ICNS Proceedings

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Preamble

The night has been the subject of multiple readings by the social and human sciences, as well as it has inspired multiple narratives throughout history, literature and popular culture. However, the study of nightlife, practices, and actors only gained attention in recent years.

The appearance of "mayors of the night" with the intention of improving urban governance during this period and thus guaranteeing needs, rights and services is the result of a progressive change in the local political paradigm, which begins to face this space-time as a "new" opportunity for its economic, social and cultural development. We could say that the night and the activities that take place in it begin to be projected as forms of tourist attraction, whether for their leisure activities such as discos, parties or other forms of fun; or because of its cultural potential, such as the White Nights.

Contemporary urban night implies having active professionals, capable of reacting to any incident, such as the case of health professionals, but also maintaining those professions – often illegal – that tend to be considered problematic or hidden as could be prostitution. Surveillance and control during this period is also a good example of active professions, such as the case of the police, surveillance companies, video-doorman, or firefighters.

It has never been so easy to commute in the urban space, public transport normally meets the needs of users, and the emergence of new forms of transport resulting from the circular economy, both of people and goods, completes the demand, not without controversy.

There are many different ways to approach the night, but here we collect some of the communications that participated during the I International Conference on Night Studies, that took place on-line, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, on July 2nd -4th, 2020. These communications are also on-line on the official account of the conference.

'THE NIGHTS WILL BE ALWAYS OURS':
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROCEEDINGS BOOK OF THE 1st INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NIGHT STUDIES

Jordi Nofre and Manuel Garcia-Ruiz

<div align="right">

Everybody's talking at me
I don't hear a word they're saying
Only the echoes of my mind
People stopping, staring
I can't see their faces
Only the shadows of their eyes
(«*Everybody's Talkin'*», Fred Neil, 1966).

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This singer-songwriter Fred Neil's words could depict what many of us, night scholars, felt some few years ago. We knew they were some colleagues in other places of the world that were researching on night-related topics, but very few of us had had the opportunity to meet all together in 'our own house': A transdisciplinary conference on night studies. For that very reason, the realization of the 1st International Conference on Night Studies was not a full stop but, above all, the beginning of a vibrant, amazing, cross-disciplinary research about the multiple spatial, social, economic, cultural, political, environmental, and public health-related aspects of the night (both urban and rural; from both Global North and South) that are still waiting to be explored.

Growing knowledge on the urban night in both Global South and North appears as crucial towards enhancing new opportunities of collaborations to deepen our knowledge in the field of night studies and break with the invisibility (and even marginalization) that, to date, has featured our research field in the academic sphere of social sciences and humanities. After the realization of our 1st Conference, now we can affirm that 'the night' has consolidated its position as an exciting, emerging scholar field, although enormous challenges are jeopardizing its normal evolution towards a consolidated interdisciplinary field. In this sense, nightlife is still considered as a synonym of vice, sin and immorality at the institutional level in most countries across the world –especially under these pandemic times, while such a perverse vision about the night is also shared by many young and old scholars who belong to conservative (even reactionary) forces – although they are often deftly camouflaged as *leftists*. But, as we could witness during the conference, and thru the papers that compose this volume, the study of the *night* goes far beyond the study of night leisure, or club culture. A transdiciplinar Night Studies

discipline encompass a wild range of topics, visions and analysis, that cover different aspects of the social life, extending and completing the traditional studies more focuses on day-light-time. Contributions from many disciplines enrich this field that we claim, and we feel necessary, to completely understand, mediate, work and exploit properly and free of stereotypes inherited from other times.

Our main mission should be to demonstrate that the study of 'the night' is much more necessary than ever, especially in the present days in which, in many cities across the globe, the night has become an arena of the clash between the newly-emerged *pandemic politics* and anti-*pandemic politics.* These are a continuation of the myth of the *night for the thugs*, the unhealthy and the fear. There a is needed to reflect, think and act to break those stigmatic views on the night, and embrace a more healthy and inclusive night that guarantees the wellbeing of everybody and the success of every party. We should stop and remember that our living in society strongly depends on night activities, night workers, and freedom. We need to gain consideration, and bring bright to this emerging field, that has always been there, but always eclipsed.

