication, 13th January 2024).

By 'connection', my interlocutor meant being in a position of privilege based on political influence, wealth and so on, which one could use to acquire a plot. For example, Mrs. Margaret Zulu was the wife to a very senior official in the government and ruling party during the reign of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Zambia's liberation movement from colonial rule. In fact, I gathered that Mrs. Zulu bought one of the plots from my interlocutor's cousin who was also a council employee. Some party and council officials engaged in what could be described as asset stripping at the end of the project by either selling or taking over various items at the council storage facility such as iron sheets (for roofing). I was informed that one of them took over the piece of land where the storage facility was located. This is in agreement with literature regarding political interference as one of the major challenges associated with site and service schemes in Zambia (Bamberger et al., 1982; Hansen, 1982). While focus is largely on housing in most scholarship on site and service schemes, the study focuses on the experiences associated with the commercial aspect of the scheme including those involving night-time entertainment. The involvement of elite classes in informality resonates with Roy's shift in focus

[21] It is common practice for people of the opposite sex belonging to ethnic groups that engage in what is known as tribal cousinship to refer to each other as wife or husband. Among the renowned traditional cousinship in Zambia is between Lozis from the Western Province and Tongas, Ilas and Lenjes.

"from informality represented as a marginalized sector to 'informalization' conceived as a wider economic response to crisis," and that such a process of "informalization" does not happen "outside the state" but, rather, is a "socio-economic restructuring instigated by the state" (Roy, 2012, p. 7).

The findings also demonstrate how informal processes that take place within formal processes, become regularised. This is clear from what Mr. Ngebe describes as 'pushing for papers', meaning seeking legal approval or formalisation, in this case, for the extensions. From Mr. Ngebe's account, this would be granted. Asked why the council allowed it, the Public Relations Officer (PRO) for LCC explained:

> We have to move in as a council and make sure that it is developed to the standard. Regularisations are done where there is illegality because if you look at how that stretch has developed, reversing might not be possible. So, the other option is to move in and regularise which we have done. We are getting rates, we are charging people for licence, business permits. So, what we are doing now is to encourage people to bring their structures to standard (Personal communication, 21 July 2020).

Despite the cited benefits of regularisation, this points to a challenges that local authorities face in managing urban growth. It gives credence to the argument that places of marginality have emerged largely because of state action or inaction in relation to the provision of housing, employment, education and other basic goods and services (Wacquant, 2008). This could be demonstrated by the state of the council field office which lay in ruin, abandoned as can be seen below.



Photo 1: Former LCC field office on Florida Street in ruins

Source: author (13th January 2024)

Among other reasons, this could be attributed to lack of resources on the part of local authorities as earlier alluded to, including manpower and motor vehicles to conduct regular field inspections (Muchindu, 2007). On one hand, the formalisation or regularisation of the extensions demonstrates the possibility of formal planning to tap into informal processes of growth. This resonates with scholarship regarding linkages between the informal and formal sector (Böhme & Thiele, 2014; Ignatuschtschenko, 2017). As Yeo and Heng (2014) argue, unplanned growth is a way through which vibrant cities with sociality are built. Out of the gradual, incremental, 'chaotic' growth, emerge cities with vitality which makes urban life worthwhile. They argue that this is an attribute that is often missing in overly planned cities. Therefore, informality presents an alternative approach to urban development.

This kind of linkage brings to the fore Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome/ tree conception of assemblage which "contrasts the horizontal network connectivity of a rhizomic structure with tree-like systems organized hierarchically into stem and branches" (Dovey & King, 2011, p. 28).[22] At play here is the rhizomic dimension that is spontaneous and blind to the orderly tree like structure of formal planning. On the other hand, I contend that such regularisation has potential to lead to or 'breed contempt' among residents and encourage more informality, including land

[22] Informal urbanism is rhizomic in that it migrates horizontally and emerges within the interstices of a hierarchical city of formality (Dovey & King, 2011, p. 28).

invasion once residents realise that even if they encroach on someone's land, they had a good chance of being granted legal status. In particular, it has been observed that members of the ruling party have almost rendered councils irrelevant over the years by demarcating land parcels illegally (USAID, 2018).[23]

It must be acknowledged that councils did sometimes make an effort to stop unplanned developments, for instance through demolition, which was the recommended course of action where development on land was carried out without formal approval (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2015), but with little success. In the end, they had no choice but to legalise such developments and work their way backwards trying to improve standards, which was often a mammoth undertaking. It is a challenge that already dawned on the African government in the 1960s shortly after independence given the already prominent presence of squatter settlements on the outskirts of Lusaka. After initial attempts to continue the colonial policy of demolition, it was accepted that this was neither feasible nor consistent with the official philosophy of humanism (Bamberger et al., 1982). Consequently, such areas were recognised as improvement areas in the 1970s (Hansen, 1982; Mulenga, 2003). An important issue to note here is the ability of non-state actors or residents to identity land uses with potential to succeed in particular locations. This further buttresses arguments in favour of incorporating informal processes in urban planning as a way of addressing the problems associated with informal growth (Draus et al., 2021; Peimani & Kamalipour, 2022).

Up until the time of the study, informality/ piracy continued in Florida Street hence demonstrating its pervasive nature where its roots are allowed to take hold. Asked what were the major challenges that the council faced in regulating evening entertainment in Florida Street, the PRO for LCC responded:

> Some people want to do illegal things. It breeds illegality. Some people want to trade illegally. For instance, some people want to stock alcohol in vehicles. Sometimes, they

[23] This had been a common mode of development in Lusaka going back to colonial times. The slums of Lusaka where the majority of residents live, initially emerged as unauthorised areas during colonialism, but most have since been recognised as improvement areas under the Improvement Areas Act of 1974 (Mulenga, 2003).

want to hide the items that they are dealing in. Sometimes you go in a shop, but behind there are other things that are sold such as alcohol when they don't even have a liquor license for that matter. Again, it becomes a challenge. That is why as council we want things to be done properly so that if it is a nightclub, there are no people outside. When you go to a nightclub in other places you can't see people outside, everybody is inside the club. But we are seeing a situation where even a small room like my office is being turned into a nightclub, which should not be the case. Because people can't fit, they would rather go buy beer from inside and start dancing outside. So, there is a lot to be done so that that place (Florida Street) is improved (Personal communication, 21st July 2020).

These concerns were true for a number of venues especially the bars surrounding Garage Liquor Store. Several small bars continued to emerge without approval by the council in many instances. The concerns were also true of the extensions done on houses on the other side of the road to create shops and other trading outlets by bringing down part of a fence. As can be observed in the picture below, next to the black gate where two men are standing is a shop (painted orange), while the red structure is a Mobile Money booth.



Photo 2: A section of houses with extensions for business opposite the venues

Source: author (13th January 2024)

Such a manner of growth is in agreement with the existing body of literature specifically examining informality in nightlife (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Charman & Govender, 2020; Hansen, 1982; Leivategija, 2020; Petersen et al., 2014). This includes incremental and unplanned growth involving many individual actors who collectively contribute to the larger-scale thematic nature of EZs with little guidance from the authorities (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 293). While literature focuses on informal processes in venues located in the city centre or in buildings within the vicinity of the centre, Florida Street showcases the influence of informal processes in creating vibrant evening entertainment zones on the periphery.

The pervasive nature of informality/piracy in Florida Street could also be observed through hawking, which was very common at the open-door pubs late in the afternoon and early in the evening. It involved men and women as well as children (both girls and boys) as young as eight years old (see photo 3 and 4 below).





Photo 3: Adult male hawker selling handbags outside a bar with patrons in background (left)

Photo 4: Young girls selling popcorn at night within Garage premises (right)

Source: author (24 October, 2021)

They offered an assortment of merchandise for sale including, food, snacks, clothing, foot ware, art works and so on. Some not so common services such as weight checking, were also on offer.

Occasionally, patrons and staff at the venues called on the hawkers and bought something. However, one had to be careful because some of the items on sell were not in good order. For instance, a shoe being displayed would look intact while the other one stashed away in a bag might be worn out. Out of pity, some patrons would just give the children selling, money without getting anything in return. Most of the hawkers (if not all of them), had no licence or used fake ones (Lusaka Times, October 21 2009). For instance, of those that I spoke with, none of them had a hawker's licence. They did not even know how much it cost to get one, let alone if it was required. Asked whether they encountered any problems with the council due to the lack of licences, one hawker responded:

> Maybe in past but not now. They don't check since there are so many of us. Maybe they check in town but not here (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

When I reminded another one selling second hand underwear, that it was forbidden to sale such merchandise, he responded as he walked away: *"nanga tizadya beve?"* meaning, "are we going to eat them?" (implying the government) (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

On one hand, hawking in Florida Street further suggests the resourcefulness of piracy as can be noted from the various items provided by hawkers for sale. For instance, it provided easy access to various goods, including clothing, shoes and foot wares at relatively low prices thereby enriching the night-time entertainment experience. On the other hand, the involvement of children in hawking at drinking premises, points to the precariousness associated with piracy as well as the challenges the authorities encountered in enforcing the rules pertaining to the operation of evening entertainment venues (an issue which I discuss in detail in Chapter 7). Other than the risk of buying substandard, used undergarments, broken or worn-out items, it exposed young children to an environment that they were not supposed to be part of. According to the Liquor Licensing Act of the Laws of Zambia, children under the age of 18 were not only forbidden from consuming intoxicating liquor in any bar, but they were also not allowed to enter or remain in a bar (ILAB, 2021). Yet child hawkers still roamed drinking places with little or no hindrance in several Florida Street venues at night. Trading without a licence equally posed a risk to consumers as can be observed from the sale of defective goods such as worn-out shoes, or the

sale of second-hand underwear. This is an indication that certain acts of piracy that may be harmful, thrive when they are unabated.

These challenges resonate with the view that informal growth could be a source of several problems (Hadfield, 2015; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; Stren, 2006) hence the need to find ways of managing it (Stren, 2006). Despite the above, scholarship on piracy does not pay much attention to the precariousness or risk that piracy is associated with. Instead, it stresses the ingenuity of urbanites through the informal mechanisms that they employ when formal systems fail to function properly. In the next section, I focus on the hallmark of Florida Street's nightlife – high outlet density. It is one of the major outcomes of self-organising ecologies of EZs (Campo & Ryan, 2008) associated with assemblage and piracy manifested in the evolution of Florida Street. Alongside easy accessibility and a large population as the other key elements of the Florida Street nightlife assemblage, it provided a key ingredient for a vibrant nightlife.

5.3.Unintended consequences: assembling an Entertainment Zone

While literature depicts lively and vibrant nightlife districts as being a product of deliberate and careful planning (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009), I argue that to a large extent Florida Street, arose as an outcome involving the accretion and alignment of three major elements brought into interaction unintentionally or accidentally. These were high outlet density; a large population size; and an easily accessible location. To a large extent, the influence of human action cannot be ignored in this. As Gottdiener et al., (2011, p. 19) have argued, "in their behaviours and interactions with others, people constantly alter existing spatial arrangements and construct new spaces to express their needs and desires". But at the same time, it must be acknowledged that "in spite of such actions, the social forms and spatial arrangement that a particular place evolves into are not 'inscribed' in a pre-existing space. Instead, there are several mediations in terms of the action of groups, knowledge, ideology, representations" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 82) at play, leading to particular forms of urban phenomena. Massey describes such outcomes in spatial form as 'unintended consequences'. As she puts it: "much as the spatial form is socially 'planned' and hence in itself directly socially caused, there is also an element of 'chaos' which is intrinsic to the spatial" (Massey, 2001, p. 266).

5.2.1. High outlet density

It is argued that both the spatial aspects and the social ecologies are pertinent in understanding a city's overall evolution (Quayson, 2014). Here, I show how the physical form or character that nightlife takes is drawn from the people who inhabit it. As I have already indicated, one of the distinctive features of Florida Street was its high outlet density. At this stage of evolution, it could be considered to have developed an independent existence. I argue that in spite of their influence, this is one of the outcomes that Florida Street's architects did not anticipate. "In its evolution, space reaches a stage when it achieves autonomy through the process of exchange and tends to become absolute" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 88). From the eighteen plots at the beginning of the project, the number increased to about fifty at the time of the study. Asked whether the council could not have anticipated this, Mr. Ngebe responded:

> You see, there is (sic) a very heavy increase in the number of businesses. As you see, what used to be one has now been turned into two through extensions and additions. At that material time, the way allocations were done, they were not strictly for bars. They were for groceries, shops, something like that. So, bars like here (points at some venues), there was Blue Night Country Club. And then you see Cold Inn. The rest were just shops for other things. Then, there was the bakery. But what happened was that immediately when the beer business started booming, people changed businesses from groceries to bars. And there was a condition. That if you owned a bar here, you were to have that sound proof. That was one condition. But you see after sometime, these people failed to have sound proof, you know. "Why should we have a sound proof? Let us just be blowing our music just like that. So that when we blow our music, then we are calling people to come" (Personal communication, 13th January 2024).

Mr. Ngebe's sentiments suggest that the high alcohol density was not anticipated by the council. It also suggests that while some measures were taken to minimise the likely negative impacts on resident across the road such as noise pollution through soundproofing, these were not followed through. Furthermore, the authorities were limited in anticipating possible externalities. For instance, Mr. Ngebe only makes reference to noise yet there are several other problems that emerged in due course. These include theft and insecurity. I dwell on these issues in Chapter 7.

Here, I would like to focus on the other aspects associated with high outlet density – its liveliness. As already indicated, Florida Street was lined up with a multitude of evening entertainment spots numbering about fifty from one end of the street to the other. According to one patron,

> from A to point B, there are all bars. Everywhere you go it is a bar. It is because the surrounding areas are compounds, densely populated places. The only thing that you can do to make money here is to open a bar. It is the most entertaining activity (Personal communication, 27th July 2020).

Within many of these venues were several smaller venues which formed a labyrinth of outlets in certain places. This was quite pronounced at Pops, Garage and Fair Deal (See figure 3 and 4). Garage was virtually surrounded by several smaller pubs with a barbershop sandwiched between them on the west wing. Fair Deal had one smaller pub within the premises, while Pops had two smaller semi-open-air pubs on either side of the passage leading to the nightclub.

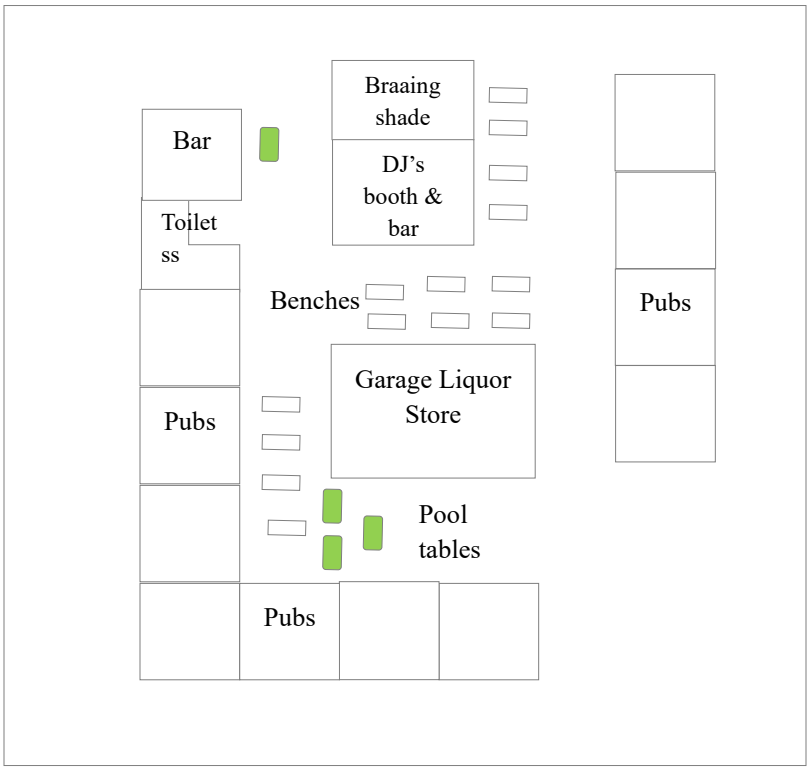


Figure 3: Spatial layout of Garage Liquor Store and surrounding bars

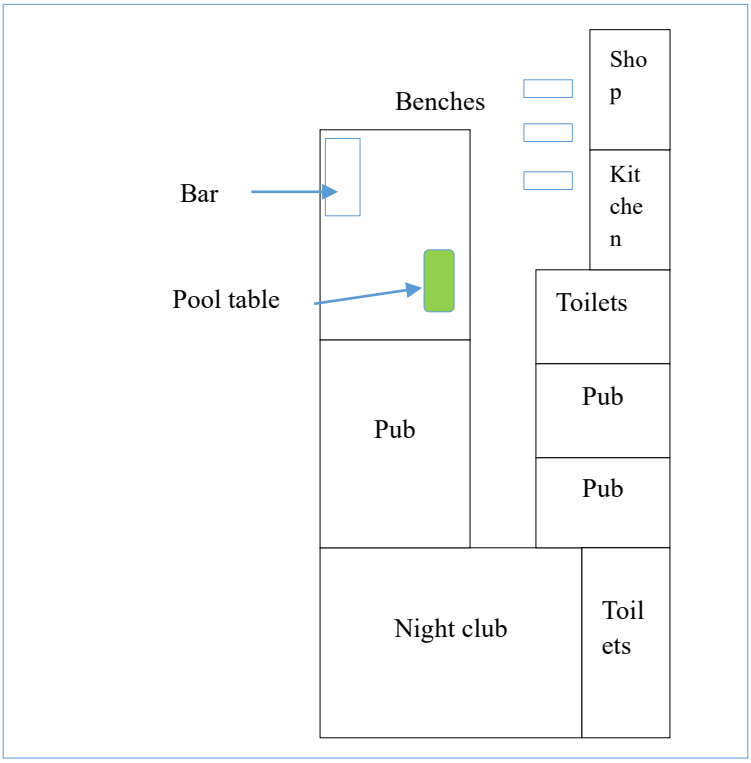


Figure 4: Spatial layout of Pops Nightclub

Florida Street also housed several small businesses of a non-entertainment nature such as restaurants, butcheries, pharmacies, salons, clothing shops, car washes, auto spare shops, and grocery shops. They fed into the nightlife of Florida Street, but they at the same time fed off of it. Whilst recognising the existence of other businesses, it must be noted that by far the majority were evening entertainment venues. Suffice to add that the original plan was not for an evening entertainment district per se, but a place where a range of businesses could transact from as indicated by Mr. Ngebe.

This mirrors scholarship which depicts venues with high outlet density as contributing to the creation of lively and economically successful urban districts (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Nofre et al., 2019; Sebastien Tutenges, 2012). It also agrees with literature concerning the organic and piece-meal manner in which entertainment zones develop as opposed to large-scale design of urban development created through centralised authority or master plans (Campo & Ryan, 2008). The findings build on this scholarship by providing further insights regarding the spatial forms in

which high outlet density manifests itself, including the multiple smaller venues found within the bigger venues of Florida Street.

Also worth interrogating is the impact that outlet density had on nightlife in Florida Street. One patron simply described it as:

> *Chimalila*. There are a lot of people who come to drink from different places. They say that this is where business for bars is. People come here from as far as Livingstone and Ndola. So, if you open a bar here, it is believed that you will succeed. (Personal communication, 26th July 2020).

Chimalila means "it rocks or gets very exciting" in colloquial Nyanja in relation to the ecstatic scenes that were created when many people gathered (See picture 5 below).



Photo 5: Patrons in the south-west section of Garage Liquor Store

Source: author (24 October, 2021)

I dwell on this in detail in Chapter 6. Ndola and Livingstone were cities located in the Copperbelt Province north of Lusaka, and in the Southern Province of Zambia, respectively. This shows how far and wide Florida Street's appeal went. It can be argued that it is partly on account of the high number of pubs and bars in Florida Street that it became such a popular evening entertainment district within Lusaka and beyond. To a certain degree, the high concentration of venues

sometimes led to a rather chaotic atmosphere as was demonstrated by the cacophony of music from different venues surrounding Garage most evenings as they tried to outdo each other to attract patrons. But it also made for a convivial atmosphere. This ties in with the observation that entertainment zones provide a fertile setting for vibrant nightlife well captured by Campo and Ryan: "With its patrons temporarily free from expectations, responsibility and everyday routine, the entertainment zone provides a setting for escape, play, intimate engagement with others and with the urban environment" (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 309).

Other than accommodating multitudes of revellers from the surrounding areas and beyond, the numerous venues also provided patrons different entertainment options depending on their taste. Asked why they frequented Florida Street nightspots, one patron explained:

> I like Fair Deal Pub and Grill because people found there are well behaved, while workers provide good service. The DJ plays good music and there is live music. They play Kalindulua, R and B and oldies. *Mupezeka natuma yo-bally*. I like other places too in Florida Street especially Garage and Motherland. At Garage, beer is cheap but it is too congested. At Motherland I like how they make shisha, especially apple red flavour. I can even schedule my movements, say this time to this time, I'll be at Garage, then Motherland (Personal communication, 29th April 2020).

'Yo-bally' was a term commonly used among low-income groups to refer to the more privileged middle and high-income groups with supposedly more civilised manners. This became a point of attraction at venues frequented by such a class for certain individuals, so was the type of service provided, the type of music, affordability of drinks and so on. Kalindula is a brand of Zambian music. Such options were made possible with the high number of entertainment nightspots on Florida Street. This is in agreement with the socio-spatial perspective of urban form which argues that "much as urban spaces draw their character from the people who create and inhabit them, at the same time, people are conditioned in various ways by the spaces in which they live and work" (Knox & Pinch, 2010, p. 5). Hence using Lefebvre's (1991) idea regarding the production of space, it can be argued that through outlet density, Florida Street achieved autonomy and therefore became absolute. But as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, it never quite became absolute nor quite emancipated itself from activity or use, since it was still heavily influenced by the activities and behaviour of people who used this space (Lefebvre, 1991).

For instance, the lively scenes of excitement that Florida Street was renowned for were dependent on patrons, among other elements, who recreated these scenes day in day out, week in week out on different occasions. Hence, on certain days of the week and occasions, the atmosphere in most venues was dull, but lively on other occasions depending on the size of the crowds present. The findings are also in agreement with work on concentrated night-time entertainment districts or night-time entertainment zones and the impact that they have in creating lively and economically successful urban districts (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Chew, 2009; Nofre et al., 2017). It must be acknowledged that such a lively nightlife was not only peculiar to Florida Street. Other streets in other parts of Lusaka provided similar experiences to different degrees. Take for instance, part of Kasangula Road in Garden Compound; the entertainment nightspots on the street parrel to Manchinchi Road in Chilulu; and several other such setups found around Lusaka. Many of these were situated in quotidian places away from downtown.

In the next section, I turn to the role that easy access and a large population played in the production of Florida Street's nightlife.

5.2.2. Marginalised potential

Here, I argue that in spite of its marginalisation, the periphery has immense potential to contribute to nightlife given its large population. It must be acknowledged that this is not a factor that the architects of Florida Street had under their control, but it is a factor which they were nonetheless, able to exploit to their advantage. Florida Street was located in close proximity to townships with some of the largest populations in Lusaka, including Chaisa and Mandevu. Census data by constituency shows that Matero constituency, where Florida Street belonged, was the fifth largest in Zambia in terms of population with 320,580 inhabitants.[24] Mandevu, south-east, was the second largest constituency with 467,744 inhabitants (Zambia Statistics Agency, 2022).

[24] Census data by township was not available except by constituency.

Table 3: Population size of five biggest constituencies, Zambia 2022

CONSTITUENCY	***POPULATION***
Kanyama	525,902
Mandevu	467,744
Kapiri-Mposhi	371,068
Solwezi Central	332,623
Matero	320,580

Source: Zambia Statistics Agency

The large population provided a ready and big market for nightlife. As one participant observed:

> Most people like to come and drink here, so businesses people are also encouraged to open bars here. The main reason why there are so many bars is people. Most of them are from Matero, Lilanda. Most come here first before going elsewhere (Personal communication, 4th April, 2020).[25]

Another participant echoed this by arguing that,

> it is not even Emmasdale residents who are found in Florida Street, but people from places outside like Matero, Garden, Mandevu and so on (Personal communication, 4th April, 2020).

The above advantage was evident from the crowds of patrons who gathered on weekends and public holidays. For instance, outdoor venues like Garage were a hive of activity beginning in the afternoon. By 6:00 pm, they would be packed. It came in full view on special occasions like Christmas and New Year's Eve when larger numbers of patrons descended on Florida Street to celebrate. The street got so congested that driving was almost impossible and one risked knocking someone down or crushing with the many vehicles parked or trying to negotiate their

[25] Matero is also a name of a township located within Matero constituency. Similarly, Lilanda was a twonship within Matero constituency part of Matero further north-west of the constituency.

way through. On Lumumba Road which lay parallel to and north of Florida Street, crowds poured in ceaselessly from the surrounding neighbourhoods on foot till late into the night. [26]

It must be noted that the majority of the people who resided in the townships mentioned above were low-income groups. This made the patronage in Florida Street's evening entertainment venues quite diverse because, apart from the low-income groups from the surrounding residential areas, it was also accessible to middle and high-income groups from within other parts of Lusaka. This can be noted from the words of a patron who lived in Chelston, a middle-income residential area far east of Lusaka:

> Here (referring to Florida Street) it is not like a place like Chelston where people pretend to be like *bazungu* (white people). Here up to 4 am, people still move around (sic). It is a kind of place where you can continue enjoying even if you are from another place (Personal communication, 8th August 2020).

Bazungu is the Nyanja word for white people which is used to refer to people considered to belong to the more privileged social classes residing in places such as Chelston. It must be noted that Emmasdale, where Florida Street was located was in a similar category as Chelston. But it is in comparison to people coming from places further on the outskirts such as George Compound where living conditions were less favourable, that the term is applied. His observation suggests that Florida Street was also accessible to people of relatively higher class than those from such places. This is crucial as night-time entertainment increasingly becomes the preserve of middle and high-income groups in the increasingly corporatised dominant venues found in the city centre and more affluent suburbs (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002; Lovatt & Connor, 2010).

These findings are in agreement with scholarship regarding the importance of location in business. For instance, it is argued that a retailer is primarily interested in locating his plant at points of maximal demand, that is, as closely as possible to the consumers demanding his commodity (Stahl, 1987). It has been observed that high density offers several advantages to cities including low transportation and infrastructure costs, low environmental impact, and high

[26] Lumumba Road ran parallel to Florida Street was an important route where trucks passed to and from other districts south and north of Zambia (Zambia Daily Mail, 23 November 2018).

income generation abilities (Brooks et al., 2012). Settlements on the periphery have long exhibited potential to be viable locations for business including nightlife-oriented businesses. For instance, in colonial Zambia in the 1930s – then called Northern Rhodesia – markets developed providing services legally unavailable in the employer-controlled native compounds. Chief among these services was the sale of prepared foods, home-brewed beer and sex (Hansen, 1982). To date, the periphery provides a huge market for different products hence it also remains attractive to big companies both local and international.

Hence strategies such as the urban centres development approach by LCC ought to be lauded. This was part of the development strategy for the development of the city of Lusaka through LCC sought to develop competitive urban centres with attractive destinations for entertainment – including nightlife – cultural and educational purposes (MLGH et al., 2009). This challenges dominant scholarship on the urban nightscape biased towards the centre.

In addition to high outlet density, a large population and easy accessibility, the production of nightlife in Florida Street was also boosted by neoliberalism. A process that has had a huge impact on Zambia's political economy since the 1990s.

5.4.Impact of neoliberalism on the production of nightlife

It is argued that neoliberalism has been one of the major driving forces behind the expansion of the night-time economy both in developed and developing countries since the 1980s (Shaw, 2015) leading to among other changes, the commodification of nightlife experience by commercial urban entertainment industries (Bavinton, 2010; Chew, 2009; Farrer, 2011; Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015). In this section, I argue that neoliberalism enhanced the production of nightlife by introducing new elements of consumption/ entertainment and by catalysing the entrepreneurial spirit among venue owners and operators. To compliment assemblage thinking, I deploy the notion of contingent neoliberalism in this section by focusing on the historical and geographical context of Florida Street in particular, and Lusaka in general.

5.4.1. Awakening the spirit of entrepreneurship

It is argued that neoliberalism has contributed to unlocking the entrepreneurial spirit in individuals leading to the growing entrepreneurship culture in Zambia (Choongo et al., 2020). Although the production of nightlife cannot be entirely attributed to neoliberalism, it has played a significant role in enabling the entrepreneurial spirit among venue owners and operators to thrive in an environment that had been restricted for a long time. I build on the contingent urban framing of neoliberalism whereby political, social and economic change is not assessed in monolithic terms attributed to neoliberalism but as a process which is specific in terms of historical and geographical contexts (Brady, 2014; McGuirk & Dowling, 2009).

Since the 1990s, a large part of nightlife in Florida Street and Lusaka in general, has been driven by changes brought about by the introduction of neoliberal policies.[27] From interviews with venue operators and owners, I found that Florida Street had undergone a significant transformation including the proliferation of pubs and bars since the 1990s. It was at the peak of the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPs) in the late 1990s and early 2000s that some of the most popular nightspots in Florida Street's history emerged. This includes Mr. "C" which later became Motherland, and Club Zone. For many of the venue owners, liberalisation gave them an opportunity to venture in various income generating activities unlike before. For some, starting a business was a matter of survival after being laid off or after opting for early retirement as the civil service underwent restructuring and state enterprises closed or were privatised (Madimutsa & Pretorius, 2021). Leonnard Kasautu – one of the earliest people to open a pub where Garage Liquor Store was to stand several years later, narrates some of the changes associated with liberalisation in Lusaka in the 1990s.

> The major difference is that at least from the commandist economy of UNIP and Kaunda, to Chiluba's free market economy and so forth – liberalisation, I think that the remarkable change came when Chiluba and MMD came to power because most restrictions (sic), it opened up for us Zambians. I was old enough, as a youth I lived under Kaunda's time, I

[27] For example, full-scale SAPs were re-introduced in Zambia in 1991 as a way of rebuilding the country's economy which had been in decline since the 1970s. SAPs were initially adopted in 1983 but abandoned midway due to their harsh socio-economic effects (Central Statistical Office, 2003).

> could see my parents and other relatives. So, what I would say is that the difference is that in the liberalised economy under the MMD in the 1990s, 1997, 1998, somewhere there, that was when Zambians opened up. We were able to do any business, we were able to invest and that's how come even myself I started not only a bar but I even started selling cars in the early 1992/1993 after Chiluba liberalised the economy. You see it was a free market economy. At that point, me I am a worker, I was working but because the environment was free and fair, I was able to get money and invest in other businesses. Why? Because of the free-market policies that Chiluba propagated and his MMD government. *Bantu banaseguka, aliyense enze kufuna kuyamba* business (meaning people became awake, everyone wanted to start a business). Yes, we have had challenges here and there but I think that the free-market economy breeds an environment for business. Anyone can invest in any business and this industry (night-time entertainment) actually has grown. Like myself when I started, I had one. But now I can boast of four. Okay, but it has taken many years (Personal communication, 6th July 2022).

Whilst appreciating the influence that the liberalisation of the economy had on businesses, it must be stressed that the entrepreneurial spirit among Lusaka residents already existed. For instance, this can be seen from Mr. Kasautu diversification into other businesses including motor vehicles. In another part of our conversation, he talks about investing in other businesses such as cooking oil amidst the commodity shortages of the 1980s prior to liberalisation. The same can be said of several other venue operators or owners on Florida Street who were already doing business before the peak of the implementation of the neoliberal agenda in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In fact, it has been argued that by 1968, the idea of fast tracking the development of Zambian enterprise had already been hatched through the Mulungushi Reforms.[28] But the major hindrance to the growth of Zambian enterprise were policy inconsistencies by the government at the time. Whilst seeking to grow local entrepreneurship, the government adopted a strong anti-capitalist approach which discouraged private enterprise. For instance, it implemented a policy known as the leadership code, which forbade government officials to invest their savings in private businesses (Sardanis, 2014). This ties in with the contingent neoliberalism approach as

[28] Mulungushi Reforms initiated in April 1968, marked the beginning of nationalisation in Zambia. Through these reforms, the government of Zambia declared its intention to acquire an equity holding (usually 51 percent or more) in a number of key foreign-owned firms (Saasa, 1996).

well as literature opposed to the narrative which presents neoliberalism as a pervasive factor of change in many cities with little consideration of prevailing circumstances in driving that change (McGuirk & Dowling, 2009).

Notwithstanding the above, the impact that neoliberalism had on Lusaka's political economy and nightlife in particular cannot be denied. This is well captured in the phrase *'bantu banaseguka'* above by Mr. Kasautu. It is as if, people awoke from the slumber of the command economy made possible by the relaxed business environment occasioned by a free market economy. As observed by Sardanis (2014), one of the major benefits of neoliberalism in Zambia is that it opened up business opportunities to a large number of Zambian entrepreneurs to trade in a range of merchandise such as clothing, household goods, spare parts for motor vehicles, electronics, builder's hardware and plumbing materials. Many entrepreneurs started out with small shops and business premises which expanded with time. These findings add to scholarship regarding the impact of neoliberalism on entrepreneurship by bringing in the nightlife dimension which is silent in literature.

Apart from boosting entrepreneurship, neoliberalism also substantially transformed nightlife through the introduction of various entertainment elements into the nightlife assemblage.

5.4.2. Enriching nightlife

It is argued that among the changes influenced by neoliberalism has been the commodification of nightlife experience by commercial urban entertainment industries (Chew, 2009; Farrer, 2011; Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015). In Florida Street, neoliberalism generally enriched nightlife through the introduction of new entertainment elements including various alcoholic beverages. The president of BANCOAZ who was also a night-time entertainment venue owner (but outside Florida Street) explained:

> UNIP was not very good for business because one: the economy performed very poorly and badly. Shortages were not only in beer but almost all essential commodities. You and me were there that time. I remember, so that environment was not for business. Let's be very realistic as Zambians. Trust me I don't think that even you my brother can run

> business when the country is experiencing huge shortages of essential commodities. That is not an environment for business. But when MMD came and liberalised the economy, opened the market, Zambia became a global village. We were able you and me now to import even Savannah from South Africa, we were able to import Windhoek from Namibia you know, unlike those days when there were shortages. If you want to order Mosi, trust me it was not easy. You know. So now, there are so many players. So many players. Because sometimes even South African Breweries, they have supplied Zambia. Remember at one time when Zambia Breweries shut their plant here, some of the things were being brewed in South Africa (Personal communication, 2nd January 2024).

Savannah is a cider manufactured in South Africa, while Windhoek is a Namibian lager. Both brews are very popular among Zambian patrons. Mosi is a Zambian lager. As I have already indicated, UNIP was the first indigenous party to form government after the end of British colonial rule in Zambia. Apart from the restrictions that it imposed on civil servants with regard to running private businesses, UNIP's final years in power were characterised by serious economic challenges resulting in among other problems, shortages of essential commodities. These shortages extended to alcoholic beverages, hence significantly impacting nightlife. For the large part, UNIP ran a command economy whereby imports of various items, including alcohol were heavily restricted. Consequently, when the economy was liberalised after change of government in 1991, there was a remarkable transformation with regard to the availability of different items on the Zambian market, including alcohol. Zambian patrons were introduced to an assortment of wines, brandies, whiskies, gins and other alcoholic beverages on a scale not witnessed before. One of the major developments that ran in tandem with these changes was the privatisation of Zambia Breweries – a key player in Zambia's night-time economy – to South African Breweries. This facilitated the introduction of other new brands of alcoholic beverages on the market such as Castle. The introduction of new alcoholic beverages went hand-in-hand with enhanced branding campaigns which continued up to the time of data collection. Hence, one found that most venues were branded in some of the popular beverages including the red and white colours of Budweiser Lager; blue, white and green of Castle Lite; and the green and red

colours of Mosi Lager.[29] Also evident, was branding by betting companies such as Betway and Bola Bet.

The findings above are consistent with literature regarding the observed resurgence in the night-time economy in several African countries when they opened up their markets to foreign investments in the 1990s as part of their reform programmes (Collins, 2006; Shaw, 2015). The findings also resonate with one of the dominant narratives on nightlife concerning the influence of transnational alcohol companies and entertainment companies in the production of nightlife in the 21st century (Dumbili, 2016; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015). A conversation which arises here concerns the threat that large commercial and entertainment companies pose to small businesses through possible takeovers (Nofre et al., 2019; van Liempt, 2015) as well as an increasingly standardised nightlife experience that has potential to exclude low-income groups (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). In spite of the influence of evening entertainment corporations on these small independently owned evening entertainment venues, the findings suggest that the influence was more complementary than hostile since the venues still remained under the control and ownership of small local independent businesses.

Another difference is that while literature focuses on the increasing role of large entertainment corporations in providing upmarket venues especially in the centre of the city (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Nofre et al., 2017), the findings shed light on the influence of such corporations on smaller venues on the periphery. The findings are also contrary to scholarship which depicts night-time entertainment venues as having become increasingly inaccessible to low-income groups the more they became 'corporatised' (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002). Instead, such venues remained accessible to different social groups in Florida Street including low-income groups. As shown in the section above, access to such groups was aided by Florida Street's location on the outskirts of Lusaka, home to the majority of low-income groups.

The introduction of new entertainment elements to nightlife could also be observed through new games and satellite TV, music equipment and accessories which became more accessible after the liberalisation of the economy. Music equipment became more accessible, so was music by

[29] Although, Mosi is a Zambian lager, it has essentially become a product of the foreign company that currently owns Zambian Breweries.

popular artists through cassettes and CDs, including pirated copies that flooded the Zambian market after the liberalisation of the economy. Mr. "C", the owner of Motherland recounted the difficulty of accessing entertainment equipment and accessories prior to the liberalisation of Zambia's economy:

> Even music equipment, it was very difficult. All of us were confined to ITT in Livingstone. But the moment FJT came, me am one of those that imported music equipment from Germany, South Africa, from UK because I was able to go anywhere in the world to do business, travelling personally myself to South Africa to go and bring equipment there. And even right now the equipment that I have, they are so powerful. Now there is even China, you can get equipment from China. Even furniture to put in our bars, you can order them from China. To open a bar, if I want, I can get everything starting from the light, from the counter, I can get them from South Africa (Personal communication, 14th January 2024).

ITT Supersonic (in full), was a supplier of entertainment equipment such as radio players and radiograms in the 1960s in Zambia with an assembly factory in the town of Livingstone. Mr. C's remarks sort of ridiculed ITT music systems as they could not match the more sophisticated and powerful equipment that became accessible once the Zambian market was opened up by FJT (standing for Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba as Zambia's second president is fondly referred to). Only a privileged few who were able to travel abroad at the time, could access other music equipment.

As I show in more detail in Chapter 5, music formed a large part of the nightlife experience for many patrons hence they frequented those nightspots with good music systems and also where the music played was to their taste. The graph below shows that music topped as the major reason patrons liked venues like Garage, Pops, Motherland and Fair Deal.

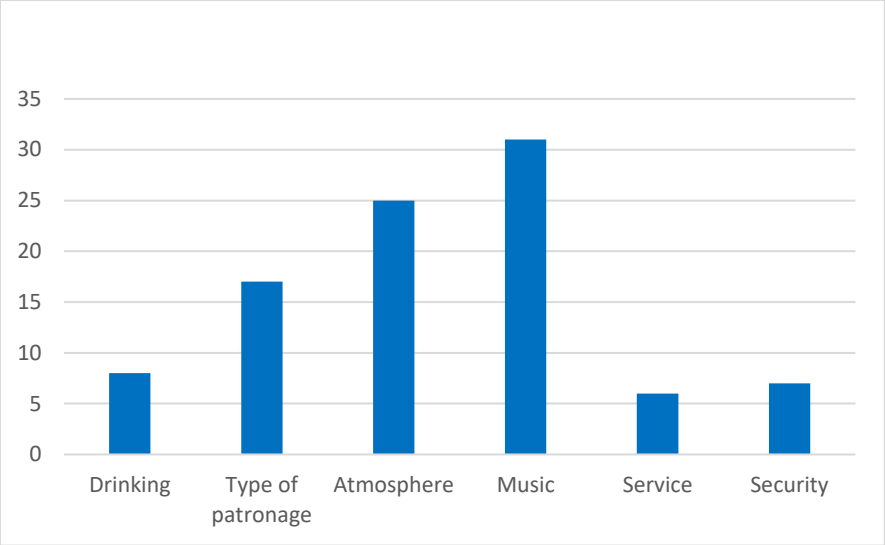


Figure 5: participants' responses on why they frequented certain venues

This resonates with scholarship concerning the significance of music to urban nightlife (Nofre et al., 2019). The findings are also consistent with literature concerning policy interventions aimed at promoting music in an effort to develop the night-time economy (Homan, 2017). The findings add to this scholarship by demonstrating how the neoliberal agenda has boosted the music industry and by extension, nightlife. Also important to note is that types of entertainment like pool and European football, became popular in Lusaka after the liberalisation of the Zambian economy. Before, mini soccer was more popular. During my field observations, I noticed that almost every venue had a pool table where patrons spent long hours playing whilst chatting and drinking. In some cases, even when the focus for the majority of the people was on something else like a football match on TV, or a band playing music, those playing pool seemed detached and engrossed in their game. The coming of MultiChoice in Zambia in 1994 made European football more popular as it became possible for fans to watch matches featuring popular European clubs easily unlike before. It also became easy for fans to watch their favourite local clubs on TV after the introduction of live matches featuring Zambian clubs on Super Sport in 2010. For the majority of these fans especially in the outskirts of the city, pubs and bars were among the few places where they could access satellite TV and watch these matches. Among other reasons, this was due to the high cost of subscription for satellite pay TV. For example, a subscription fee of K450 in 2022 (about $26) for the 'Compact' package (third from premier

package) was beyond what the majority of households in Lusaka, could afford. Consequently, pubs and bars that subscribed to satellite TV often attracted big crowds on match days involving big European football clubs as can be observed in the photo below.



Photo 6: Fans watching a football match on TV between Manchester United and Liverpool at Garage

Source: author (24th October, 2021)

These findings are consistent with literature recognising the existence of different forms of popular sport participation in the night-time economy such as swimming, golf, cycling, and bowling (Palmer, 2021). I build on this scholarship by showing how neoliberalism contributed to the expansion of nightlife through the introduction of hitherto uncommon types of entertainment like pool and satellite TV in evening entertainment venues in a city like Lusaka.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that a theoretical framework that combines assemblage thinking and piracy in explaining the production of nightlife is a viable undertaking. Thus, vibrant EZs emerge largely through the coalescing of various human and non-human elements involving formally instituted processes occasioned by piracy. While this can occur in response to

marginalisation in an environment where formal processes are not accessible to residents, the involvement of the elite such as government and senior members of the ruling political class in the acquisition of commercial plots in Florida Street, suggests that piracy is not always in response to marginalisation, but it is a process that is also instigated by the state (Roy, 2012). It is a demonstration of the constant opposition to formal processes of urban growth that the authorities have to grapple with. Given the difficulty of reversing such development once it becomes established, local authorities are left with little or no option but to legalise or regularize them and work their way backwards in trying to improve standards. This is an undertaking which can be very challenging.

On one hand, the formalisation or regularisation of the informal extensions in Florida Street demonstrates the possibility of formal planning tapping into informal processes of growth. But without a strong governance system, such a model has potential to breed contempt and encourage further informality. Hence, in Florida Street, informality remained pervasive as could be observed from the continued extension or expansion of venues without approval by the council; hawking; and other 'illegal' or informal activities. The chapter confirms much of the available scholarship on informality in nightlife especially growth through incremental and unplanned growth with little guidance from the authorities resulting in large EZs (Campo & Ryan, 2008). It builds on this scholarship by highlighting the pervasive nature of informality and the precariousness of some of the activities that it is associated with as can be observed from the poor sanitation in some of the venues, the involvement of children in hawking in pubs and bars, and the sale defective or banned items by hawkers. This is different from the depiction of piracy in literature as being ingenuous and resourceful (Simone, 2006) in a context of marginalisation (Wacquant, 2008).

Regarding the spatial form of nightlife (high outlet density), and its social form (lively nightlife), they are features which can emerge as unintended consequences through the accretion and alignment of certain features including a large population size and an easily accessible location. Hence, whilst acknowledging that those behind the construction of Florida Street had an idea or vision of what they desired Florida Street to be when setting up their venues, they could not have anticipated the social and spatial form that it eventually took on. This shows that in spite of its

marginalisation, the periphery has immense potential to contribute to nightlife given some of its characteristics especially a large population in the context of cities of the developing world like Lusaka. This is in agreement with scholarship highlighting the existence of nightlife on the periphery (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002) and the positioning of nightlife as one of the strategies for local development on the periphery (Lorentzen, 2013), and as a way of – among other reasons – addressing inequalities that are prevalent in most cities (Gwiazdzinski, 2015; Picaud, 2019). Yet literature overlooks this potential especially in the context of cities of the Global South where the majority of the urban population reside on the periphery.