This Proceedings Book is an excellent example of what has been exposed, a compilation of papers covering different aspects, topics and problems from different disciplines worldwide about and on the night.

* * *

Claire Downey (from the School of Architecture & School of Modern Languages and Applied Linguistics at the University of Limerick) explores mechanisms for generating possibility within nocturnal urban landscapes situated in Limerick, Ireland, and Paris, France, with the aim of moving beyond the scope of entertainment venues by proposing a wakeful city to explore interventions in mobility, temporary installations, community participation and the reuse of emptied structures.

Adam Eldridge, Dorrie Chetty and Nayyar Hussain (from the School of Social Sciences at the University of Westminster) focus on London based hair salons open beyond traditional opening hours to consider the ways in which they enable practices of community and belonging. For the authors, the salons examined play a particularly crucial role in their local community, serving as points of introduction and as landmarks for new and established migrant communities, since these salons are important sites of conviviality within the capital and warrant greater policy intervention to ensure their sustainability.

Gergely Olt (from the Institute of Sociology at the Centre for Social Sciences Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Centre of Excellence) situates their geographical focus on southern-east Europe (i.e., Budapest, in Hungary) to analyze the management of nightlife-derived conflicts. To do this, Olt puts particular emphasis on the work of the Night Mayor of Budapest, advocacy groups of entrepreneurs and political representation of the residents struggling against negative effects of the nighttime

economy. For the author, the situation of the legal state, transparency of business and political relations and equality before the law is central for a more just management of conflicts, where even the most vulnerable groups involved can get closer to their goals. In this sense, Olt suggests that instead of a local focus on conflicts the broader political and social context needs to be examined to understand how conflict management and conflict resolution could work.

Nancy Gonlin (from the Bellevue College) and April Nowell (from the University of Victoria) recall us that ancient urban dwellers transformed their nocturnal environment through the artifacts, features, and buildings they utilized, some of which were particularly associated with the dark. Also, the authors remark that nocturnal quotidian practices shaped the archaeological record as much as diurnal ones, yet archaeologists have not routinely considered the night in their reconstructions of the past. In their paper, Gonline and Nowell examine the material record in conjunction with ancient writing to search for laborers in the night, those who worked the "nightshift" in antiquity.

Jonas Kapitza (from the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology & the Institute of Geography and Geoecology) focuses on nighttime mobility in Germany by perfoming a quantitative data evaluation of the 2017 MiD survey on nighttime trips, i.e., when they take place and which characteristic features the persons who make these trips have. The author shows that most nocturnal leisure trips tend to take place on weekends, nightly trips to work during the week. Also, Kapitza shows that leisure trips are mainly made by young, well-educated city dwellers, whereas work trips are made primarily by older, less well educated, mainly male persons, as well as residents living more peripherally.

Christine Mady (from the Notre Dame University-Louaize) focuses on Beirut's leisure streets, which gained international reputation for their vibrant nightlife. Her research builds on popular media, mapping and photographic documentation conducted in 2018 to analyze the streets' morphology, rhythms and contextual traits. Her findings indicate that the inherent street morphology and relation to the city centre contribute to their popularity, versatility and attractive nightlife.

Christian Morgner (from the School of Media, Communication and Sociology at the University of Leicester) and Mariko Ikeda (from the Faculty of Arts and Design and the University of Tsukuba) addresses the rise of night-time economies in two major countries in the Global North (Germany and Japan) from a cultural policy perspective, focusing in particular on Berlin and Tokyo as major night-time hubs. Building on existing research, which has typically focused on major Western economic hubs like London and New York, the authors makes two main contributions by (1) comparing the development of cultural policy in two distinct global regions and (2) highlighting the role of culture and cultural histories, spaces and meanings in shaping relevant policies.

Diana Raiselis (from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation /Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung) and Kai Sachse (from the Freie Universität Berlin) explores how Clubsterben ("club dying") and the precariousness of clubs in urban space has been a topic in Berlin public discourse since the early

2000s. The authors argue that Clubsterben is a result of specific political and policy circumstances. Based on three key case studies, Raiselis and Sachse propose a working definition of Clubsterben, identifies threats to club culture spaces, and explores how a nighttime governance entity aims to mitigate them through innovation.