Furthermore, the chapter suggests that in light of the impact of neoliberalism on the production of nightlife, contingent neoliberalism – within the larger framework of assemblage thinking – provides a nuanced understanding regarding the introduction of new elements of consumption/ night-time entertainment and their impact in terms of nightlife vibrancy. In Florida Street, this could be observed from the introduction of pool, satellite TV, music equipment and accessories, and various alcoholic beverages, as well as the catalysation of the entrepreneurial spirit among venue owners and operators.

These findings are consistent with literature regarding the observed resurgence in the night-time economy in several African countries after opening up their markets to foreign investments in the 1990s as part of their reform programmes (Collins, 2006; Shaw, 2015). The findings also resonate with scholarship concerning the influence of transnational alcohol companies and entertainment companies in the production of nightlife in the 21st century (Dumbili, 2016; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015). What is different is that while available scholarship perceives neoliberalism to be a threat to small businesses through the increased involvement of large entertainment corporations (Nofre et al., 2019; van Liempt, 2015), the findings suggest that their influence can be complementary as can be observed in Florida Street where venues still remained under the control and ownership of local small independent business owners. It is also contrary to scholarship which depicts night-time entertainment venues as becoming increasingly inaccessible to low-income groups, the more they became corporatised. Instead, such venues remained accessible to different social groups in Florida Street including low-income groups.

Chapter 6: Sociality in Evening Entertainment Zones

> Nightlife environments are "affectively charged" and… individuals connect with, tap into, and contribute to these affects through their use of substances, bodily movements, and interactions with human and nonhuman actors. The "buzz" and "high" that many people experience in nightlife… stem from a complex assemblage of situational factors, including smells, temperature, lighting, music, decor, crowd density, emotional circulation, and performative practices, as well as patterns of substance use (Tutenges, 2012, p. 133).

6.1. Introduction: the creation of sociality in nightlife

The above epigraph points to the usefulness of assemblage thinking in understanding the creation of sociality in nightlife. Literature attributes sociality or the pleasure and fun that is experienced in nightlife to the fact that people relate differently to each other at night given the more relaxed and permissive social atmosphere provided (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; van Liempt et al., 2015). But it does not sufficiently address the factors which account for the relaxed and permissive atmosphere experienced in nightlife. In fact, a substantial body of literature perceives people on a night out as hotbeds of division and conflict on the basis of race, class (May, 2015; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009) and other related factors. Whilst I acknowledge that conflict between groups is common in nightlife, I argue that playgroups are the hallmark of sociality in nightlife based on interactions among people who know each other and norms concerning appropriate behaviour within venues, and the larger society. By playgroups, I refer to groups that hang out together during an evening out. To a large extent, nightlife is consumed in such groups consisting of friends or close relations, thereby creating a cordial atmosphere within the group. Outside the group, interaction with others is guarded but it still remains civil since it is bound by the norms that apply within the venues regarding what is considered appropriate behaviour, as well as the norms that apply to the larger society.

As in the previous chapter, much attention in this chapter is devoted to the interaction or co-functioning of elements of a nightlife assemblage with focus in this instance, on how they create sociality in nightlife. Other than the impact that the number of patrons present at a given time

has, the chapter also focuses on music and the DJ, alcohol and other drugs and sport, and their impact on sociality in nightlife. I argue that depending on the interaction among these elements, sociality in nightlife varies in form and degree of conviviality at different times of the evening, and on different occasions in a rhythmic and repetitive fashion. From the subdued, low-key atmosphere at the beginning of the week, to an ecstatic and raucous climax at the weekend or public holidays.

Of particular interest are the forms of sociality created through the influence of different elements of the entertainment assemblage particularly live music, compared to those created through recorded music, and sports events (for example, big football fixtures followed on satellite TV). Equally of interest is the rhythmic pattern that these forms of sociality manifest in relation to the gradual manner in which they build up; the excitement which they generate among participants in the course of the evening; the celebratory levels that they reach at their peak or crescendo; and the eventual dispersion of participants at the end of an evening, a football match or a live music performance.

The chapter starts by explaining how social norms and the practice of hanging out with acquaintances, contributes to the civil and friendly atmosphere that obtains in EZs.

6.2.Civility in nightlife

6.2.1. Sociality within playgroups

Although nightlife is depicted as being characterised by division and conflict between groups (May, 2015), it is largely an affectual experience in which people from different backgrounds socialise. Building on the growing body of scholarship which depicts nightlife as a pleasurable (Bavinton, 2010; Jensen & Hunt, 2020; Nofre, 2020; Tutenges, 2012) and sociable experience (Thurnell-Read, 2021), I argue that interaction among patrons consuming nightlife in EZs is largely cordial and civil because a good number of patrons hang out with those they already know. In Florida Street, a few patrons would drink by themselves, but the majority sat in groups of about two to five comprising both male and female, drinking, chatting, and dancing. Groups

of men only or women only were also common. On cold nights in winter, some of them sat around a brazier as they drank and chatted. The majority of patrons were in their twenties and thirties. Often, there was excited chatter, hi-fives, hugs and kisses when patrons met at a venue. An indication that they knew each other from prior interaction. Others preferred to drink and chat from the comfort of their vehicles either with their partner (for couples) or friends.

Some patrons would pack their tables with bottles of alcohol creating what was known as a 'black table'. Many would also order shisha or e-cigarettes in the course of the evening and take turns puffing at the pipes. As they did, the smell of cigarette smoke filled the air leaving a sweet scent of different flavours, sometimes laced with the smell of cannabis. On several occasions, I noticed some patrons take to the dance floor and dance wildly after taking several puffs of shisha. I discuss the implication of cannabis smoking in the next chapter considering that smoking or being in possession of cannabis was prohibited by law in Zambia. As for vaping, it was not prohibited but its effects remained a source of concern and a subject of debate among the public and the authorities (Lusaka Times, July 7 2019).

By the time the pubs were closing, some patrons would be so drunk that they could barely walk without assistance.[30] As they left and parted company, they bid each other farewell: *"Tizaonana!"* (meaning 'see you' in Chinyanja)! This was an indication that the concerned patrons were to meet again. Interview data confirms that the majority of the participants rarely went out for an evening by themselves, but hang out with friends, their partners or close relations. This was confirmed by one participant who was a bar tender at one of the bars called COMESA when he was asked who he hang out with.

> With my friends (pointing at a lady and a gentleman who are seated on the next bench). They are work mates. Others are not here. *Elo mailo tiyenda ku church kuseni.* (In fact, we are going to church tomorrow in the morning). We worship together at Matero Parish. We are used to drinking in peace, so when we go out, that is how we drink. We just sit down, go to the counter, get our beers. We don't do violence us when we go out. Just dancing (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

[30] It was possible to observe patrons up close during the week when there were few people at most venues.

The fact that this gentleman and his mates worked for the same bar and also went to church together is an indication of how close the relations within playgroups can be. Also worth noting is the emphasis on drinking in peace and avoiding trouble. I return to this point in the section below. These findings resonate with scholarship which suggests that pubs offer a space where socially meaningful interaction takes place among regular patrons who know each other (Thurnell-Read, 2020). This also agrees with literature concerning the tendency by patrons to socialise with members of their own social group on the basis of race, class and so on (May, 2015; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). The findings are also consistent with literature regarding the contribution of alcohol in enabling patrons build new friendships and strengthening existing social bonds (Conroy & Measham, 2019; Jensen & Hunt, 2020; Tutenges, 2012) despite the several problems that it is associated with (Bøhling, 2014; Di Ronco, 2016; Feltmann et al., 2021; Haydock, 2016; Porthé et al., 2021). This includes the observed social nature of vaping among friends in bars or other nightlife venues, leading to increased bonding in groups of consumers (Giovenco et al., 2021; Hardon & Hymans, 2016). For instance, the black table ritual was a demonstration of friendship on the part of the buyer which also enhanced his or her status (Bryceson, 2002).

I argue that sociality in nightlife is extended to friends outside evening entertainment venues through social media and social networking sites (Ridout, 2019). In Florida Street, it was common for patrons, women in particular, to take selfies or record videos of themselves dancing or capture something happening around the venue like a band performing. Thereafter, some of them – as I witnessed one evening at Motherland from a lady who had been dancing not far from where I was seated – would open a social media application especially WhatsApp, and share with their contacts on the phone. This can be understood as an extension of a conscious creation and presentation of the self that takes place in nightlife (Goodwin and Lyon in Conroy & Measham, 2019; Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Mbogo, 2019; Ridout in Conroy & Measham, 2019; Tokle & Pedersen, 2019) through various practices including dressing, the type of beverages one consumes, the car one drives etcetera. It suggests that while the constitution and interaction of assemblage elements occurs within a given geographical space, its influence goes far beyond the place of interaction.

6.2.2. *Sociality outside the play group*

Within evening entertainment venues, sociality is extended to those outside the playgroup through civil interaction among members and the norms that applied within evening entertainment venues regarding appropriate behaviour. Hence, in Florida Street, while patrons tended to keep to themselves and their group, they generally remained civil and courteous with those outside their group. For instance, even when they bumped into each other, they carried on with their business as though nothing had happened. They made room for others to pass or to have a clearer view of the TV or performers on stage during a live music show; or made room for others to sit with them on a bench. Some could also chat with a stranger freely over a matter of common interest like football, be it momentarily, or offer a cigarette lighter to a stranger. In fact, some patrons were generous enough to share a snack or beer with a stranger. One Saturday evening at Motherland, a gentleman seated at the table next to me and a colleague who is accompanying me for the night's observations, comes with four bottles of Mosi and shares with us.[31] Moments later, he staggers back with some chips, a sausage and a piece of chicken which he also offers us. We reluctantly oblige and nibble at the meat. This was quite unusual hence our reluctance to eat, but it demonstrates the space for comradery made possible through interaction across playgroups in nightlife.

The observed civility with people outside one's play group was confirmed by several participants when asked whether they interacted with the people that they met in night-time entertainment venues. For example, one man who was a regular at Pops confirmed:

> Sometimes I go alone but I'm usually with friends. I rarely interact with people I don't know, but it depends. As you get drank, you become social and chat easily especially with ladies. In the process, you exchange ideas and numbers (Personal communication, 8th April 2020).

As shown here, it was possible to make friends from such interaction. By numbers, the respondent is referring to phone number. An indication of continued interaction beyond the

[31] Mosi is a popular Zambian lager produced by Zambia Breweries.

evening entertainment venue. In fact, many playgroups were formed through such interaction. One participant attested to this when asked how he related with those he did not know:

> It varies. For some people, even just looking at them can become an issue. Then, there are those, maybe you meet a number of times, and then you become friends. Like you have come here today you (referring to me) have found us. When you come again next time, you will be like: "guys how are you?" That's it, you click and start talking. That's how it is. Like some of my friends I mingle with, that is how I met them. From here (referring to Pops nightclub) (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

Box 1: Civility under test

The degree of civility in Florida Street's evening entertainment venues could be best demonstrated by the manner in which patrons and staff at Garage interacted with a gentleman in his mid-thirties who moved in a wheelchair by the name of Richard. Often, Richard tended to be a nuisance. For instance, he was fond of making advances on ladies including those accompanied by their partners. In spite of such behaviour, many patrons usually tolerated or simply ignored him. One Sunday, he approaches a woman and wraps his arms around her legs. She bends over slightly and also embraces him. When she tries to move way, Richard does not let go until one man standing nearby comes to her 'rescue'. Some patrons were not so tolerant though. One Monday night, a man in his late-twenties smacks Richard in the head for no apparent reason. Richard protests helplessly and moves away. Such instances were rare though.

In Zambian society, persons with disability are among the most disadvantaged population. They are discriminated against and stigmatised, hence hindering their ability to freely interact with their able-bodied counterparts in various social circles (ZAPD, 2017) including nightlife. For a person with Richard's kind of disability to interact with such a degree of freedom, and even get away with what would otherwise be considered deviant behaviour, suggests a high degree of civility.

This kind of civility is akin to Elias Nobert's notion of 'civilizing process', which he observes in European societies. It refers to gradual changes in expectations of people's interpersonal conduct as well as the way they approached their own bodily functions and emotions (Krieken, 1998). In fact, as shown from the quote by the COMESA participant and his workmates cum church mates, many patrons were wary of the potential dangers of going out at night. Hence, they avoided places that were considered to be trouble spots (Mekinc et al., 2017; Winlow et al., 2003).

As indicated already, sociality can also be extended outside the play group during an evening out through sexual pursuits. In Florida Street, while sexual liaisons seemed to be between people who were already in a relationship, others were entered into after brief negotiations between apparently total strangers. This was possible with the many unaccompanied young ladies and young men at the venues. For instance, at Pops nightclub, many girls stood like sentries on guard duty at strategic points in the shadows along the passage leading to the nightclub in hopes of 'way-laying' a potential partner. For many participants, male and female alike, the possibility of hooking up during an evening out was something that they were open to. As one male patron in his mid-twenties put it when asked whether he ever got intimate with a lady during a night out:

> Yes, but not that much. The fear is that you may pick someone's woman when the partner is there and start a fight. You start by trying to know a person, you try to befriend her bit by bit. *Upeza nabine yapita. Ndi ija olo ka* beer *uzapeza wakamwa olo uzafika ulina* mentality *inango ati* let me go and drink. *Manje ka* beer *kazangenamo. Ma* emotions *yenango manje yabwelamo*. Aaah! let me do this. *Pa* first maybe *umvela nsoni wachayako* two, three drinks, *ka* motivation, *ka* courage *kaja, tunsoni twachokamo* (You will find that the business has succeeded. You might not have intended to, but as the alcohol takes effect, emotions come in and you are not shy anymore. Courage sets in) (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

Similarly, a female participant observed:

> Fair Deal has people who are well behaved. There you can dance, drink and even find *'intantiko'* (she chuckles) to buy you a drink. If they like you, you exchange numbers (Personal communication, 29 April, 2020).

Intantiko refers to merchandise displayed for sale, in colloquial Bemba, one of the major local languages in Zambia. In short, it means business. Here, the lady likens finding a man to some kind of business, implying sex for cash. Similarly, *bine* which the lady above refers to, is a term used to refer to business. This implies that as one got drunk, there was a possibility to transact in the business of a sexual nature. While it was usually the men who made advances first, some ladies were not shy to make the first move, either directly or through an emissary. *"Imwe, lekeni myebe chachishinka. Sister wandi namitemwa*". (Sir, let me be honest with you. My sister has liked you). A lady opens up to me as I approach the bar to get a beer, one night at Fair Deal. Out of politeness, I buy her a drink and retreat to my table where I am seated with two colleagues.

The possibilities of sexual encounters were not lost on many, including the lead vocalist for 'Ngoma Zasu' who remarks one evening: *"Muno nimu* game park*, nyama zidyana zeka-zeka, wako nikunyumba"!* (This is a game park, animals feed off each other, your partner only belongs to you at home).[32] On another occasion, the DJ at Fair Deal remarks: *"Bena bazankala namavumo lelo!"* (Some people will fall pregnant tonight)! "But remember our bars are stocked with condoms". This confirms what has been documented in literature that entertainment zones are sexual marketplaces for singles seeking casual encounters with potential romantic partners (Farrer, 2011; Grazian, 2008). It also confirms the observed pleasures of sexual experiences in nightlife including "casual sex" or "hook-ups" (Jensen & Hunt, 2020, pp. 1–2), one-night-stands (Pedersen et al., 2017) and other practices associated with sexual experiences in nightlife (Jensen and Hunt, 2020). The findings build on this scholarship by linking the pursuit of sexual pleasures to sociality.

Sociality was also influenced by venue rules concerning acceptable behaviour. Asked whether there were any rules to guide the conduct of patrons at Fair Deal, the manager confirmed:

> Yes. One: *kaili* we have CCTV cameras, so *sitimafuna vija machongo-chongo, chani chani. Vokuba-kuba, vopwanya-pwanya*. (Yes, you know, we do not want noise, theft, and breaking of any stuff). You are not allowed to carry a glass or bottle on the dance floor. So, people here, once they come *banaziba apa pafunika che* peace *chabe* (they know that here, there must be peace). Peace and order. Ma rules *yenango* (other rules), you don't

[32] Ngoma Zasu was one of the bands that played live music at Fair Deal Pub and Grill

> smoke inside. So, our clients know. Most of them *bambili bamaziba* unless maybe he is new. We even go and report at Matero police, and if necessary, come with the police. In fact, some police officers drink from here. They also patrol like around 21:00 hours, 22:00 hours, 23:00 hours. We also have G4S to handle difficult situations like violence. They are on rapid response (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

G4S is a name of a private security company providing services at some of the venues in Florida Street. As explained by the manager, patrons complied with the rules to a large extent, leading to an orderly and peaceful atmosphere. In fact, many made an effort to stay out of trouble as shown in the earlier quote. In spite of this, transgressions and conflicts did occur especially when venues were packed at weekends. These were often in the form of verbal arguments over minor infractions such as spilt beer or men arguing over a girl. In many cases, such conflicts were resolved peacefully. However, some of the conflicts easily turned violent. Also, while many simply ignored minor inconveniences like being accidentally bumped into, others were not so tolerant and easily took offence, leading to fights in some cases. Similarly, while some patrons would make room to a stranger to sit with them, others were not so welcoming especially if they were in a group. In fact, they would seek to displace others from a table or bench. One participant admitted to having been very intolerant in the past.

> *Nenze wandewo kudala. Sinenze kufuna muntu kunibunka ninshi ndewo yayamba*. (I used to pick fights easily. I never took kindly to anyone bumping into me. That would lead to a fight). In fact, bumping into others is one of the sources of conflict. Many people don't like that. In the process of bumping into you, they snatch your phone or wallet. Some people do it on purpose. Sometimes, you may be having a good time and someone spoils it for you. They just bump into you. Maybe they spill your beer but go on to insult you instead of saying sorry. So, out of frustration, a fight starts. When you try to complain they will harass you if they suspect that you have money. His friends will pretend to be stopping the fight, yet they are getting your stuff. By the time the fracas is over, your stuff would be gone and they would also have disappeared (Personal communication, 29 March 2024).

The excerpt above suggests that while some patrons bumped into others accidentally, others did it deliberately as a ploy to create confusion and pickpocket their target. Hence it is justified why some patrons reacted in a hostile manner when they were bumped into, whether it was by accident or deliberate, as one could not tell.

In some venues, venue security or bouncers were hired to enforce venue rules. Hence, when conflicts occurred, bouncers intervened. For example, one Saturday around 4:00 am at Motherland, there is a scuffle between two men at the entrance. One of the bouncers advances towards a man dressed in a red t-shirt, and with one slap, he brings him to the ground. The bouncer then walks back to the security check point to join his fellow bouncers. Apparently, the man in the red t-shirt had uttered some offensive remarks at one of the bouncers during the altercation. What is particularly interesting in this case is the ability of the bouncer to use violence to enforce venue rules. Under normal circumstances, such force could easily pass for physical assault. But in the night-time leisure space, it was an acceptable form of sanction meted out by bouncers against those who engaged in disorderly conduct. This confirms literature regarding the privileged status which bouncers enjoy (Winlow et al., 2003) when it comes to enforcing rules in evening entertainment spots (May, 2015). Whilst acknowledging this, literature tends to focus more on the way bouncers control violence in nightlife, and less on the use of violence by bouncers to maintain order in nightlife.

As noted in the excerpt above, more serious conflict drew the intervention of police. I discuss this in detail in the next section. These findings support the argument that despite alcohol assemblages being dynamic and unpredictable, it does not mean that drunken subjects can become anything they choose. Drinking practices are also structured (Bøhling, 2015) as self-control and social regulation are central features of acceptable drinking practices (Thurnell-Read, 2016). “Nightlife spaces rest on familiarity with rules, norms and expectations which we are expected to know” (Eldridge, 2019, p. 9).

To a certain extent, staff at the venues including waiters, waitresses and cleaners also contributed to sociality across groups given the hospitable manner in which they performed their duties – serving drinks, showing patrons where to sit, tidying up, and performing other related tasks. I

witnessed some of this hospitality on many occasions, but a few incidents stood out for me. One quiet evening at Motherland, I pull up in the parking area and pour some water from a mineral water bottle to wipe some stains off the windscreen of my car. Upon noticing this, the guard and another gentleman walk over and offer me more water. *'Mutisiyileko chabe poyenda'*, (leave us something when going) is his request as I leave the car and walk towards the club. This was a plea for a tip. Another evening, a man on the dance floor is drenched in beer by a lady in what appears to be a birthday ritual. Shortly, a waitress appears with a towel to dry him off. It can be argued that venue staff were merely doing their job as waiters, cleaners or security guards. In fact, some of them went out of their way in hopes of receiving a tip (as in the case of the security guard who asks that I remember him when leaving). But such acts of hospitality by venue staff in the course of performing their duties had a welcoming effect on patrons, hence contributing to sociality. As one gentleman remarked, though in a rather exaggerated manner when asked why he liked frequenting Fair Deal:

> It is a kind of place where you can continue enjoying even if you are from another place. There are cold drinks, good music, and live entertainment, for example, on Thursday. Customer care is good, waitresses attend to you dearly, dearly (Personal communication, 5 April 2020).

Venue staff confirmed that they put measures in place to make their place attractive.

> Customer service is key. We make sure that every day, our toilets are clean. Every morning, we make sure that they are clean. You find that other bars they will lock their toilets, but sometimes you never know maybe someone is sick. But us we don't lock them. So, they are used. So, one may say: "Oh, since I am here, let me get one beer". Some may be drinking from another pub, but they come to use our toilets. We keep them very clean. Then, we have also running water. Other bars don't have running water. We have a genset here. Whenever power goes, *chimankala che chilila pano* (we are still able to keep the atmosphere lively here). We still have music while it is dark elsewhere. Few have gensets (Personal communication, 27th August 2020).

The hospitable conduct of venue staff resonates with literature concerning the way workers in evening leisure spots carefully perform their roles in order to impress patrons or create an

exciting atmosphere by, among other ways, flirting (Grazian, 2008). Several of these observations confirm current literature which argues that the night can be a space for friendship, sociability, and leisure (Eldridge, 2019). The study builds on this scholarship by showing the foundation upon which sociality in nightlife is built.

Further, sociality was influenced by societal norms far beyond the venue.

6.1.1. Invoking larger societal norms

Outside the play group, sociality was created through the influence of wider societal norms regarding acceptable behaviour. I gathered that when internal mechanisms for maintaining law and order were inadequate, cops from Matero Police Station situated about 300m from Florida Street, were called upon. A 21-year-old former bouncer at Motherland attested to this:

> Those who are stubborn are asked to leave and sort each other outside the club. We make an effort to resolve disputes amicably. If we catch a thief, we take them to the police station. Such trouble makers are banned from the club (Personal communication, 5th April 2020).

For instance, one evening at Fair Deal while patrons enjoy a live music performance, there is commotion involving a group of men at the pool table next to the stage. “Security, security”! Calls out the DJ. Shortly the warring parties are separated and the situation is diffused. ‘Commander’ as the chief security officer at Fair Deal is known, has done his job. He is a light skinned short muscular man in his mid-thirties spotting short dreadlocks dressed in a white vest. *“Ukangena lelo, uzachoka* next week (if you go in today, you will only come out next week). Security, take control”, warns the DJ later. An altercation had just occurred among patrons who were playing pool, hence the warning from the DJ.

While the DJ was merely sounding caution to those fighting, his warning was a sobering reminder that patrons were still answerable to the laws of the land. Regarding the warning that those who would get locked up could only come out the following week, it must be noted that police in Lusaka were notorious for detaining those who broke the law on a Friday, the whole weekend and only granting them bond or releasing them on Monday. The stay was prolonged if it

coincided with a long weekend as the case was that weekend. Hence, it can be argued that with prospects of such sanctions at the back of their minds, patrons were compelled to behave appropriately. Some patrons confirmed having been locked up after a night out. For instance, one 23-year-old female participant narrated how she was once locked up for loitering at night. "I have been locked up overnight before. I was made to sweep and fetch water" (Personal communication, 8th April, 2020).[33]

The findings extend the understanding of what sociality in evening entertainment venues involves beyond comradery based on familiarity and regular interaction (Eldridge, 2019; Thurnell-Read, 2021) and the observance of venue rules, norms and expectations (Eldridge, 2019) to also include norms from the wider society.

So far, I have endeavoured to show how playgroups, civility and societal norms form the basis of sociality in Florida Street nightlife. I now turn to the different forms of sociality that manifest in evening entertainment venues and the manner in which sociality oscillates in terms of the degree of conviviality.

6.3. The pulse of nightlife assemblage: rousing conviviality in nightlife

Here, I show how assemblage thinking sheds light on the workings of elements involved in interaction and the urban forms that they form. I also show how assemblage thinking is attentive to change in terms of "the individual elements and the agency of the interactive whole… over time and through interaction" (McFarlane, 2011a, p. 208). In spite of this, I argue that it does not go deep enough to unravel the urban forms created in the process within relatively short time spans on a much regular basis. Instead, assemblage thinking presents such changes on a long-term basis. To compensate for this blind spot, I bring into the conversation the notion of rhythmicity and build on scholarship which describes nightlife in cyclical terms involving a build-up earlier in the week leading to a lively atmosphere at the end of the week (Hunter, 2010; Nicholls, 2019; Thurnell-Read, 2021). In Florida Street, there was a discernible rhythmic and repetitive pattern to sociality which varied at different times of the night; the week; and on

[33] It has been argued that there is no law in Zambia that mandates police to arrest people found loitering at night. But police often did so (Lusaka Times, 30 July 2014).

different occasions mediated by the guests and the materiality of the venue (Bøhling, 2015) and other constituent parts of nightlife assemblage.

6.3.1. The warm up

After reaching its peak on Friday and Saturday, the evening entertainment cycle in Florida Street started all over on Monday. As the entertainment activities resumed, the atmosphere was relaxed and laid back in most venues with some of them literally deserted. At Garage Liquor store, the music was laid back and played at a low volume. The counter in the west wing was usually abandoned, while the young men who sold shisha on weekends were conspicuously absent. Behind the liquor store, the atmosphere was just as dull. In fact, by 9:00 pm, most of the pubs around Garage were closed. With very few people around, the workers were quite relaxed and walked about freely chatting among themselves and with patrons. After serving, the bar tender could afford to retreat behind the bar and lie down on a bench or come out to join her fellow workers seated outside. With such a serene atmosphere it was possible for some patrons to even play a board game like chess. For instance, I met two gentlemen in their late twenties who were fond of playing chess at Pops on such days.

Such moments resembled Goffman's backstage where actors could relax and prepare for the encounters to follow (Ritzer, 2011). They also provided space to patrons and venue staff alike, to recover from the toll of weekend revelries. For instance, one Monday evening at Garage, one of the bar tenders lies on top of a freezer in the back of the store. I soon learn that she had been partying late into the night the previous day on the occasion of her workmate's birthday. She often worked from the bar in the west wing. Since there were few people, she closed it and used the time to have some rest. Resting from atop a freezer can be interpreted as some kind of improvisation in which "things are taken out of their normal or legitimate frameworks of circulation and use" (Simone, 2006, p. 361).

Referring to the atmosphere at the beginning of the week, a bar tender at Garage remarked:

> *Chimayuma kuma* beginning *kwa* week (It dries up at the beginning of the week). *Kaili bantu bamayenda kunchito* (you know, people go to work). A few come after work to drink one or two, play pool, but they do not stay for a long time. Many like takeaways. It depends also on the weather. When it is cold, the sales are very low (Personal communication, 5th April 2020).

The bar tender uses the phrase drying up as a metaphor to describe the few people found in the venues at the beginning of the week. At Motherland, the atmosphere similarly dipped before gathering momentum later in the week. On Monday, the club was closed except for public holidays. As it opened on Tuesday, the atmosphere was still dull. Sometimes, the guard at the main gate could be found napping on a bench. Inside, the club was almost deserted except for countable patrons. Sometimes, there were more club staff compared to the number of patrons. The club staff were practically on their own. The majority of patrons, men in particular, were dressed casually with some in vests, long shorts or slippers. The lights at the dance floor were out. Sometimes, the DJ sat to chat with a group of friends away from the DJ's booth. Despite the relaxed atmosphere, pretty much of what went on a busy night, including drinking, smoking and dancing, still took place but on a lower scale. For instance, the music was still loud in some venues. Sometimes, there would be the lone dancer who appeared on the dance floor for a momentary shake up. This could go on until a venue closed. But with each passing day, there were slightly more people and the venues became more active.

There was a discernible rhythm to activity in the venues as the night progressed. Early in the evening, people came and left after taking a cursory look. Some of them headed to the toilet and walked straight out of the club, pub or bar afterwards. A few of them hang around but also left a few minutes later. For instance, at Pops, a good number of patrons just stood on the sides of the dance floor like uninterested bystanders. As time went by, more patrons trooped in and the atmosphere livened up. As they entered, some with a bottle or a cup of beer in hand, they stopped momentarily to dance or walked in, bouncing to the tune playing. A good number of them were regulars who frequented different venues. Some of them kept supplies of alcohol somewhere outside the club, probably in a car, where they kept disappearing to, only to return with cups replenished. Still, many patrons came and left shortly. This could go on until the club, bar or pub

closed. One moment a venue could be bubbling with a bit of activity with the dance floor occupied, and a few moments later, it was empty. However, it only took a few people and the right music to get the dance floor alive again. The DJ at Motherland described this kind of atmosphere in the course of the week as the 'weekend warm up'. This shows that people or patrons are an important element in creating lively scenes in nightlife. Hence, on week days with many occupied with work obligations (Nicholls, 2019), very few patrons went out, hence it was not possible to replicate the scenes of excitement witnessed at weekends.

The tendency by patrons to peep before deciding whether to stay at a venue suggests strong peer influence among patrons in the consumption of nightlife. It was some kind of social conditioning or reinforcement that could be likened to what often transpired in 'taverns' in Lusaka. These were evening entertainment venues that served *chibuku* found further on the outskirts in low-income areas. Here, the tavern with the largest crowd attracted more patrons as that was a sign that it had potent stock. This practice is similar to Grazian's notion of 'winning bar', where "jam-packed queues of eager would-be patrons waiting entry, are a signal" (Grazian, 2008, p. 113) of a club's popularity to passers-by. Consequently, such a bar attracted more people. The findings confirm scholarship which describes nightlife in cyclical terms involving a build-up earlier in the week that leads to a lively atmosphere at the end of the week (Hunter, 2010; Nicholls, 2019; Thurnell-Read, 2021). They add to the understanding regarding this aspect of nightlife by illuminating the forms of sociality obtaining during the build-up to an evening as well as the weekend.

From such a subdued atmosphere and stuttering start at the beginning of the week, the evening leisure pulse gathered pace culminating in an ecstatic atmosphere on weekends and public holidays which the DJ at Motherland described as 'weekend madness'.

6.3.2. Weekend madness

"Ye-ye-yee-yee-yee!" The DJ starts. *"Waba tole s'tanyoko"!* Meaning (your b*lls mother fu**er) in colloquial Bemba, the audience responds. So goes the DJ's anthem at the beginning of a shift and or in the course of a shift, meant to rouse excitement in the audience.

He repeats it about three times before letting the music play. The audience are warmed up and on their feet dancing. A string of carefully selected tracks keeps patrons dancing for some time. A variety of music is played including raga, new Afro and Zambian music. The crowd sings along to most of the songs. The DJ turns down the volume as the crowd sing the rest of the chorus. 'One Love' by Bob Marley gets the crowd excited, so does 'Three Little Birds' and 'Buffalo soldier'. The club is now in a dance frenzy. The overhead lights are dimmed then streaks of bright light pierce the darkness as the disco light spins. A hissing sound follows as white fog rises. At the door leading to the gent's toilet, the cleaner dances along with a mop in hand.

This is a scene typical of what happened at Motherland Nightclub on weekends. It went on until the early hours of the following day. Similar scenes could be observed at other venues such as Garage Liquor Store.

On Friday and Saturday, the venue is packed and the music is louder. It starts filling up in the afternoon and by 6 pm, there is a large crowd. The drive way to the car park at the back is congested. Those driving in or out have to carefully negotiate their way between the other cars parked on either side. This is a hazard that becomes all too apparent one Friday as a Toyota *Alteza* almost knocks down a lady who is trying to cross from Garage to the pubs to the east. Fortunately, it stops just a few inches away. Most tables are filled with bottles of beer, some placed in dishes filled with ice. Many girls are dressed for the night in short tight dresses and skirts. The atmosphere is celebratory and many patrons, especially those in front of the DJ's cage, are on their feet dancing. Some climb on benches and dance from there. Every song is greeted by shouts of excitement as patrons raise their hands in the air. Some male patrons even take off their shirts and wave them in the air whilst dancing on top of the tables. Others form a circle and take turns to perform a solo dance in the middle while they cheer each other on. Those passing, join in briefly. Many more dance from their respective locations. Twerking is popular among ladies. It involves sticking out the bums and shaking them vigorously whilst in a bending position. On about two occasions, I saw male patrons try the move to great comical effect. More people arrive in groups, couples or solo as time goes by. Some hand-in-hand with their partners, others dancing as they approach the liquor store.

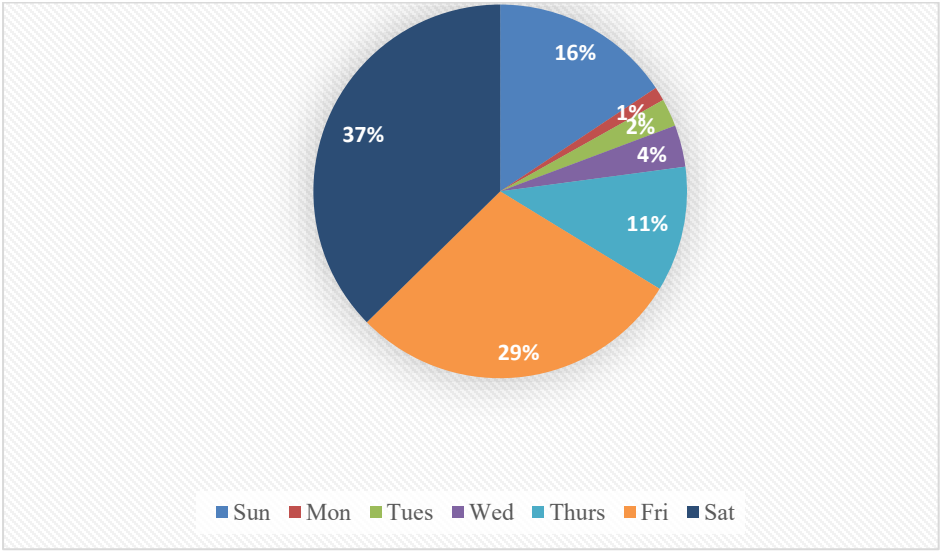
The above scenes describe moments of conviviality or revelry in Florida Street venues. In this section, I argue that through the interaction of different parts of nightlife assemblage, including patrons, music and DJs, alcohol and other drugs, as well as sport, sociality is transformed from the subdued atmosphere at the beginning and during the week, to a convivial one on weekends and public holidays. I focus on sport, music and patrons or people in explaining this. The excerpts above reaffirm that patrons play a key role in creating conviviality in nightlife. Compared to the subdued atmosphere earlier in the week when there were few patrons, the atmosphere lit up with more patrons in the venues at the end of the week and on public holidays. This was confirmed by the majority of patrons who were interviewed. For instance, a 35-year mobile money agent explained:

> I usually go to Pops nightclub on Friday and Saturday. That is when I am able to relax after work. And it is also when you find many people (Personal communication, 8th August 2020).

The tendency for patrons to throng entertainment nightspots on a weekly basis has been documented in literature. A weekly night out is a way of relieving the stress of work experienced during the week (Nicholls, 2019). As Winlow et al., (2003, p. 175) observe regarding young people's nightlife practices: "many young people live for the weekend. For them work is often treated as a means to an end, a way of financing the often expensive excursions into the night-time economy". This leads to the presence of many people in venues, thereby creating a lively atmosphere. While literature acknowledges the weekly excursions by patrons in their consumption of nightlife, it does not sufficiently explain the impact that this pattern of behaviour has on sociality in nightlife.

Similar to what was observed earlier in the week, patrons also influenced sociality in a rhythmic pattern or flow, in the course of an evening during these nights of revelry. This can be noted from the gradual build up starting in the afternoon at outdoor venues like Garage, when patrons started arriving; the change in the atmosphere when the venues got packed around 6/7pm; to the time that the crowds reduced past 10 pm as patrons transitioned to nightclubs and other venues or

went home. As I have indicated above, during my visits to the nightclubs (Motherland and Pops), I was able to recognise some of the patrons from earlier in the day or evening at either Garage or Fair Deal. The reduction in the number of patrons in the pubs and bars translated into the building up of the atmosphere at the nightclubs. This peaked around midnight with scenes of revelry described at the beginning of this section, and went on until the early hours of the following day when revelers dispersed, marking the end of the cycle for that evening.



Saturday was the day most patrons liked to hang out. Of the 34 participants, 31 indicated mentioned it, followed by Friday with 24, and Sunday with 13. This gives a combined total of 82 per cent of those who went out on weekends.

Box 2: Preferred days to hang out

Music also plays an important role in creating and sustaining conviviality in nightlife. Like a director of ceremonies, the DJ plays a key role in rousing and sustaining a convivial atmosphere (Attias et al., 2013; Levitt, 2016; Shaw, 2015) much sought after by both venue operators and

patrons alike (Hadfield, 2015). In Florida Street, this is a contribution which many patrons acknowledged as a 22-year-old unemployed female, remarked of the DJ at Motherland nightclub:

> They have a very experienced DJ who plays all kinds of music. He even plays on request. It's nice when the DJ knows you and mentions your name" (Personal communication, 8 August 2020).

It was common practice for DJs to acknowledge the presence of certain patrons who they seemed to know, wish someone happy birthday or dedicate a song to someone or a group of patrons while playing music. But while literature examines DJs in the context of big dance parties (superstar DJs) caught up in some kind of magical world detached from everyday reality when they are on stage (Attias et al., 2013; Chew, 2009), the DJ's commentary and anthem at the beginning of a shift suggests that they are still conscious and part of the goings on in the larger society (Bøhling, 2014) and within the venue. For instance, one evening in September 2019, the DJ plays 'Jerusalema' a popular gospel song at the time by Master KG and Nomcebo Zikode of South Africa. At the end he declares: "We are one Zambia, one people, one Africa. Let us say no to xenophobia". This was in connection with a spate of violence against foreign nationals which took place in South Africa around September/October 2019 (BBC News, 2 October 2019).

It is important to note that the DJ's anthem originated from a popular tune in Zambian folklore. However, it was adapted and laced with profanity for the evening entertainment audience. Under ordinary circumstances, the phrase *'waba tole, s'tanyoko'*, was very offensive. But in the context of nightlife, it was used in a rather mischievous manner that was deemed acceptable. The same could be said about climbing and dancing from the top of benches and tables: while it was deviant under normal circumstances, it was acceptable during moments of revelry in nightlife (Conroy & Measham, 2019; van Liempt et al., 2015). Therefore, it can be argued that while nightlife assemblages remain in touch with the wider society, they still enjoy a degree of autonomy which allows patrons to suspend some of the norms of society (Tutenges, 2012; van Liempt, 2015).

Apart from recorded music, live music also significantly contributed to sparking off revelry in Florida Street venues.

6.3.3. Live show

In addition to creating convivial forms of sociality, live music demonstrates the influence that different elements of nightlife assemblage have in creating particular forms of sociality. In Florida Street, live music was performed at Fair Deal Pub and Grill every week on Sunday, Wednesday and Thursday as well as special occasions like Valentine's Day, Independence Day and Christmas Eve. Various bands played, including Masasu Band, a male-only band with a distinct beat that was very popular on Zambia's urban music scene in the 1990s and early 2000s. They also played cover tracks by other Zambian singers and Congolese singers. Another regular band was Ngoma Zasu who also played a wide variety of covers by popular Western, South African, Nigerian, and Zambian singers. Then there was Shamack, whose specialty was music by the legendary P.K. Chishala in addition to cover tracks of other popular Zambian music stars.



Photo 7: Ngoma Zasu performing live at Fair Deal

Source: author (23 October, 2019)

The bands would start playing as early as 3:00 pm. From the parking lot at the filling station across Lumumba Road, one could hear the rich sound of live instruments which got louder the closer you got to Fair Deal. Inside, it was a hive of activity as patrons danced while watching the band perform. By 9:00 pm, Fair Deal would be packed. Often, bands took turns to play, but they also did collaborations on certain occasions. The performers roused the atmosphere bit by bit, starting with instrumental covers of popular tunes such as 'End of the Road' by Boyz II Men, and 'I wanna Know What Love Is' by Foreigner. At the beginning, the audience cheered mildly, but as the band played on, their cheers grew louder. By the time vocals were added, the audience would be singing along. With each song, the crowd got more excited and dances broke in a few locations. Some patrons went round dancing in a circle in a practice that I alluded to earlier, regarding scenes of revelry occasioned by recorded music at Garage Liquor Store. One evening a man in a yellow MTN hawker's vest appears in front of the stage to dance each time a song reaches the crescendo before disappearing in the crowd.[34]

As they danced, some of the patrons recorded themselves on smart phones. Sometimes, members of the band came down to dance with patrons. Some of the dances, by the female dancers in particular, were sexually provocative which evidently excited the audience. In appreciation, some patrons handed out or shoved notes in different denominations of Kwacha into the pockets of the dancers and or the lead vocalist. A practice known as '*kusowela*' in Nyanja. Some climbed the stage and danced a bit before 'kusowela'. Small pieces of paper with requests for certain songs were passed to the singers. At the end of a song, the audience applauded or protested, be it reluctantly if it was a song that they liked. *"Manja mumwamba"! "Azimai! Mulimo? Ntungulu"!* (Hands in the air! Ladies, are you there? Make some noise!) The lead singer urged the audience. The shows ended on a high with the performance of a popular song. By around 11:00 pm, it was over. As the band stepped down, the DJ seamlessly transitioned to a song of similar genre while the audience continued dancing. Some of the patrons climbed onto the stage and reenacted their own show. Slowly, patrons trooped out of the venue but a sizable crowd remained in the middle section and at the bar at the southern end where focus seemed to shift (See appendix 9 for a layout of Fair Deal Pub and Grill).

[34] MTN was one of the leading telecommunication providers in Zambia offering voice, data and digital services

Here too, a rhythmic pattern could be discerned from the way live music performances built up momentum beginning in the afternoon as patrons trooped into Fair Deal Pub and Grill; the convivial scenes that emerged as the bands played; and the dispersing of the patrons at the end. Also worth noting are the forms of sociality created during live music performances. Although some of them were similar to those created through recorded music, some differences could be observed. Take for example, dancing in a circle: during live music shows, this went on for a longer period and it involved more patrons from different playgroups. This suggests that compared to recorded music, live music performances create a friendlier and more playful atmosphere. This can also be observed from the interaction between patrons and performers through music requests; by dancing together; and *kusowela*. *Kusowela* is a traditional Zambian practice which involves rewarding someone for putting up a good performance at a party, for instance through dance. Often, the reward is in the form of cash. Similar to the case of DJs, these findings are consistent with the observed importance of music in creating effervescence (Hunter, 2010; Tutenges, 2015) in nightlife. They are also in agreement with literature regarding the importance of evening entertainment in preserving culture and the formation of identity through live music performances (Carah et al., 2021; Stahl & Botta, 2019). The findings build on this literature by showing the different forms of sociality that live music performances create in nightlife especially when compared to recorded music.

As shown in Chapter 5 and the beginning of Chapter 1, pubs and bars provided a platform for fans to watch matches featuring popular European clubs and local clubs on TV. As a result, they were flooded with fans on matchdays involving major European and local teams. As shown already in Chapter 5, the introduction of DStv marked the arrival of a key entertainment element in the Florida Street nightlife assemblage. During some of these games, evening entertainment venues erupted into wild scenes of revelry that could be likened to those experienced in stadiums. I describe such a scene at the beginning of Chapter 1, but it is also captured here in the words of a 24-year-old cosmetics trader:

> It is normal to interact with other people especially when you are tipsy. If you are watching football, you even end up hugging someone you don't know (giggles) (Personal communication, 27th August 2020).

Like the other forms of conviviality, this was created through the interaction of sport in combination with other elements of the Florida Street nightlife assemblage. This confirms the recognition in literature of different forms of popular sport in the night-time economy such as swimming, golf, cycling, and bowling (Palmer, 2021), as well as the carnivalesque effect of sport (Attias et al., 2013; Palmer, 2014). In spite of this, most literature tends to give prominence to the role that sports plays in urban renewal strategies in general. Also, more focus is on how local evening leisure venues benefit from the large numbers of people that sporting events attract before and after (Palmer, 2021). In this study, focus was on the sporting events taking place within evening leisure spots and their contribution in creating a convivial atmosphere (also within the venues). Such sporting events also show the rhythmic nature of sociality in nightlife. This could be observed from the manner in which the number of spectators increased in the course of big competitive fixtures; from the excitement that captivated them amidst the twists and turns of a match as it progressed; to the ensuing celebrations for the victorious team; and to the dispersion afterwards.

6.4. Conclusion: the after party

Sociality in nightlife is a creation of co-functioning centred on interaction in playgroups among patrons who already know each other, and the norms concerning appropriate behaviour within venues, and the larger society. The chapter confirms the argument that nightlife is a pleasurable (Bavinton, 2010; Jensen & Hunt, 2020; Nofre, 2020; Tutenges, 2012) and sociable experience (Thurnell-Read, 2021) that involves interaction among regular patrons who know each other (May, 2015; Thurnell-Read, 2021; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). In spite of this, literature still focuses on the divisive tendencies of playgroups as they interact with those outside the group (May, 2015), while the findings emphasise the civility shown during such interaction. This is not withstanding the fact that patrons tend to be reserved in their interaction with outsiders. Here, interaction is mainly guided by norms regarding appropriate behaviour within evening entertainment venues and the larger society. Conflicts do occur but they are often minor infractions that are peacefully resolved among patrons. Conflicts that cannot be amicably resolved call for formally established mechanisms of control such as venue security or bouncers

who have the right to sanction transgression using forceful means including violence. More serious transgression calls for the intervention of the police. This suggests that behaviour in nightlife is still subject to the norms governing the larger society.

Venue staff also contribute to sociality outside the playgroup in evening entertainment venues through the hospitable manner in which they discharge their duties. Whilst acknowledging that this is done as part of their duty, sometimes with the added motivation of being tipped by patrons, courteous service is inviting and appreciated by many patrons. Furthermore, sexual pursuits contribute to sociality outside the play group during an evening out. This confirms literature concerning the observed pleasures of sexual experiences in nightlife (Jensen and Hunt, 2020), including casual sexual encounters in entertainment zones (Farrer, 2011; Grazian, 2008). The findings build on this scholarship by linking the pursuit of sexual pleasures to sociality in nightlife.

Despite its usefulness in explaining sociality in nightlife through the assemblages that patrons and other elements enter into, assemblage thinking does not pay sufficient attention to the rhythmic nature of certain urban forms including sociality in nightlife. But using the notion of rhythmicity, the chapter shows that it becomes much easier to explain how sociality varies in terms of degree of conviviality at different times of the night; the week; and on different occasions in a repetitive fashion depending on the interaction or co-functioning of elements of nightlife assemblage at play at a particular time, including the guests and the materiality of the venue (Bøhling, 2015). Hence, when there are few patrons, as the case often was at the beginning of the week in Florida Street, a relaxed atmosphere obtained. As the night progressed, a stuttering rhythmic pattern of activity could be discerned. This is because venues were unable to attract and sustain a good number of patrons to create a convivial atmosphere since very few stayed long enough. One moment a venue could be bubbling with a bit of activity and shortly afterwards, it went flat. Such a relaxed atmosphere created equally relaxed forms of sociality as could be observed from patrons playing board games, and the interaction between staff and patrons. It also provided an opportunity for patrons and venue staff alike, to recover from the excitement of the weekend.

This confirms scholarship which describes nightlife in cyclical terms involving a build-up earlier in the week that leads to a lively atmosphere at the end of the week (Hunter, 2010; Nicholls, 2019; Thurnell-Read, 2021). The chapter adds to this understanding by highlighting the forms of sociality generated during the build-up of the same evening, and the build -up in the course of the week.

As the week progressed and more people appeared at a venue, the atmosphere brightened up gradually, reaching the climax on Friday and Saturday night with scenes of revelry in packed venues. This was on account of the increased number of patrons who descended on the venues, in interaction with other elements especially music and sports events. This buttresses scholarship on the tendency for patrons to visit entertainment nightspots on a weekly basis as a way of relieving the stress of work experienced during the week (Nicholls, 2019). While literature acknowledges the weekly excursions by patrons in their consumption of nightlife, it does not sufficiently explain the impact that this behaviour has on sociality.

The role of music is evident through the DJ who as a master of ceremonies plays a crucial role in rousing and sustaining a convivial atmosphere (Attias et al., 2013; Levitt, 2016; Shaw, 2015). In doing so, the DJ also demonstrates how nightlife is in sync with the goings on in the larger society (Bøhling, 2014) contrary to the image of the superstar DJ caught up in a magical world divorced from everyday reality when they are on stage (Attias et al., 2013). Notwithstanding the observed connection between nightlife and the wider society, nightlife still enjoys a degree of autonomy which allows patrons to suspend some of the norms of society. This can be noted from the adaptation of a common local Zambian tune into a profane version used by DJs at the beginning of a shift. The same can be said about climbing and dancing from the top of benches and tables: while it was deviant under normal circumstances, it was acceptable during moments of ecstasy in nightlife.

In addition to creating convivial forms of sociality, live music demonstrates the influence that different elements of nightlife assemblage have in creating particular forms of sociality. Similar to the case of DJs, these findings are consistent with the observed importance of music in creating effervescence (Hunter, 2010; Tutenges, 2015) in nightlife, and preserving culture and the formation of identity through live music performances (Carah et al., 2021; Stahl & Botta,

2019). The findings build on this literature by showing the different forms of sociality that live music performances create in nightlife. Furthermore, the chapter shows how sporting events within venues such as football on TV, also contribute to conviviality. These convivial moments also exhibit a rhythmic pattern in the way that they build up; the way they reach a climax; and the way that they eventually subside.

Chapter 7: Planning, policy challenges and excess in nightlife

> An expansion of nightlife offers new types of activity that, in conducive circumstances, can increase the potential for human exchange, understanding and pleasure. This potential is restricted and at times extinguished by other factors, however, such as the economic context for provision, the type of regulatory environment and a lack of forethought in spatial planning (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009, p. 55).

7.1.Introduction

In this chapter, I stretch assemblage thinking to address instances when its constituent parts act in conflict with one another. While assemblage thinking is strong on providing explanations regarding "why and how multiple bits-and-pieces accrete and align over time to enable particular forms of urbanism over others" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 650), it does not consider instances when the elements act in conflict resulting in what I describe as contra-functioning of elements. It also does not consider cases when actors responsible for the governance and regulation of the assemblage fail to perform their role. In nightlife, both instances can be a source various excesses (Brands et al., 2014; Ngonga, 2016; Tutenges, 2012) which may hinder it from reaching its potential (Nofre et al., 2018).

Literature is replete with accounts concerning the excesses of nightlife, but it still misses the point because it does not distinguish between the excesses that arise as a result of the conflicted alignment of the elements of nightlife assemblage, and those that are an outcome of failure on the part of the actors responsible for the governance and regulation of nightlife, including venue owners, operators and the authorities. In the same way that the elements forming nightlife assemblage coalesce to produce a lively nightlife, they also (but not in the same combination) bring out a number of negative outcomes, including excessive drinking (Brands et al., 2014; Bryceson, 2002; Calafat et al., 2003), violence (Bavinton, 2010; Glazer, 1997; Graham et al., 2006; Mugala & Imataa, 2007; Ngonga, 2016), drugs (Tutenges, 2012) and unsafe sex (Singh et

al., 2011).[35] These are in stark contrast with the heights of success that an evening entertainment destination such as Florida Street can achieve.

The chapter extends the contra-functioning of nightlife to its governance. Here, I argue that nightlife is also prevented from reaching its potential due to the inadequate attention that it receives in urban planning and policy (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). This is based on the understanding that whilst harnessing the potential that nightlife has for cultural and economic development, an appropriate regulatory and policy framework is required to curb the excesses of nightlife (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Instead, nightlife is considered a minor element in town centre development worthy of a small number of paragraphs in national planning guidance documents that are mainly devoted to day-time retailing (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). In particular, nightlife is often considered to support tourism (Pratt & Gill, 2019). While I acknowledge the contribution that tourism makes to nightlife, I argue that understanding nightlife within the framing of tourism can be counterproductive because it becomes obscured from the deserved policy and planning gaze. This also becomes a hindrance to the potential for nightlife expansion. I start by examining the excesses of nightlife in Florida Street that were a result of the conflicted co-functioning or what I describe as contra-fucntioning of elements of nightlife assemblage.

7.2. Devil's Street: Excesses of nightlife

7.2.1. Conflicted assemblage: 'Sumaili urges councils to drop 'evil names'

This was the headline in the 'Lusaka Times', one of the popular online news sites among Lusaka residents on 12 October, 2019, in reference to sentiments expressed by the Minister of National Guidance and Religious Affairs concerning Florida Street, also known as "Devil's Street'. The report went as follows:

> Minister of National Guidance and Religious Affairs Godfridah Sumaili has urged communities and local Councils in the country to consider changing names that

[35] The parts of an assemblage "may be detached and plugged into a different assemblage in which its interactions are different" (McFarlane, 2011a, p. 208).

have bad connotations. Speaking on Saturday during the renaming of Devil's Street in Emmasdale area to its original name of Florida Street, Rev. Sumaili said it is important to take in consideration the implication and effects that names have on communities and people. Rev. Sumaili said she would like to see other councils in the country identify names of streets and communities that deserve to be changed. Commenting on the nickname of Florida Street as Devil's Street, Rev. Sumaili said it was not right to have anything named after the devil in a nation that is proudly Christian. She added that for Zambia to actualize its Christian values, the nation has to have sanity in the moral standing of people and communities. Rev. Sumaili urged communities to report issues of brothels, underage drinking and drug abuse in their communities for sanity and peace to prevail.

And Lusaka Mayor Miles Sampa said it was high time the city changed its face starting with names of the streets. The mayor added that it was a sorry sight (sic) to realize that many people have lost lives, marriages have been broken and many other bad vices have been conducted on Florida Street. Mr. Sampa said it was sad to see young people patronize bars and engage in dangerous vices. He further explained that despite the street having businesses operating, there is need for everyone to abide by the laws of the land and not allow immorality on the street. The street renaming exercise was preceded by a walk to denounce the bad things that have happened on the street and declare the new good things to happen.



Photo 8: Lusaka Mayor (left) with Religious Affairs Minister (right) when 'renaming' Devil's Street

Source: Lusaka Times

This was the other side of Florida Street's nightlife as portrayed by certain groups in Lusaka, including policy makers. On one hand, it was a narrative largely influenced by

moralist views which perceived the activities associated with nightlife, including the consumption of alcohol, to be sinful (Pratt & Gill, 2019).[36] On the other hand, it was a narrative arising from the problems or excesses that nightlife is commonly associated with in general, and Florida Street in particular. I argue that the excesses of Florida Street's nightlife emanated from the conflicted nature of the relationship between the elements forming its assemblage. Although "assemblage seeks to explain why and how multiple bits-and-pieces accrete and align over time to enable particular forms of urbanism over others through unequal relations of power and resource" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 650), it does not account for instances when elements of an assemblage act in conflict with one another. In other words, it does not consider that cases of "spatial disorder resulting from the happenstance juxtapositions of phenomena in relation to their location" not one that was directly socially caused" (Massey, 2001, p. 266) are possible. In this case, the disorder was on account of incompatible land use.

As I have indicated already, Florida Street was called Devil's Street on account of its lively nightlife. But it also drew the nickname from the excesses that occurred in its venues. Hence, the Minister and Mayor's undertaking was in fact an attempt to remind Lusaka residents of the street's rightful name, not to rename it. Florida Street was already its officially recognised name. Generally, the name Devil's Street was a reflection of the problems that took place in the venues and on the street. In an attempt to establish the origins of the nickname, various accounts were advanced with some taking on a mystical dimension. As one 20-year-old female Mobile Money booth attendant described it:

> Some people say that it is possessed, once you start frequenting it, it changes you. It is like the devil (Personal communication, 9th August 2020).

It is difficult to ascertain the validity of such a claim, but what cannot be disputed is that part of Florida Street's nightlife assemblage was indeed problematic. While the minister suggests that the name Devil's Street was responsible for the problems, I argue that both the name and the activities that it was associated with were symptomatic of a bigger problem pointing to the

[36] Since its declaration as a Chirstian nation in 1991, and the subsequent inclusion of that in the constitutional amendments of 1996, Zambia has grappled with how to live up to Christian values.

contra-functioning of Florida Street's assemblage elements. At the core of this was the existence of an evening entertainment zone with high outlet density side by side with a residential area. Residents were at the receiving end of most of these problems, which included juvenile delinquency and noise. Many participants expressed concern about the impact that the proximity of these venues had on the families who lived in the houses across the street. A participant who also happened to be a resident of the neighbourhood complained about the loud music booming from the venues especially on weekends. When asked what was the impact of having many pubs and bars in an evening entertainment zone, he protested:

> This is like a big disco, yet it is a place where people live. Imagine the noise they (families in the neighbourhood) have to endure. When a child comes out of the house, they find people drinking. Bars should be separated somewhere else. There is no good in having so many pubs (Personal communication, 26th July, 2020).

Most participants feared that such a state of affairs had potential to lead to juvenile delinquency. It was reported that it was common for young people to patronise bars especially during school holidays. According to one participant who spent most of his days on Florida Street washing cars, some venue owners or operators allowed young girls on their premises as they were an attraction to male patrons. But boys of the same age group were chased because they were considered a nuisance. Although it was rare, I did see girls who appeared below 18 come to venues such as Motherland during my fieldwork. In spite of this, the manager denied it when asked why they allowed underage patrons on their premises. Underage patronage is an indication of failure by venue operators and the authorities to enforce the law forbidding those below the age of 18 to be in pubs, bars and nightclubs. It also demonstrates the challenge posed by having an evening entertainment zone in the same locality with a residential area. This gives credence to scholars who argue that "a concentration of alcohol-related entertainment, unregulated and unpoliced, transforms a neighbourhood from a good-natured party space into an urban nightmare" (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009, p. 81).

This was confirmed by the LCC PRO:

> The biggest issue is that on the other side is residential and there is a bit of inconvenience. There is a bit of a nuisance to some people because there are our colleagues dressed in all sorts of mini-skirts and when parents on the other side see that, they think it is an influence that can be transferred to their own children. They think children are not growing up in a good environment (Personal communication, 21 July 2020).

The phrase 'our colleagues in mini-skirts' used by the council official was in reference to female revelers some of whom dressed in short, tight and quite revealing attire. Although the official focuses on these women, they were only a part of the problems that the alcohol outlets in Florida Street presented to the people in the neighbourhood across the road. Some of these female revelers were sex workers or prostitutes. I was informed that a good number were from out of town, with some coming from neighbouring countries. They rented small apartments within, where they entertained men. One participant described them as *'bosomola'* which in Nyanja meant 'those to pick from'. Given such vices, some families opted to move out of the neighbourhood. I gathered this from one female participant who was a member of a nearby church. She complained:

> It is not good when you have kids. People around here complain about the bars. My pastor at Bread of Life even prays about it, for the number of bars to reduce. Even if you like fun, you don't need so many bars. I wish they were far from houses. My aunt was forced to move from here because of this (Personal communication, 9th August 2020).

Bread of Life International was one of the largest Evangelical Christian denominations in Zambia, which was located within the vicinity of Florida Street, not far away from where the photo showing Mayor and the Minister at the beginning of this section, was taken from. Suffice to add that the Minister was a member of this church, which might explain her negativity to Florida Street's nightlife. As to whether the said prayers were capable of effecting a reduction in the number of bars, is highly questionable. But what cannot be questioned is that a strenuous relationship existed between the residents and entertainment nightspots, and to some extent, between the congregation and the entertainment venues. So fractious was the relationship that some participants considered the closure of bars during the first wave of Covid-19 between

March 2020 and September 2020, to have been a blessing in disguise because in their view, it brought sanity in the area. I return to the issue of Christianity in Zambia and its influence in relation to the absence of nightlife in urban planning later in the chapter. The challenges shown above are consistent with literature concerning the problems associated with high outlet density in nightlife (Giordano et al., 2019; Nofre et al., 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; Rowland et al., 2016), and how they undermine community livability (Nofre et al., 2019). The findings build on this scholarship by showing how conflicting land use is at the centre of the problems associated with high outlet density in nightlife.

The excesses of nightlife are also a result of the difficulties faced by the elements responsible for nightlife governance – including local authorities, the police and venue operators – with regard to managing nightlife. I now turn to such excesses.

7.2. Regulating and managing nightlife

A night out is as much about issues of economic development and creativity as it is about 'law and order' and 'social control' (Chatterton, 2002). Hence nightlife poses many challenges to the different tiers and agencies involved in governance. It is argued that the problems associated with nightlife are worse where there is lack of enforcement of regulations (Fox & Sobol, 2000), or where the authorities have failed to anticipate the scale and pace of the expansion of nightlife (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Other than those associated with the authorities, I also focus on the problems associated with venue operators or owners. I divide these problems into those which take place outside evening entertainment venues and those, which take place outside.

7.2.1. Aiding excess within venues

I argue that to a large extent, the excesses within evening entertainment venues are aided by certain shortcomings on the part of both the authorities and venue operators. In Florida Street one of these excesses was theft. Among the most sought-after items were smart phones and vehicle parts like side mirrors. One participant narrated an incident where a patron found a tyre missing from his vehicle. In some instances, it seemed thieves would lay their hands on anything that

appeared to be of value. One participant recalled an incident when his face cloth was stolen probably mistaken for something valuable.[37] According to some participants, those who got very drunk made easy prey. These observations were confirmed by the Officer in Charge at Matero Police when I asked him what the common offences committed on Florida Street were.

> Phone snatching, stealing of phones. Break ins. In fact, eeeh... in the bars and the shops. There are also thefts from vehicles. Yes, mostly car owners have lost batteries from their vehicles. That's the case that has been prevalent. You park it you go inside after your drinking spree, you find your battery gone (Personal communication, 24 July, 2024).

As I have shown in Chapter 6, venue owners or operators put in place measures to enhance security by hiring bouncers and installing CCTV to considerable effect. This is not to say that no theft occurred where CCTV was mounted and bouncers were present. But it was much less compared to venues where no security measures were put in place (Miller et al., 2017; Winlow et al., 2003). Most of the thefts were attributed to criminal gangs known as junkies. They were made up of young men in their teens and early twenties known for mugging people after dark in many parts of Lusaka. A bar tender at Mimosa pub remarked:

> They often loiter on the street. They come from Chaisa and cause havoc here.[38] They are car breakers, drug peddlers. There have been two break ins recently. At Penthouse, some beer was stolen through a broken wall. At Mimosa, burglars entered through the roof before CCTV was installed (Personal communication, 30 March 2024).

I return to these junkies in the next section. I found that in some instances, venue operators did not only aid transgression by omission, but actively took part in it. As one participant who frequented Pops night club put it:

> People steal. Even taxi drivers found there (at Pops nightclub) cannot be trusted, some of them are thieves. Door bouncers, too. Sometimes they mastermind the thefts. Fortunately, they have been chased [dismissed] (Personal communication, 8th April 2020).

[37] In Lusaka, it was common for working class men to move with a face cloth folded in their pocket, for wiping off sweat. It was considered to be more effective than a standard hand kerchief or face cloth.

[38] Refer to Chapter 5, page 109 concerning Chaisa.

Of particular concern here is the involvement of some bouncers in the thefts. Although they had since been gotten rid of, their involvement is very problematic considering that they were supposed to be the ones to deter such acts. Part of the blame could be put on the venue operators who hired these individuals because this was an indication that they did not do due diligence when recruiting, or in monitoring the conduct of their security personnel. The role that venue operators played in aiding transgression in nightlife is also illustrated in Box 3 below with reference to some of their antics during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Box 3: Backdoor revelries

During the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic many bar and nightclub operators defied the government's guidelines restricting the operation of evening entertainment venues in order to control the spread of the disease. After a total shut down in March 2020 during the first wave, night-time entertainment venues were allowed to open from Friday to Sunday between 18:00 hours and 23:00 hours on September 11 (News Central 12 September 2020). When the second wave struck in December 2020/January 2021, bars and night Clubs in Lusaka were restricted to operating on take away basis (News Zambia, 6 January 2021). Many bar and nightclub owners operated outside the stipulated hours (Zambia Daily Mail, 20 November 2020). For instance, they allowed patrons to enter using the back door while keeping the main door shut. Inside, people could drink, play pool, watch TV and sometimes dance to music played at low volume. Others drunk from car parks or makeshift venues (shebeens) which sprung up during this period. Such behaviour was considered reckless and counterproductive to the fight against the spread Covid-19 (News Zambia, 6 January 2021).

From press reports and field observations, August, 2020

Whilst confirming scholarship concerning the role that venue owners play in regulating nightlife (Feltmann et al., 2021; Mekinc et al., 2017; Porthé et al., 2021; Søgaard et al., 2017), the findings differ because they suggest that venue operators can also be a source of transgression in nightlife governance.

Not only were excesses compounded by some venue owners or operators and their staff in Florida Street, but also through the involvement of the authorities. This was evident from the almost unhindered use of illicit drugs by patrons within venues. These included marijuana and home-made drugs like *Bostik* and *Mavolo*.[39] These drugs could be accessed from individuals on the street or from some of the venues. According to one participant,

> all kinds of people come here. Some of them are up to no good. They sale drugs, heroine, and marijuana. Even Benylin.[40] There are guys who move with backpacks. The owners of the venues (also implying venue operators) don't know. Some people (patrons) don't even buy beer, but only come for drugs. It used to be bad until there was a cleanup last December (Personal communication, 8th April 2020).

I was not able to verify the availability or use of some of these drugs especially heroine. But like for many parts of Lusaka, the use of *Mavolo* and *Bostik* was evident in Florida Street. This was also confirmed by the police. While my informer suggests that venue owners or operators did not know about the sale and or use of drugs on their premises, I argue that they must have been aware of it as many patrons could be seen smoking cannabis at a number of outdoor venues, including Garage and Fair Deal, be it from strategically semi-hidden places. In fact, the smell of marijuana often hung in the air at most open-door venues.[41] This confirms the use of drugs in nightlife (Feltmann et al., 2021; Søgaard et al., 2017). The fact that people could smoke openly, points to laxity on the part of venue operators who seemed to turn a blind eye to such acts within their premises. Worth noting here is that located within the vicinity of Florida Street was Matero Police Station. The fact that patrons could smoke marijuana openly not very far from a police station also suggests laxity on the part of the authorities. These findings give credence to scholarship concerning the importance of collaborative approaches in policing drug use in

[39] '*Bostik*' was an intoxicating glue-like substance made by dissolving packaging foam in petrol, while *'mavolo'* was a by-product of cocaine mixed with marijuana (Personal communication, 12 August 2021). Both were widely used by young people in Lusaka including street kids, bus conductors and *junkies*.

[40] Benylin with Codeine is medicine used to relieve coughing and related congestion in adults manufactured by Johnson and Johnson of South Africa (Johnson & Johnson, 2022). It was highly abused due to its intoxicating effects (Spring TV).

[41] According to the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 2021 of the laws of Zambia, trading, possession, cultivation, consumption etc. of cannabis without lawful authority is prohibited in Zambia (Government of Zambia, 2021)

nightlife through the involvement of different actors including police, venue owners and private security agents (Di Ronco, 2016; Feltmann et al., 2021; Søgaard et al., 2017). They particularly highlight some of the challenges that may be encountered in managing nightlife when actors who are expected to join arms neglect their respective responsibilities.

Excesses within evening entertainment venues are also an indication of the tension between formal processes of nightlife governance and informality. The latter could be observed from the many venues which operated 'illegally' or without licences. As indicated in Chapter 5, this was one of the persistent forms of informality in Florida Street. A bar tender at Mimosa pub explained:

> Most venues have no licenses. *Kaili ma* license *kuno, nikambe che ino* line *yonse, apa na apa ndiye balina* license. *Ise na aba. Kumankala* closed *kuyipa bakabwela ba* council. *Bambili balibe* especially *paka* road *patuma* small bars *twamukati. Nga yabwela* council, *muzadabwa che* closed *yonse che* road. *Kaili ma* information *bamapasana. Ba* council *bapita, ba* council *babwela. Mudabwa che* the whole day *kuli che* closed until *kumazulo. Bambili bamankala na* inside information from *baku* council. They warn them *ati* day *ya* so, *tibwela*. So *ninshi bazapasana-pasana* ma leakage.
>
> Here, let me just say this whole line, it is only us and the other pub (pointing at the next venue) who have licences. Most places close, it is bad when the council come. The majority, especially the bars in the alley leading to Lumumba Road do not have. When council officials come, you will be surprised to find the whole street is closed. It is because of information. They share information that the council will be passing or that the council have come. You just find bars and pubs closed the whole day until late in the afternoon. Many get inside information from council officials. They warn them that on such a day we will come. So that information is leaked to others (Personal communication, 30 March 2024).

Here, the bar tender is referring to the routine inspections and raids which the council conducted in an effort to make venues compliant with the legal requirements for operating a pub, bar or nightclub. The closure of venues was meant to deny officials access to the premises and avoiding on the spot sanctions such as confiscation of beverages, which was common practice where one was found without a licence. Such was the fate that befell one of my participants who ran a small

bar at *Nsimbi Yanga* Market near Matero Stadium. On the day that I was interviewing her, she was visibly disturbed because the police had just raided her bar and confiscated her stock for not having a licence and not complying with Covid-19 guidelines regarding operating hours.[42] This is yet another illustration of an element of the nightlife assemblage not only aiding 'illegality' but actively facilitating it by leaking information to non-compliant venue operators.

This was affirmed by the LCC PRO who cited illegal operations of bars and pubs as one of the major challenges that the council faced in governing nightlife in Florida Street. Here, another dimension involving venue owners and the authorities in cahoots to undermine the nightlife normative framework, comes in. Unfortunately, police officers who accompanied council officials when conducting inspections for security reasons, also leaked information. The Officer in Charge at Matero Police confirmed:

> You are right. This is the more reason that you find that maybe you want to conduct an operation on the same Florida Street, you find that on the material day, those that you are targeting, because some of the officers do leak that information. This is why when we want to do a serious operation we don't announce. We don't tell them about the nature of the operation, who we are targeting. On the actual day that's when it will be known (Personal communication, 24 April, 2024).

The Officer in Charge suspected that officers leaked information to some criminal elements who controlled the gangs of *junkies* in different parts of Lusaka, including Florida Street, in exchange for money. He referred to them as King pins. He warned that stiff punishment awaited those found wanting. This shows the complex contestation between formal and informal logics in the production of social space in the creative city (Charman & Govender, 2020). It brings back into the conversation how piracy is perpetuated in nightlife. It further buttresses the argument behind the shift in scholarship from informality represented as a marginalised sector, to informalisation conceived as a wider economic response to crisis, instigated by the state and the elite not outside the state (Roy, 2012). The findings add to this body of knowledge by showing how the state,

[42] During the first wave of Covid-19, night-time entertainment venues were allowed to open from Friday to Sunday between 18:00 hours and 23:00 hours. This was after a total shut down in March 2020 during the first wave (News Central 12 September 2020).

through its officials can be complicit in undermining the very administrative systems that they are supposed to enforce.

Outside the venues, other excesses were manifested bringing to light another dimension regarding the challenges associated with managing and regulating nightlife on the part of venue operators and the authorities.

7.2.2. Taking it outside

Outside evening entertainment venues, a different set of challenges confronted the regulation and management regime of nightlife in Florida Street. This is where those involved in conflicts which could not be resolved within the venue sorted each other. Here too, other dangers lurked. The LCC PRO lamented:

> In spite of its popularity (Florida Street), many people are discouraged from visiting the place due to lack of security outside the venues. They are not sure when they come out of the nightclub whether they'll be safe. The council is therefore emphasising that night-time entertainment places should be in a place that is safe and secure like what is obtaining in most malls. The owners hire security companies to ensure that their properties and clients are safe. When they have big functions, they engage the police (Personal communication, 21st July 2020).

Contrary to what he suggested, venue operators in Florida Street also engaged the services of private security as has been shown in the previous sections. Also, whilst focusing on venue operators, the official overlooks the role that the council and police were expected to play in ensuring that evening entertainment venues were also safe outside. In Florida Street one of the major sources of insecurity outside the venues were the same *junkies* referred to above. From a discussion that I had with the operator at Kamenga Pub and Grill and his assistant, I found that

> *junkies* are young boys who run away from home. Even if their relatives come to get them, they still run away after a few days. Dagga, *Mavolo* and *Bostik* is all that they know. You find them so high that they just open their mouths. To them these drugs are just like the way we take alcohol. It has become so normal to them. They attack people at

> night. I wonder if the drugs make them stronger. They will not hesitate to attack you even with a stone. Last night, they attacked one of the hawkers. They beat him up and got away with his merchandise and shirt. He came here without a shirt. They *(junkies)* called the hawker saying, they wanted to buy socks. They took advantage because he was drunk and they grabbed his stuff. Later, they came back wearing different shirts. We know one of them. We know where he and his friends hang out. His elder brother owns a shop across the road. There he is, the guy who attacked the hawker (pointing at a young man in his early twenties wearing an Arsenal replica jersey). Junkies are a big problem. They are known people. They come from Chaisa. If they meet you during the day, they will even ask for a cigarette from you. These are the gangs (pointing at a group of about eight young men who are walking down the street). If you meet them at night, you are gone. You can only be safe if they know you. You have to be careful when going home. Don't move alone. Even people who live here are scared to move at night. They are scared to walk through that alley. *Bafunika che* clean up, *kubangenela che*. (What is needed is a cleanup, they should be rounded up) (Personal communication, 30 March 2024).

While Chaisa and the neighbouring townships provided the much-needed demand which drove nightlife in Florida Street, these townships were also a source of problems that threatened the very success they were part of. The alley in question linked Florida Street to Lumumba Road through a maze of shops. This was one of the spots where junkies waylaid their victims, including those who lived in the neighbourhood. As my interlocutor rightly observes, what was required was for the police to round up these junkies. Since some of them were known individuals, this was an undertaking that could be executed with relative ease. Alas, the junkies were allowed to continue loitering and terrorising patrons and residents with no decisive action taken to bring their lawlessness under control. This confirms literature on the challenges that a concentration of alcohol-related entertainment poses where they are unregulated and unpoliced (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Other than mugging, residents of the Florida Street neighbourhood were also vulnerable to thefts. I was informed that after washing one's laundry, one had to wait for their clothes to dry up on the washing line, lest they got stolen especially where there was no fence.

Asked why they did not inform the police about the junkies, the man who ran Kamenga at the time contended that the police already knew about the junkies in Florida Street and where to find them. “When the police come, they (junkies) flee. They will disappear for some time. Even for about a month and come back again” (Personal communication, 30 March 2024). This suggests a lacklustre approach on the part of the operators and police. For their part, when asked why they could not root out this problem, the response from the police was that:

> We have that routine (of conducting raids). I think eeh... I can cite a very good example. There’s one (raid) we did the other side in George Compound. We nabbed almost every junky from that area. And there is orderliness as I am talking to you. Because the moment it is 18:00 hours, just try to pick a call, you just find the phone is gone. For Florida Street, most of them don’t stay there. They just eeh..., when bars are closed, they sleep outside most of them. Many have been nabbed. And they shift camps. They know that oh, this place has been raided. They will move to another place. There’s someone who sends them. Someone who has money, someone who is even well off. They will just say, for instance if he grabs my phone, immediately he takes to them they buy. Of course, on (sic) a reduced price. They get information from their Kingpins, those that send them to do the criminal acts (Personal communication, 24 May, 2024).

George Compound is one of the biggest slums in Lusaka further on the outskirts beyond Florida Street, north-west of Lusaka, that was notorious for criminal behaviour. The efforts that the police made to rid Florida Street and other places of junkies were commendable. But what is of concern is collusion between police officers with the Kingpins who in turn passed information to the junkies on the street. This made it difficult to arrest the situation making Florida unsafe. This further attests to the blurring of the distinction between the formal and informal cited above (Charman & Govender, 2020). These findings are in agreement with scholarship regarding the dangers posed outside night-time entertainment venues (Nofre et al., 2019). The findings also give further sheds light on collaborative approaches involving different actors in regulating nightlife, including venue owners (Feltmann et al., 2021; Mekinc et al., 2017; Søgaard et al., 2017) with focus on the challenges that such approaches face.

So far, I have analysed the excess that are influenced by interaction between conflicting elements in an assemblage, and those resulting from failure by the elements responsible for regulating and managing nightlife. I now turn to the challenges posed by a deficient policy and planning framework on nightlife governance assemblage.

7.3.Policy and planning on urban nightlife

Policy forms an integral part of assemblage (McFarlane, 2011a). It plays a crucial role in driving various social agendas (Haaland & van den Bosch, 2015; Parnell, 2016), including nightlife (Marco et al., 2017; Nofre et al., 2017). To a large extent, the success of a nightlife governance regime depends on how well conceptualised its policy framework is (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). It has been observed that most problems associated with nightlife are an indication of how poorly conceived urban governance policy and research on NTE is (Hadfield, 2015). Hence, despite its liveliness and conviviality, nightlife in Florida Street was hindered from reaching its potential due to the inadequate attention that it received, as well as its conceptualisation in terms of tourism in Zambia's urban planning and policy regime.

7.3.1. In the shadow of tourism

I argue that conceptualising night-time entertainment in terms of tourism can be a hindrance to its growth because it prevents nightlife from clearly standing out as an issue of dedicated public policy intervention. From the perspective of conflicting rationalities, this represents a disconnect between systems of government administration with regard to planning and service provision, and the everyday lives of the urban population (Watson, 2009). A review of relevant policy documents at national and local government level (with specific focus on Lusaka) revealed that there was no policy specifically targeted at night-time entertainment in Zambia. This was confirmed by the president of the BANCOAZ when asked whether there was any policy to promote the interests of his association.

> Not to my knowledge. What I just remember is that the Law Development Commission approached us and gave us a questionnaire which I answered. And when I looked at the

> questionnaire, it was in line to do with amendments to the Liquor Licensing Act. What they asked, I saw the questions. It's okay of course. They are going towards the review of maybe coming up with a policy that might favour our industry. And I could really see that the way the questions were tailored in that questionnaire, they were also talking about the same working hours, what were the challenges so that when the law is developed, it's able to cushion those issues. Like for example, closing and opening time and also even the fees. For example, the license fees and other permits. Yeah, I think if that is true, I think that we are likely to see a policy that might be favourable. But as it stands right now, there is none. Not to my knowledge (Personal communication, 2nd January 2024).

Mr. Mwale is suggesting that there might have been plans to develop a national policy on night-time entertainment, but no policy was in existence at the time, nor was there any indication of one being developed. The Zambia Law Development Commission is a governmental body established through an act of parliament whose mandate is to research and make recommendations on – among other functions – new areas of the law that should be developed which are responsive to the changing needs of Zambian society (Ministry of Legal Affairs [Zambia], 1996). Further analysis of relevant policy documents showed that night-time entertainment only appeared under tourism and culture. In particular, it appeared under the Tourism and Hospitality Policy where it fell under leisure and recreation facilities such as hotels and lodges (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006).

A review of all the national development plans between 2002 and 2022 revealed similar findings. There was no mention of night-time economy, night-time entertainment or nightlife in any of them other than reference to a few types of venues such as hotels and lodges, and concepts that were associated with night-time entertainment such as arts and culture.[43] For example, in the Sixth National Development Plan, entertainment (not nightlife per se) was considered to be one of the sectors with which tourism created economic linkages (Ministry of Finanace and National Planning, 2011). Similarly, a review of key relevant legislation especially the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2015 – which provides for among other things, a planning framework, guidelines, systems and processes for urban and regional planning for the Republic – shows that night-time entertainment was not considered among the priority areas listed in Article 19 section

[43] The Zambian government reintroduced national development planning in 2002 after a hiatus of close to thirty years

5(e). I acknowledge that there was provision for a local authority to identify priority areas to be integrated into the local area plans (which could include night-time entertainment), but at the time of conducting this study, night-time entertainment was not among them.

At municipality level, a similar picture emerged. On the official website for LCC, for instance, night-time entertainment was not listed among the social services that the council was mandated to provide. Yet other services like markets, bus stations, and libraries were clearly listed. I acknowledge that recreation was provided for, but the challenge was that recreation had a narrow definition that was focused on day time activities such as sport and play parks. I also acknowledge that the city development plan for Lusaka 2007 to 2030 explicitly mentioned night time entertainment and provided for it in the land use zoning plan for the city. In particular, it recognised the potential that the night-time economy had to contribute to urban development especially in unplanned settlements. For instance, bars/taverns, hotels/guesthouses, and restaurants were recognised as common types of businesses that existed in such settlements. Hence, night-time entertainment formed part of the plan for the wider development strategy of LCC through what was referred to as the urban centres development approach. Its aim was to develop competitive urban centres with attractive tourism destinations for entertainment, cultural and educational purposes (Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH et al., 2009).[44] While there is a fairly good amount of attention given to nightlife here, the challenge remains the same: that of framing night-time entertainment within tourism lenses. This was confirmed by the LCC PRO when asked whether night-time entertainment was part of LCC's development agenda.

> Yes, night-time entertainment appears if you look at our strategic plan. Except it is embedded in tourism industry. In fact, entertainment in Zambia falls under tourism. That is why all those lodges and other facilities are inspected by Tourism Board. It might not come out as entertainment, but it is embedded in the tourism industry. When you look at tourist attraction (sic), even entertainment points are also included (Personal communication, 21st July 2020).

The findings resonate with literature on tourism and nightlife on many fronts. They are in agreement with the close relationship between night-time entertainment and tourism (Nofre et

[44] Note the reference to tourism for the discussion to follow.

al., 2018; Porthé et al., 2021; Tutenges, 2015) as can be noted from the increasingly popular concept of tourist night-time entertainment destinations in many parts of the world (El Maalouf & Ghadban, 2015; Nofre et al., 2018). The findings are also in agreement with literature which considers night-time entertainment as a supporting minor concern for tourism (Pratt & Gill, 2019). Furthermore, to a certain extent, the findings are also in agreement with the problems associated with the touristification of nightlife on local communities (Nofre, 2020). Here, while literature focuses on the relationship between tourists and locals in nightlife, the findings bring in another dimension by suggesting that promoting nightlife from the perspective of tourism is also problematic because it obscures and relegates nightlife to a secondary matter of policy interest.

Even the council official quoted above does unwittingly acknowledge this when he says that "it might not come out as entertainment but it is embedded in the tourism industry". This means that the success of the night-time economy hinged on that of tourism. Conversely, failure in the tourism sector would also translate into failure in the night-time economy. In fact, there were concerns that tourism, arts and culture had not been fully exploited in spite of its potential to contribute to national development. For instance, tourism contributed a paltry 1.5 percent share of GDP over the 2011-2020 period (Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2022) due to low diversification; limited investment in the tourism sector; limited tourism product offering range and scope (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006; Ministry of Finanace and National Planning, 2017, 2022). Another challenge was that cultural industries were rarely treated as a serious economic venture and few practitioners were actually able to make a living solely based on their artistic trade (Ministry of Finanace and National Planning, 2011, 2017). These challenges were worsened by Covid-19 as a result of travel restrictions, resulting in a 26 percent contraction in 2020 (Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2022).

Framing night-time entertainment in terms of tourism suggests that it is a preserve of tourists, especially those visiting from other countries. Whilst acknowledging the contribution that tourists make in boosting nightlife (Nofre et al., 2018; Porthé et al., 2021; Tutenges, 2015), locals play an equally important role in boosting night-time entertainment (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). Hence, it is important to develop strategies directed at boosting the consumption of nightlife by local residents themselves. Here, I build on scholarship that is opposed to the tourist and non-tourist binary in nightlife in that while advocating strategies directed at boosting the

consumption of nightlife by local residents, I still acknowledge the significance of tourism in nightlife.

The above findings also confirm scholarship regarding the absence of the night-time economy from policy (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) in many cities or countries despite its demonstrated potential to contribute to cultural and economic development. This can be attributed to the narrow definition of recreation in Zambian policy documents. As shown already, recreation was understood mainly in terms of day time activities. It could also be explained by the negative perception surrounding nightlife in some quarters of Zambian society, including policy makers as can be observed from the Minister's and the Mayor's quest to 'rename' Devil's Street at the beginning of the chapter. It is a vison detached from the everyday realities of the masses; a vision stuck in the rigid planning models of borrowed from the West. This is reflected in the name Florida Street which was named after the state of Florida in the United States. This is similar to other places or features in Lusaka like Los Angeles Boulevard named after the city of Los Angeles.

The absence of nightlife in urban policy and planning can also be explained by the controversies nightlife surrounding nightlife given the excesses that it is associated with, including prostitution, crime, underage drinking, drug abuse, and noise pollution. It can also be attributed to the influence of Christian teachings which abhorred night time leisure activities (Pratt & Gill, 2019). Consequently, night-time entertainment was blamed for all sorts of social ills such as infidelity and the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (Lees, 2022). This may explain why while policies were silent with regard to boosting night-time entertainment, they were very clear and elaborate when it came to policing and controlling it. For instance, the Liquor Licensing Act 2011 outlines a detailed set of regulations regarding the possession, sale and supply of intoxicating liquors, but it has no equivalent when it comes to policy aimed at developing or boosting night-time entertainment. With particular reference to nightlife on the periphery of the city, its omission in urban planning is a carryover of rigid colonial approaches to spatial planning (Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation & UrbanWorks, 2017), and the neglect of these areas in terms of development (Bamberger et al., 1982). This is in agreement with literature regarding the bias in policy responses focused on managing the transgression associated with

nightlife whilst overlooking its potential (Füller et al., 2018; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2007).

7.4. Conclusion: standing in the way of a good time

As demonstrated in this chapter, assemblage thinking can be stretched to explain situations in which elements of a governance assemblage operate, not in a co-functioning manner, but in a contra-functioning manner whereby elements clash resulting in a number of undesirable outcomes with potential to hinder its growth. The chapter suggests that spatial disorder (Massey, 2001) in nightlife assemblage whereby high outlet density occurs side by side with a residential area, results in excesses which pose a threat to the potential that nightlife has for expansion. In such instances, whilst contributing to a lively atmosphere, high outlet density exposes residents to problems such as noise and juvenile delinquency. For Florida Street, it was partly on account of such excesses that it also came to be known as Devil's Street. This is consistent with literature concerning the problems associated with high outlet density in nightlife (Giordano et al., 2019; Nofre et al., 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; Rowland et al., 2016) and how that undermines community livability (Nofre et al., 2019). The findings build on this scholarship by showing how conflicting land use lies at the centre of the problems associated with high outlet density in nightlife.

The chapter also extends assemblage thinking to instances in which some of the elements of a governance assemblage, including venue owners and authorities, fail in their task of regulating and managing nightlife, thereby exacerbating its excesses. This can occur through lax security measures at venues, such as having no CCTV or hiring thieving bouncers; failure to comply with the law regarding the operation of evening entertainment venues, including licensing, allowing underage drinking and the use of illicit drugs like marijuana at venues; and failure to rid criminal elements like junkies outside venues. In some instances, venue operators or the authorities undermine law and order in nightlife by actively participating in some of these transgressions. This can be demonstrated by the involvement of some bouncers in theft as explained in the chapter, or the involvement of police officers in the Covid-19 drinking escapades in defiance of the government's guidelines. This is further demonstrated by venue operators and the authorities

colluding to circumvent laws and regulations as shown by council officials and police officers tipping venue operators about impending raids.

The findings are in agreement with literature regarding the need for social control in nightlife (Chatterton, 2002) considering the challenges that nightlife poses to different tiers and agencies involved in its governance (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). They are also in agreement with literature concerning the problems associated with nightlife especially where there is lack of enforcement of regulations (Fox & Sobol, 2000). These findings advance the understanding of regulation and management of nightlife in that while most literature dwells on the informal appropriation of regulations involving venue operators (Yeo & Heng, 2014), the findings suggest that authorities do also engage in or aid transgression in nightlife. This confirms the argument that informalisation is a wider economic response to crisis, instigated by the state and the elite not outside the state (Roy, 2012).

The chapter has further shown that the absence of policy and planning in nightlife (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) as key components of nightlife governance assemblage, limits its potential for expansion. This may be interpreted as a case of conflicted rationalities between planners and policy makers on one hand, and the everyday lives of the urban population (Watson, 2009) on the other hand. This was evident from the lack of a national policy targeted at night-time entertainment in Zambia despite its immense potential. This was also evident at the municipal level of Lusaka city where night-time entertainment was not listed among the social services that the council was mandated to provide. While most documents did provide for recreation in general – which one would argue catered for nightlife – the challenge was that recreation was narrowly defined in terms of day time activities such as sport and play parks (Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MLGH) et al., 2009).

In addition, the chapter has demonstrated that the potential for the growth of nightlife is limited by the misconceptualisation of nightlife through the lens of tourism, which obstructs it from the deserved attention of planners and policy makers. This is notwithstanding the contribution that tourism makes to nightlife. In Zambia, nightlife is largely considered in relation to tourism from a policy and planning view point. It only appeared in the Tourism and

Hospitality Policy, where it was considered under leisure and recreation facilities such as hotels and lodges (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006). In the National Development Plans spanning the period 2002 and 2022, no mention of night-time economy, night-time entertainment or nightlife was made in any of them other than reference to a few types of venues such as hotels and lodges, as well as terms that were associated with night-time entertainment such as arts and culture.

Similarly, at municipality level, the city development plan for Lusaka 2007 to 2030 placed night time entertainment under tourism. This was despite explicitly mentioning and providing for nightlife in the land use zoning plan for the city. Here, the chapter rekindles the binary conceptualisation of tourist and non-tourist in nightlife (Eldridge, 2019), but this is not to suggest that nightlife should be the preserve of locals. On the contrary, it does acknowledge the contribution which tourism makes to nightlife. What the chapter seeks to stress is that locals play an equally important role in boosting night-time entertainment (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). Hence, it is important to develop strategies directed at boosting the consumption of nightlife driven by local residents themselves.

Chapter 8: Retracing nightlife on the periphery

8.1.Introduction

On the basis of evidence advanced in the previous chapters, I reaffirm the main argument undergirding this thesis that concentrated evening entertainment districts on the periphery of the city are also sites of vibrant nightlife. I also reaffirm the three supporting arguments of the thesis that: (i) the production of nightlife assemblages, including those on the periphery can occur through non-formal processes within formally instituted ones; wider global, national and regional processes such as neo-liberalism; as well as the influence of locational factors, including easy access and a large population (Chapter 5); (ii) sociality in nightlife is based on interactions in playgroups among people who know each other, and norms concerning appropriate behaviour within venues and the larger society (Chapter 6); (iii) the potential of nightlife expansion is restricted by excesses resulting from spatial disorder among components of the nightlife assemblage, failure to regulate and manage nightlife by venue owners and authorities, as well as the absence and touristification of nightlife in urban planning and policy (Chapter 7).

In the sections that follow, I highlight the significance of the research findings for each of the arguments. Thereafter, I conclude by pointing out some of the areas that require further research. I start by revisiting the argument concerning the production of a nightlife assemblage on the urban periphery.

8.2.Processes in the production of entertainment zones on the periphery

This section crystalises the argument explored in Chapter 5 that the production of nightlife assemblages including EZs on the periphery, takes place through non-formal processes within formally instituted ones; wider global, national and regional processes; as well as the influence of locational factors.

8.2.1. Informality in the production of entertainment zones

I argue that the growth of Florida Street EZ was a process characterised by contestation between the formal and informal logics concerning the production of urban space (Caldeira, 2017). Florida Street started as a site and service scheme which was implemented by the Zambian government to relieve the housing backlog for low-income people (Hansen, 1982), and stem the continued growth of squatter settlements. South-east of the street were residential plots while north-west were commercial plots. Most of the commercial plots were subdivided by the owners and sold to others resulting in several additions or extensions on the plots often without council approval. Suffice to add that the original plan for the commercial side was not for an evening entertainment district per se, but a place for different types of businesses. Hence out of 18 commercial plots provided at the beginning, only about five were pubs/bars. This had risen to about fifty at the time of the study.

This illustrates how the informal emerges alongside the formal in the growth of cities. While such a mode of growth might be considered illegal by the authorities, it represents a degree of resourcefulness on the part of residents in what Simone (2006) describes as marginalised or under resourced cities. It can be interpreted as "a disconnect between the systems of government administration with regard to service provision and planning, and the everyday lives of the urban population whereby the former has increasingly come under the influence of the market, while the latter are increasingly marginalised and impoverished under conditions of informality (Watson, 2009). For instance, it has been observed that certain groups like women and the youth in Zambia are excluded from the acquisition of land due to inadequate procedures regarding allocation and sale of land provided in the Lands Act of 1995 of the Laws of Zambia (Mandhu et al., 2019). As a consequence, residents resorted to informal channels of land acquisition. This gives credence to the argument that places of marginality emerge largely because of state action or inaction in relation to the provision of basic goods and services such as housing, employment, education (Wacquant, 2008).

Whilst the idea of marginalisation holds true in most instances of informality, it is questionable when one considers that many of the individuals who owned plots in Florida Street belonged to the elite class of Lusaka. These included officials in central government, the council, established

businessmen or officials belonging to the governing political party at the time (UNIP). This is in agreement with literature regarding political interference as one of the major challenges that site and service schemes in Zambia were confronted with (Bamberger et al., 1982; Hansen, 1982). But while focus is largely on housing in most scholarship, the study focuses on the experience of site and service schemes in relation to commercial activities including those involving night-time entertainment. The involvement of elite classes in informality affirms Roy's (2012) argument that informality does not only represent marginalisation, but that it is a wider economic response to crisis instigated by the state. The thesis also demonstrates how informal processes that take place within formal processes become regularised eventually in a manner akin to Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome/ tree conception of assemblage contrasting the spontaneous and blind process of informal growth from the orderly tree like structure of formal planning (Dovey & King, 2011). As Caldeira (2017, p. 7) puts it: "the state acts after the fact to modify spaces that are already built and inhabited". Florida Street demonstrates the possibility of formal planning tapping into informal processes of growth (Böhme & Thiele, 2014; Ignatuschtschenko, 2017) as an alternative approach to urban development. In particular, the thesis shows how vibrant cities with sociality are built through gradual, incremental growth. An attribute that is often missing in overly planned cities (Yeo and Heng, 2014).

Despite this, I still contend that such a mode of growth in which informalisation is followed by regularisation, has potential to 'breed contempt' among residents and encourage more informality. For instance, this is possible through land invasion once residents realise that they would be granted legal status eventually despite having acquired it illegally. Hence, up until the time of the study, informality/ piracy continued in Florida Street, which demonstrates its pervasive nature where its roots are allowed to take hold. This could be observed through the continued emergence of night-time entertainment venues without approval by the council; venues operating without licences; and unauthorised hawking (including the involvement of children). It was also true of the extensions done to the houses across the street to create outlets for shops. Such a manner of growth is in agreement with the existing body of literature specifically examining informality in nightlife (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Charman & Govender, 2020; Hansen, 1982; Leivategija, 2020; Petersen et al., 2014). This includes "incremental and unplanned growth involving many individual actors who collectively contribute to the larger-

scale thematic nature of EZs with little guidance from the authorities" (Campo & Ryan, 2008, p. 293). But while literature focuses on informal processes in venues located in the city centre or in buildings within the vicinity of the centre, Florida Street showcases the influence of informal processes in creating vibrant evening entertainment zones on the periphery.

Hawking in Florida Street further suggests the resourcefulness of piracy as can be noted from the various items provided by hawkers for sale, thereby confirming the ingenuity of urbanites that is often emphasised in literature. In spite of this, the involvement of children in hawking at drinking premises and the sale of defective or items (like second hand undergarments), points to the precariousness associated with piracy. These challenges resonate with the view that informal growth could be a source of several problems (Hadfield, 2015; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; Stren, 2006) hence the need to find ways of managing it (Stren, 2006).

In the next section, I focus on the factors that facilitate the production of vibrant nightlife on the periphery.

8.2.2. The vitality of the periphery

Although lively and vibrant nightlife districts are considered to be created through deliberate and careful planning (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009), to a large extent, Florida Street arose as an outcome of three key elements that came into interaction unintentionally or accidentally (Massey, 2001): high outlet density; a large population size; and an easily accessible location. High outlet density was one of the key features in Florida Street's nightlife. Whilst acknowledging the influence of human action (Gottdiener et al., 2011) in the evolution of Florida Street as an evening destination with high outlet density, it is an outcome which its 'architects' could not have anticipated. Stretching about 770 m from one end of the street to the other, it was lined up with a string of evening entertainment venues making it one of Lusaka's largest and most popular evening entertainment destinations. Within many of these venues were several smaller venues which formed a maze of different kinds of business outlets. Most of these turned into sites of ecstatic scenes of revelry when multitudes from different parts of Lusaka and beyond, gathered in Florida Street.

The numerous venues also provided patrons different entertainment options depending on their taste. This can be interpreted as Florida Street night-time entertainment space attaining a certain level of autonomy which Lefebvre (1991) describes in the evolution of space. Despite this, Florida Street remained dependent on the activities of patrons on different occasions, to bring it to life (Chapter 6). This agrees with work on concentrated night-time entertainment districts and the impact that they have in creating lively and economically successful urban districts (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Chew, 2009; Nofre et al., 2017). Further, Florida Street housed several small businesses of a non-entertainment nature such as restaurants, butcheries, pharmacies, salons, clothing shops, car washes, auto spare shops, and grocery shops which fed into and also fed off the nightlife of Florida Street. While this mirrors scholarship concerning the organic and piece-meal manner in which entertainment zones develop as opposed to large-scale design of urban development created through centralised authority or master plans (Campo & Ryan, 2008), the thesis provides further insights regarding the spatial forms in which high outlet density manifests itself, including the multiple smaller venues found within the bigger venues of Florida Street.

Florida Street's high outlet density was complimented by two locational factors: a large population, and easy accessibility. In combination, these elements gave this evening entertainment district on the periphery a vibrant and lively nightlife despite its marginalisation in the wider urban development agenda of Lusaka city. This is another factor that Florida Street's 'architects' could not have foreseen but capitalised on nonetheless. Florida Street was located in proximity with townships with some of the largest populations in Lusaka and Zambia at large, including Chaisa and Mandevu (Zambia Statistics Agency, 2022). This provided a ready and big market for nightlife. It also made it easily accessible to low-income groups, the majority of whom resided in such townships on the periphery, as well as middle-income groups from other parts of Lusaka. Here, the thesis also confirms the importance of location in business (Brooks et al., 2012; K. Stahl, 1987) including nightlife-oriented businesses. But it challenges scholarship which depicts night-time entertainment venues as increasingly becoming the preserve of middle and high-income groups in the increasingly corporatised dominant venues found in the city centre and more affluent suburbs (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002; Lovatt & Connor, 2010).

Behind all these factors in the evolution of Florida Street's nightlife were wider socio-economic processes, key among which was neoliberalism (Shaw, 2015; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015).

8.2.3. Neoliberalism: the role of macro socio-economic processes

Building on the contingent urban framing of neoliberalism – whereby change is not assessed in monolithic terms attributed to neoliberalism, but as a process taking place in specific historical and geographical contexts (Brady, 2014; McGuirk & Dowling, 2009) – I argue that neoliberalism catalysed the production of nightlife in Florida Street by introducing new elements of consumption/ entertainment to the nightlife assemblage, and an entrepreneurial spirit among venue owners and operators. To a large extent, Florida Street underwent significant transformation, including the proliferation of pubs and bars since the 1990s when the SAPs were implemented in Zambia. For instance, it was during the late 1990s and early 2000s that some of the most popular nightspots in Florida Street emerged. For some venue owners or operators, liberalisation provided them an opportunity to venture in various income generating activities which they were not able to before. For others, starting a business was a matter of survival after retiring or being laid off from the civil service or state enterprises as part of restructuring (Gubser, 2023; Madimutsa & Pretorius, 2021; Musambachime, 1999).

Whilst appreciating the influence that the liberalisation of the economy had on businesses, I reiterate that the entrepreneurial spirit among Lusaka residents already existed prior to liberalisation, but it was stifled by policy inconsistencies by the government at the time. For instance, government officials were forbidden from investing in private businesses (Sardanis, 2014). This challenges literature which presents neoliberalism as a pervasive factor of change in many cities with little consideration of prevailing circumstances behind that change (McGuirk & Dowling, 2009). Notwithstanding the above, the impact that neoliberalism had on Lusaka's political economy and nightlife in particular, cannot be denied. Neoliberalisation opened up business opportunities to a large number of Zambian entrepreneurs to trade in a range of merchandise. The thesis draws attention to the opportunities that also opened up in the night-time economy, which literature tends to ignore.

Neoliberalism substantially transformed nightlife through the introduction of various entertainment elements including a range of alcoholic beverages. This was after many years of a command economy characterised by restrictions on imports, and shortages of various items, including alcoholic beverages (Bryceson, 2002). This is consistent with literature regarding the observed resurgence in the night-time economy in many African countries as they opened up their markets to foreign investments as part of their reform programmes in the 1990s (Collins, 2006; Shaw, 2015). The introduction of new alcoholic beverages occurred hand-in-hand with branding campaigns. While this resonates with literature concerning the influence of transnational alcohol companies and entertainment companies in the production of nightlife in the 21st century (Dumbili, 2016; Tadié & Permanadeli, 2015), I argue that the influence on small independently owned evening entertainment venues has been more complementary than hostile since the latter still remained under the control and ownership of local small independent businesses. Also, while literature focuses on the increasing role of large entertainment corporations in providing upmarket venues especially in the centre of the city (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Nofre et al., 2017), the thesis sheds light on the influence of such corporations on smaller venues on the periphery.

Further, neoliberalism transformed nightlife in Florida Street through the introduction of new games and satellite TV, access to music equipment and accessories. Music formed a large part of the nightlife experience for many patrons. Hence, they frequented those nightspots with good music systems and where the music was to their taste. This is consistent with literature concerning policy interventions aimed at promoting music in an effort to develop the night-time economy (Homan, 2017). The thesis adds to this scholarship by showing how the neoliberal agenda has boosted the music industry and by extension, nightlife. Sport based forms of entertainment like pool and European football (via satellite TV), became popular in Lusaka after the liberalisation of the Zambian economy. With regard to the latter, the coming of MultiChoice in Zambia in 1994 was a game changer as it enabled fans to watch matches featuring popular European clubs easily unlike before as could be observed from the crowds which converged on match days involving big European football clubs. For the majority of these fans, especially those living on the outskirts of the city, pubs and bars were among the few places where they could view such games. This is consistent with literature which recognises the existence of popular sport in the night-time economy such as Palmer (2021). I build on this scholarship by

showing how neoliberalism has contributed to the expansion of nightlife through the introduction of hitherto uncommon types of entertainment like pool and satellite TV in Lusaka's nightscape.

In the next section the thesis demonstrates how some of these types of entertainment contributed to creating conviviality in Florida Street's nightlife.

8.3.Sociality in nightlife

I repeat that playgroups and norms concerning appropriate behaviour within venues and the wider society form the basis of sociality in nightlife. I also reiterate that depending on the interaction among the elements of the nightlife assemblage, including the number of patrons present, music, the DJ, alcohol and other drugs, and sport, sociality in nightlife varies in relation to the degree of conviviality at different times of the evening, and on different occasions in a rhythmic fashion from a subdued to an ecstatic atmosphere.

8.3.1. The role of playgroups

I argue that interaction among patrons consuming nightlife in entertainment zones is largely cordial and civil because most patrons hang out with those that they know already. In Florida Street, a few patrons would hang out by themselves, but the majority did so in small groups ranging from two to about five. Often, there was excited chatter when patrons met at a venue, an indication that many knew each other from some other social circles or from prior encounters at the same venue or elsewhere within Florida Street. During such outings, patrons engaged in various activities ranging from drinking – with some consuming a lot of alcohol – to chatting and dancing, to smoking *shisha* and marijuana. This resonates with scholarship suggesting that pubs offer a space where socially meaningful interaction takes place among regular patrons who know each other (Thurnell-Read, 2020), and social groups on the basis of race, class and other characteristics (May, 2015; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). The thesis is also consistent with literature regarding the contribution of alcohol to the affectual experience in nightlife (Conroy & Measham, 2019; Tutenges, 2012) by enabling patrons to build new friendships and strengthen

existing ones (Jensen and Hunt, 2019). This includes the observed social nature of vaping among friends in bars or other nightlife venues (Giovenco et al., 2021; Hardon & Hymans, 2016).

Sociality in nightlife is extended to those outside evening entertainment venues through social media and social networking sites (Ridout, 2019). In Florida Street, it was common for patrons to take selfies or record videos of themselves whilst dancing, or something else happening at a venue like a band performing, which they would thereafter share with their contacts online. This can be understood as an extension of a conscious creation and presentation of the self that takes place in nightlife (Goodwin and Lyon in Conroy & Measham, 2019; Hollands & Chatterton, 2002; Mbogo, 2019; Ridout in Conroy & Measham, 2019; Tokle & Pedersen, 2019).

8.3.2. Civility and the influence of social norms

Sociality is extended outside the group through civil interaction between playgroups or individual patrons as well as the norms regarding appropriate behaviour within evening entertainment venues. In Florida Street, while patrons tended to keep to themselves and their group, they were generally civil and courteous with those outside the group, which supports Elias Nobert's notion of 'civilizing process'(Krieken, 1998). In some instances, long lasting relations developed out of such interaction, which confirms the argument that the night can be a space for friendship, sociability, and leisure (Eldridge, 2019). The observed tolerance among patrons across play groups can also be attributed to compliance with norms guiding the conduct of patrons within the venues such as those against violent conduct and theft. In fact, many patrons were wary of the potential dangers of going out at night, hence they avoided places that were known trouble spots (Mekinc et al., 2017; Winlow et al., 2003).

For some, interacting with people outside the group opened up opportunities for sexual relations. Many participants, male and female, went out with the intention of hooking up. This confirms what has been documented in literature that entertainment zones are sexual marketplaces for singles seeking casual encounters with potential romantic partners (Farrer, 2011; Grazian, 2008). It also confirms the observed pleasures of sexual experiences in nightlife and other associated experiences (Jensen & Hunt, 2020; Pedersen et al., 2017). The thesis builds on this scholarship by linking the pursuit of sexual pleasures in nightlife to sociality.

Venue staff including waiters, waitresses and cleaners also contributed to sociality across playgroups given the manner in which they interacted with patrons while discharging their duties. It can be argued that venue staff were merely doing their job – sometimes with the expectation of receiving a tip – but the manner in which they performed some of their tasks had a welcoming effect on patrons, hence contributing to sociality. Such hospitable conduct among venue staff resonates with literature which describes workers in evening leisure spots as carefully performing their roles in order to impress patrons or create an exciting atmosphere (Grazian, 2008).

It is acknowledged that some patrons were not so tolerant and easily took offence at the occurrence of a minor infraction with an outsider, leading to fights in some cases. In Florida Street such conflicts were often resolved peacefully, but some turned violent and attracted the intervention of security staff also known as bouncers. These had the privilege of deploying a range of sanctions including violence to control such behaviour. This confirms literature regarding the privileged status which bouncers enjoy (Winlow et al., 2003) when it comes to enforcing rules in evening entertainment spots (May, 2015). The thesis sheds more light on the use of violence by bouncers as being part of this privilege.

Outside the play group, sociality can also be explained by the fact that the conduct of patrons within entertainment nightspots is still bound by the norms that apply in the wider society concerning acceptable behaviour. Hence, when internal mechanisms for maintaining order were inadequate, police were called upon, hence raising the possibility of stiffer sanctions to those found wanting, including jail time. With prospects of such sanctions lingering in their minds, patrons were compelled to behave appropriately. This supports the argument that despite alcohol assemblages being dynamic and unpredictable, it does not mean that drunken subjects can become anything they choose. To the contrary, drinking practices are also structured (Bøhling, 2015) as self-control and social regulation are central features of acceptable drinking practices (Thurnell-Read, 2016). Despite being subject to the dictates of wider societal norms, actors in nightlife assemblage still enjoy a high degree of autonomy which allows them to suspend some of the norms of society (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; van Liempt et al., 2015). Hence, in Florida

Street, the DJ in concert with patrons, could add profanity to popular folk music during moments of ecstatic or convivial sociality (Conroy & Measham, 2019; van Liempt et al., 2015). Similarly, patrons could climb and dance from the top of benches and tables, which under normal circumstance would be considered deviant.

8.3.3. The ebbs and flows of sociality

In relation to the degree of conviviality, sociality is manifested in different forms at different times of the evening and on different occasions, depending on how the constituent parts of nightlife assemblage interact (Bøhling, 2015). In Florida Street, there was a discernible rhythmic pattern to sociality. After reaching the peak on Friday and Saturday, the evening entertainment cycle started all over again on Monday. As it resumed, there was a serene atmosphere with some venues literally deserted. Some of the items which accompanied the weekend revelry like shisha were not even available in some venues. In fact, many venues closed early. With such a relaxed atmosphere it was possible for patrons to play a board game like chess, while venue staff were able to relax and freely walk about chatting among themselves and with patrons. In spite of the relaxed atmosphere, pretty much what went on a busy night still took place be it on a lower scale. With each passing day, there were slightly more people and the venues became more active (Winlow et al., 2003). This shows that patrons are an important element in creating lively scenes in nightlife. Hence, when they were few, the exciting scenes witnessed on weekends could not be recreated. This supports the view that young people's night-time excursions are largely restricted to weekends (Winlow et al., 2003). It also supports the argument that a weekly night out is a way of relieving the stress of work experienced during the week (Nicholls, 2019), hence the lively atmosphere on weekends. While literature acknowledges the weekly excursions by patrons in their consumption of nightlife, it does not sufficiently explain the impact that this behaviour has on sociality.

There is a discernible rhythm to sociality in evening entertainment venues as the night progresses. In Florida Street, early in the evening, people came and left shortly after. Some literally peeped before going away. As time went by, more patrons trooped in and the atmosphere livened up. Still, some patrons came and left after a few minutes. This could go on for some time

until the club closed. The tendency by patrons to peep before deciding whether to stay at a venue suggests a certain amount of peer influence among patrons in consuming nightlife similar to Grazian's notion of 'winning bar' where jam-packed queues of eager would-be patrons waiting entry, are considered a signal of a club's popularity to passers-by (Grazian, 2008). Consequently, it attracted more people. The subdued atmosphere at the beginning of the week was transformed into an ecstatic one on weekends and public holidays through the increased number of patrons in interaction with music and the DJ, alcohol and other drugs as well as sport. But similar to what obtained earlier in the week, convivial nights also displayed a rhythmic flow to sociality as the day/night wore on. This could be observed from the gradual build up starting in the afternoon, to the scenes of revelry when the venues were packed in the evening; and to the eventual dispersion of patrons at the end which sometimes came in the early hours of the next day. This confirms scholarship describing nightlife in cyclical terms involving a build-up earlier in the week leading to a lively atmosphere at the end of the week (Hunter, 2010; Nicholls, 2019; Thurnell-Read, 2021). The thesis adds to the understanding of such patterns of going out at night (van Liempt et al., 2015; Yeo & Heng, 2014) by also highlighting the forms of sociality generated on less lively occasions and in the course of an evening.

8.3.4. Sport, music and the DJ: Creating revelry

Music and the DJ play an important role in creating and sustaining conviviality in nightlife. Like a director of ceremonies, the DJ plays a key role in rousing and sustaining a convivial atmosphere (Attias et al., 2013; Levitt, 2016; Shaw, 2015) much sought after by both venue operators and patrons (Hadfield, 2015). But contrary to the image of superstar DJs in the context of big dance parties detached from everyday reality when they are on stage (Attias et al., 2013; Chew, 2009), the thesis suggests that they are still conscious and part of the goings on in the larger society (Bøhling, 2014) and within the venue. Like recorded music, live music significantly contributes to sparking off revelry in evening entertainment venues (Hunter, 2010; Tutenges, 2015). In addition to creating convivial forms of sociality, live music demonstrates the influence that different elements of nightlife entertainment assemblage have in creating particular forms of sociality.

In Florida Street, live music was performed at selected venues on selected days and occasions. It was characterised by fanfare as patrons danced and sang along. Although the forms of sociality exhibited during live music were similar to those created through recorded music, some of them were different. For instance, practices like dancing in a circle went on for a longer period and it involved more patrons from different playgroups during live music shows. Also, there was more interaction between patrons and the entertainers as could be observed from the two parties dancing together, passing and receipt of music request notes, and *kusowela*. This suggests that compared to recorded music, live music performances create a friendlier and more playful atmosphere. Here, the thesis is in agreement with literature regarding the importance of evening entertainment in preserving culture through live music performances (Carah et al., 2021; Stahl & Botta, 2019). Live music nights also demonstrated rhythmicity through the gradual build-up of the performances; the convivial scenes that emerged during a show; the seamless transition from live instruments to recorded music at the end of the show followed by the eventual dispersion of revelers.

Further, sport (watched on TV) contributes to creating conviviality in evening entertainment venues. As alluded to under neoliberalism above, pubs and bars in Florida Street provided a platform for fans to watch matches featuring popular European clubs and local clubs through satellite TV. During some of these games, evening entertainment venues erupted into wild scenes of revelry that could be likened to those experienced in stadiums. Like the other forms of conviviality, this was created through the interaction of sport in combination with other elements of the Florida Street nightlife assemblage. This confirms the recognition in literature of different forms of popular sport in the night-time economy (Palmer, 2021), as well as its carnivalesque effect (Attias et al., 2013; Palmer, 2014). While literature tends to give prominence to the role that sports plays in urban renewal strategies in general, and how local evening leisure venues benefit from the large numbers of people that sporting events attract before and after (Palmer, 2021), the thesis focuses on the sporting events taking place within evening leisure spots and their contribution in creating a convivial atmosphere.

8.4. Restricting nightlife expansion: nightlife governance challenges

This section reiterates the argument that the expansion of nightlife is impeded by excesses resulting from spatial disorder, failure to regulate and manage nightlife, and the misconceptualisation of nightlife as tourism in urban planning and policy.

8.4.1. Excesses of spatial disorder

Here I reiterate the argument that the potential of nightlife expansion is restricted by excesses resulting from spatial disorder (Massey, 2001) in nightlife assemblage occasioned by high outlet density existing side by side with a residential area. Hence, to a large extent, these problems are a manifestation of conflicting or what I describe as contra-functioning elements of a nightlife assemblage, particularly with regard to land use. Whilst contributing to a lively atmosphere, high outlet density exposes residents, young people in particular, to problems (Giordano et al., 2019; Nofre et al., 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; Rowland et al., 2016) such as noise, alcohol and prostitution. It was partly on account of such excesses that Florida Street also came to be known as Devil's Street. For instance, there were indications of underage drinking in some of Florida Street's venues as could be observed from the presence of girls below the age of eighteen. Given such vices, some families opted to move out of the neighbourhood. The thesis builds on scholarship concerning the impact of spatial disorder in nightlife by showing how conflicting land use is at the centre of the problems associated with high outlet density in nightlife. I argue that although assemblage explains how different elements come together over time resulting in particular forms of urbanism (McFarlane, 2011), it does not account for instances of spatial disorder (Massey, 2001) whereby elements of an assemblage come into conflict with each other.

The presence of young girls in night-time entertainment venues can be interpreted as failure by venue operators and the authorities to enforce the law forbidding those below the age of 18 to be in pubs, bars and nightclubs (The Liquor Licensing Act, 2011, 2011). This suggests that excesses related to spatial disorder (involving an evening entertainment zone in the same locality with a residential area) is exacerbated by deficiencies regarding the governance of nightlife. In the next

section, I examine nightlife excesses that are a result of deficiencies among the elements responsible for nightlife governance, including local authorities, the police and venue operators.

8.4.2. Regulation and management related excesses

To a large extent, the excesses within evening entertainment venues are worsened by failure to regulate and manage nightlife by both the authorities (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) and venue operators. In Florida Street, these limitations could be observed through inadequate security measures at some of the venues such as the absence of bouncers and CCTV. Consequently, such venues experienced more disorderly behaviour such as theft, compared to venues where security measures were in place (Miller et al., 2017; Winlow et al., 2003). The limitations could also be observed from the almost unhindered use of illicit drugs by patrons within the venues, including marijuana and home-made drugs like *Bostik* and *Mavolo*. Given that many patrons smoked openly, be it from semi-hidden places, it suggests that venue operators knew about the use of illicit drugs on their premises, but took no action to stop it. Also, given that this was within the vicinity of the police station, it suggests laxity on the part of the police. While this draws attention to scholarship concerning the importance of collaborative approaches in policing drug use in nightlife through the involvement of different actors including police, venue owners and private security agents (Di Ronco, 2016; Feltmann et al., 2021; Søgaard et al., 2017), it highlights some of the challenges that may be encountered in such approaches.

Failure to regulate and manage nightlife came into full view on the street outside the venues in relation to the exploits of criminal gangs known as junkies. They hailed from the surrounding townships like Chaisa and terrorised both patrons and residents who lived across the street. This suggests that on one hand, certain elements of a nightlife assemblage can boost nightlife whilst threatening it on the other hand. For instance, as indicated above, Chaisa was also home to a good number of the patrons who contributed to Florida Street revelries. In spite of the police being aware of the presence of junkies, no decisive action was taken to rid the street of these criminal elements. This confirms literature on the challenges that a concentration of alcohol-related entertainment poses where they are unregulated and unpoliced (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009).

In some instances, not only did venue operators and the authorities fail to manage nightlife, but actively took part in the transgressions that occurred. For instance, some bouncers were accused of being involved in some of the thefts that took place in the venues. This is an indication that venue operators did not do due diligence before recruiting their security personnel, or that they did not effectively monitor the conduct of their employees. The active participation of venue operators and the authorities could also be observed from the many venues which operated without licences. Worse still, venue operators and the authorities sometimes colluded in these transgressions. For instance, the council conducted periodic raids as a way of enforcing various regulations surrounding the operation of night-time entertainment venues, including operating hours, underage drinking, and liquor licenses. But often, word went round about these raids before they took place. This made it possible for erring venue operators to avoid on the spot sanctions like confiscation of beverages, withdrawal of licences and so on. This is yet another illustration of an element of the nightlife assemblage not by only enabling 'illegality' but actively facilitating it. By showing that the state – through its officials – was complicit in undermining the very administrative system that it was supposed to uphold, the thesis builds on Roy's (2012) representation of informality as a wider economic response to crisis instigated by the state and the elite not outside the state. The expansion of nightlife is also limited by a deficient policy and planning framework.

8.4.3. Policy limitations and the touristification of nightlife

The expansion of nightlife in Florida Street was also hampered by the inadequate attention that it received, as well as its conceptualisation in terms of tourism in Zambia's urban planning and policy documents. This can be understood as a case of conflicting rationalities between systems of government administration with regard to planning and service provision, and the everyday lives of the urban population (Watson, 2009). I argue so because despite the potential that it demonstrated in entertainment districts such as Florida Street, there was no policy at national level specifically targeted at promoting night-time entertainment in Zambia. Similarly, night-time entertainment was not considered among the priority areas in key relevant legislation such as the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2015. This is in line with scholarship regarding the absence

of the night-time economy from policy (Lovatt & Connor, 2010; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009) in many cities, despite its demonstrated potential to contribute to cultural and economic development. Ironically, while policies were mute with regard to the promotion of night-time entertainment, they were very elaborate on how to police and control it (The Liquor Licensing Act, 2011, 2011). This is in agreement with literature regarding the bias in policy responses focused on managing the transgression associated with nightlife whilst overlooking its potential (Füller et al., 2018; Pratt & Gill, 2019; Roberts & Eldridge, 2007).

Night-time entertainment only appeared in the Tourism and Hospitality Policy where it fell under leisure and recreation facilities such as hotels and lodges (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2006). The same could be observed in other policy documents where night-time entertainment was catered for, including the National Development Plans spanning the period 2002 to 2022, where it appeared under tourism and culture. In the majority of these documents, there was no mention of night-time economy, night-time entertainment or nightlife per se other than reference to a few types of venues such as hotels and lodges, as well as concepts that were associated with night-time entertainment like arts and culture. At municipality level, night-time entertainment did not come out clearly among the social services that the LCC was mandated to provide, yet closely related services like markets, bus stations, and libraries were clearly listed. The closest to night-time entertainment that was provided for was recreation, but the challenge was that recreation had a narrow definition in relation to day time activities such as sport and play parks. It is only in the city development plan for Lusaka for the period 2007 to 2030 where night time entertainment was explicitly mentioned and provided for it in terms of the land use zoning plan for the city. Despite this, the challenge still remained that of framing night-time entertainment within tourism lenses.

This resonates with literature regarding the close relationship between night-time entertainment and tourism (Nofre et al., 2018; Porthé et al., 2021; Tutenges, 2015). It also ties with literature which considers night-time entertainment as a supporting minor concern for tourism (Pratt & Gill, 2019). Furthermore, it agrees with literature concerning the problems associated with the touristification of nightlife, that is, in terms of its impact on locals (Nofre, 2020). Here, the thesis brings in another dimension by suggesting that promoting nightlife from the perspective of tourism is also problematic because it obscures and relegates nightlife to a secondary matter of

policy interest. This implies that the success of the night-time economy hinges on that of tourism. Conversely, failure in the tourism sector also translates into failure in the night-time economy. This is problematic considering the poor performance of the tourism sector in Zambia (Ministry of Finanace and National Planning, 2011, 2017; Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2022).

I also argue that framing night-time entertainment in terms of tourism suggests that it is a preserve of tourists, especially foreign nationals. Whilst acknowledging the contribution that tourists make in boosting nightlife (Nofre et al., 2018; Porthé et al., 2021; Tutenges, 2015), I argue that locals play an equally important role in boosting night-time entertainment (Hollands & Chatterton, 2002). Hence, it is important to develop strategies directed at boosting the consumption of nightlife by local residents themselves. Here, I build on scholarship that is opposed to the tourist and non-tourist binary in nightlife in that while advocating strategies directed at boosting the consumption of nightlife by local residents, I still acknowledge the significance of tourism in nightlife.

8.4.4. Conclusion: areas for future research

I reiterate the need to study nightlife in African cities as it is an area through which the vitality and richness of everyday life in African cities can be unravelled (Meth et al., 2024). This is important given that literature on African urbanisms has been dominated by a one dimensional narrative of either optimistic growth or decline (Ferguson, 1999). It is more crucial with regard to the periphery, where literature is still in its infancy. The periphery is often considered to be a product of marginality, informality and unplanned urbanisation (Meth et al., 2024). I acknowledge that these perspectives cast the spotlight on an equally important part of the urban landscape of African cities (Myers, 2011) with its attendant challenges concerning the governance of the periphery. As Meth et al. (2024) observe, the periphery presents new socio-economic environments that give rise to distinct patterns and dilemmas of urban life not only as spaces on the city edge (Meth et al., 2024). Take for instance, the inconvenience that the many pubs and bars posed to residents across Florida Street discussed in Chapter 7. Or the unsanitary

state of some venues without running water and or sufficient restrooms due to continued unauthorised extensions (Chapter 5).

Assemblage thinking has much to offer in this endeavour given its sensitivity to the process through which cities are formed, in addition to how the whole and its parts co-function (McFarlane and Anderson, 2011). Assemblage thinking is enhanced by bringing in supporting theoretical approaches which draw attention to various processes and local conditions in explaining urban policy outcomes as suggested by post-structuralist and post-neoliberal approaches (Pieterse, 2008; Watson, 2009).

There are many areas for future inquiry concerning nightlife on the periphery, including the resilience demonstrated by independently owned small night-time businesses despite the increasing presence of large international entertainment corporations. My study shows that the presence of large international entertainment corporations has become increasingly prominent in Zambia since the adoption of the neoliberal agenda in the 1990s, but independently owned small night-time businesses continue to thrive in places like Florida Street. This makes them an interesting subject of inquiry especially when one considers the bias towards corporate owned evening entertainment businesses in nightlife studies.

Another line of inquiry concerns the accessibility of such independently owned small night-time businesses to diverse groups in terms of social status, sex, age etcetera. Alongside a lively or vibrant nightlife, venues that are accessible to people of diverse backgrounds are the much sought after ingredients of nightlife in the 21st century (Hadfield, 2015). It has been observed that EZs help to foster social sustainability and community well-being since they are accessible to the wider population and a diversity of people (Nofre, 2020; Yeo & Heng, 2014). Given the negative narrative surrounding the periphery, to what extent are EZs on the periphery accessible to those from other locations including middle to high income groups? Conversely, to what extent are they accessible to low-income groups hailing from within the periphery as they increasingly come under the influence of large entertainment corporations?

Closely linked to this is the contribution that independently owned small night-time businesses make to local social economic development. While, literature extensively covers the social, cultural and economic benefits of nightlife (Nofre et al., 2018; Yeo & Heng, 2014), most of it

focuses on night-time entertainment enterprises operating in the city centre (Campbell et al., 2009; Füller et al., 2018; Hadfield, 2015). It is silent on the opportunities that small and independent night-time entertainment enterprises offer in quotidian places where ordinary people live (Yeo and Heng, 2014). In particular, there is need for studies that examine the complimentary relationship between night-time entertainment and other businesses that operate side by side with the pubs and bars including butcheries, grocery shops, pharmacies, salons, auto repair shops and others.

Live music forms a large part of nightlife, hence it also provides many avenues for further inquiry (Carah et al., 2021; G. Stahl & Botta, 2019). This includes the contribution that evening entertainment venues on the periphery make in preserving music as a cultural form. This is key considering the decreasing number of venues hosting live music performances with the rise in computer generated music that has been observed in Lusaka's live musicscape. It is argued that by focusing our attention on venues, rather than scenes or subcultures, we can understand how live music is stimulated, altered and thwarted in nightlife precincts (Carah et al., 2021).

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10. Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics clearance certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Muchindu

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H18/11/48**
PROJECT TITLE	The nightlife of a Zambian town
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr M Muchindu
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Sciences/
DATE CONSIDERED	23 November 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	16 May 2022

DATE 17 May 2019 **CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor O Katsaura

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ Signature

17 / 05 / 2019 Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 2: Observation guide

Date: ……

Place: …….

Time: to be noted at the beginning of each field visit and at intervals as events unfold

1. **Physical surrounding**
   a) Colour of floor, walls, ceiling, size of room, location of doors and windows
   b) Arrangement of furniture and its condition – whether new, clean etc.
   c) Type of lighting, any signs, paintings, plants
   d) Sounds or smells

2. **People and their actions**
   a) Physical characteristics – age, sex, race, stature, dress, hairstyle
   b) Behaviour – where people sit or stand; pace at which they walk; non-verbal communication; what is said and how is it said
   c) Context of events – who is present, who just left or arrived etc.

Appendix 3: Interview guide for LCC official (1)

1. Position……
2. How long have you worked for Lusaka City Council?
3. How long have you held your current position?
4. What role does the council play in relation to night-time entertainment?
5. Why is Florida Street in Emmasdale, called Devil's Street?
6. Who have been the major actors in the development of Florida Street Devil's Street Entertainment Zone? Probe for the roles played by the following:
   - Venue owners/operators
   - Beer manufacturers
   - Consumers
   - The council
   - Other (specify)

7. What evening entertainment is offered in Florida Street's venues?
    - Probe for different activities including beer drinking, eating, live music performances, sports, sex related activities etc.
8. Why are there so many evening entertainment venues on Florida Street?
9. Is this in conformity with city planning regulations?
10. If not, why has it been allowed?
11. Does the presence of many evening entertainment venues have any impact on nightlife on Devil's Street?
12. If so, in what ways?
    - Probe for what kind of environment it creates (whether lively or fun-filled, friendly, secure, unsafe, disorderly etc.)
13. Does it pose any challenges to your work with regard to regulating night-time entertainment activities? Explain.
14. Does it present any opportunities in terms of the growth of night-time entertainment in Lusaka? Explain.
15. What is the major difference regarding nightlife in Lusaka before and after the introduction of neoliberalism?
16. Is night-time entertainment considered an important part of urban development by LCC?
17. If so, explain to demonstrate its importance.
18. If not, explain why.
19. Does night-time entertainment appear in any of the current city development plans?
20. What vision does LCC have in terms of night-time entertainment?
21. To what extent has LCC succeeded in realising this vision?
22. What challenges if any, have you encountered?

Appendix 4: Interview guide for LCC official (2)

1. Position and period you were in charge of the area where Florida Street is located.
2. How did Florida Street Entertainment Zone begin?

- Probe who allocated the plots i.e. whether it was ordinary citizens, the council, political party officials etc.

3. Who were first to set up businesses?
   - Probe whether ordinary citizens, council officials, political party officials etc.
4. Why was the council not able to stop illegal developments?
5. Did you think Florida Street would have many bars and pubs, or that it would become so popular? Explain why.
6. Did the council include the development of night-time entertainment as part of its development plans for the city? If not, why?
7. What differences if any, did you observe before and after the introduction of a free market economy?
   - Probe issue of outlet density
8. After the regularisation of its status, what challenges has the council experienced in regulating nightlife in Florida Street?
9. To what extent is the council responsible for nightlife excesses in Florida Street?
10. To what extent are venue owners, operators or the police responsible?

Appendix 5: Interview guide for venue owners/operators

1. Name of venue
2. How long have you been operating from or have you owned this venue?
3. How did you acquire it?
   - Probe whether it was bought from another individual, the council, from political party officials etc.
4. Did you think that Florida Street would have many bars and pubs, or that it would become so popular? Explain why.
5. Who are the owners/operators of the venues in Florida?
   - Probe whether ordinary individuals, political party officials, rich individuals etc.
6. Is there any committee or individual responsible for coordinating the operation of businesses in Florida Street?
7. What differences if any, do you recall in terms of business opportunities before and after the introduction of a free market economy?

- Probe into the business environment during UNIP and early years of MMD
- What change took place?
- Which venues were opened at the peak of liberalisation in the 1990s and early 2000s

8. Ask about change in terms of availability of alcoholic beverages.
9. Ask about the introduction of new types of entertainment in nightlife e.g.
   - games like pool and satellite TV, availability of music equipment, CDs etc. after the liberalisation of the economy
10. What agreement do venue owners enter into with Zambia Breweries to brand their premises? Are there any fears that they could take-over?
11. Are there any rules to guide the conduct of patrons at your venue?
12. Which days are busy?
13. How do you attract customers?

Appendix 6: Interview guide for BANCOAZ

1. Position
2. How long have you held this position?
3. What is the main objective of BANCOAZ?
4. In your view, what is the importance of night-time entertainment to urban life?
5. Do you have any members operating from Florida Street
6. What have been some of your major achievements?
7. What are your main challenges?
   - Probe on impact of lack of policy on nightlife
   - Probe challenges related to nightlife excesses
8. What differences if any, did you observe in Lusaka's nighttime entertainment after the introduction of a free market economy in the 1990s?
   - Probe on impact on accessibility of music systems and accessories
   - Probe on availability of different alcoholic beverages
   - Probe on introduction of new elements of entertainment
9. What opportunities does nightlife have in Lusaka going forward?

Appendix 7: Interview guide for Matero Police

1. Position
2. How long have you worked at Matero Police Station?
3. How do the police maintain law and order in Florida Street?
4. What are the common offences that patrons commit in and around Florida Street venues? Probe for theft, fights, drugs etc.
5. Are the police aware about the presence of junkies on Florida Street?
6. If so, why can't police arrest the junkies in Florida Street?
7. Do the police take part in raids on evening entertainment venues conducted by LCC?
8. If so, what is your comment regarding complaints that police officers and LCC officials leak information to bar/pub operators about impending raids?
9. How can efforts by the police to maintain law and order on Florida Street be sustained?

Appendix 8: Interview guide for patrons

1. Age….
2. Sex…….
3. Occupation……
4. Where do you live?
5. How long have you been patronising The Garage liquor store/Motherland nightclub/Porps nightclub/Fair Deal Pub and Grill?
6. How often do you visit this night-time entertainment venue?
7. Why is Florida Street called Devil's Street?
8. Why do you think there are so many bars, pubs and nightclubs on Florida Street?
9. Which actors have been influential with regard to the development of Florida Street as a renowned evening Entertainment Zone? Probe for the roles played by venue owners or operators, beer manufacturers, consumers, the council etc.
10. What do you do during an evening out?
11. What do you like about The Garage liquor store/Motherland nightclub/Porps nightclub/Fair Deal Pub and Grill?
12. What kind of entertainment is provided at this venue?

- Probe for different activities including beer drinking, eating, dancing, live performances, sports, sex related activities etc.
- Probe for activities on different occasions including regular nights during the week, weekends, special occasions etc.

13. Who do you hang out with?
14. How do you relate with people that you do not know?
15. Are there any people that you met at one of the venues whom you have become friends with?
16. How do you avoid conflict with others when you go out?
17. What other venues on Florida Street do you visit other places on Florida Street?
18. What do you like about the other venue (s)?
19. Does the presence of many evening entertainment venues on Florida Street influence the way people consume night-time entertainment?
20. If so, in what ways?
    - Probe for the kind of atmosphere it creates (whether lively or fun-filled, friendly, secure, unsafe, disorderly etc.), whether it makes people drink a lot etc.
21. Are there any activities that are disruptive to social order at this venue or the other venues that you sometimes visit?
22. If so, what activities are these?
23. In your view, who is responsible for such activities?

Appendix 9: Spatial layout of Fair Deal Pub and Grill