Karin Leivategija (from theEstonian National Museum) explores the position of 90s alternative club culture among the bigger societal processes, and the rights and opportunities of youth to actively engage with the nocturnal urban space, form identities and create a sense of community. I explore the strategies and practices used for producing and experiencing the scene. In proposing that, Leivategija discusses the official regulation and public attitude towards the alternative music based
club scene throughout the past 30 years.

Sylwia Dudek-Mańkowska (from the , Urban Laboratory Mirosław Grochowski at the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, University of Warsaw) identify and examine the structure of nightlife industry and the level of concentration of nightlife industry premises in the most attractive part of the central district of Warsaw. The author shows that, just like retail commerce, restaurants and coffee shops prefer location on main streets and near tourists attractions, while bars and clubs are grouped in small clusters and typically are located in adjacent areas. Dudek-Mańkowska also shows that the city "goes to bed early" even in the most attractive, central location with potential to develop nightlife activities, although the central part of the city cannot be considered a nightlife entertainment district.

The paper of Nancy Gonlin (from the Anthropology Department at the Bellevue College) shows that archaeology is uniquely suited to answer long-term questions of urban adaptation, and in particular, how humans coped with nocturnal dimensions of city life. To demonstrate that, the author presents a case study that well illustrates the challenges and opportunities of the night and how these reflect inequalities is the culture of the Late Classic Maya (600-900 CE) of Mexico and Central America (Mesoamerica).

Nicolas Houel, Laurent Lescop, and Dany Joly (from the Laboratoire Ambiances, Architectures, Urbanités, UMR 1563 – ENSA Nantes 6) presents L'Observatoire de la nuit (The Observatory of the night), a participatory evaluation and design method regarding nocturnal urban ambiances based on dematerialized questionnaires, with digitally mapped-out contributions. The evaluations deal with the conditions of use and temporality of the nocturnal public space. The authors shows how the such evaluations produce precise knowledge regarding the real activities unfolding. For the authors, the observatory must be seen as crucial for accompanying political and technical decisions made by local authorities.

Rupert Griffiths and Nick Dunn (from the Lancaster Institute for the Contemporary Arts, Imagination Lancaster at the Lancaster University) presents a paper that is sited at the intersection of two perspectives on the urban night—first, lived experience and the affective dimension of the nocturnal

city; and second, the wider rhythms of the city and the sky above that inscribe themselves into both humans and our non-human companions. The paper asks what methods we, as researchers, can develop to be attentive to the urban night so as to bring these two perspectives together. To do this, the discuss two methods that we have used to inhabit and describe the urban night—one a perambulatory autoethnography of urban edge-lands described through text and photography, the other an ethnography of urban temporality using photographic and sound field recording technique.

Salomé Vincent (from the UFR Géographie, and UR Médiations, at the Sorbonne Université) explores the deconstruction of the fear of darkness in public space. Vincent remarks that, contrary to a widely held idea, no police statistics show that night is more criminogenic than the day. For that very reason, the author suggests that the challenge is to reach a consent to urban darkness, since it guarantees frameless spaces that leave room for all the expressions of the night. That is why Vincent proposes that the deconstruction of the fears of darkness allows an empowering and alternative experience of the city.

Allison Peacock (from Concordia University) analyzes the first-person perspective of Night Moves, Night Walk, or Night Drive (local TV programme in Southern Ontario, Canada in late 1980s) through an interdisciplinary lens that considers the subject of experiencing space through cultural geography and choreography, while reflecting on major urban issues underlying the aesthetic nostalgia embedded in this depiction of Toronto.

Florian Guérin (from the UMR 5281 ART-Dev, Université Paul Valéry Montpellier 3), Magali de Raphélis (from the EA 3312 CRDT, EA 2076 Habiter, Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne), and Sandra Mallet (IATEUR – ESI-Reims, EA 2076 Habiter, Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne) analyse the nocturnal dimension to the Reims Grand Centre project. Their paper brings out a shift in approach by those involved in urban design, with an increased sensitivity to nocturnal matters. For the authors, this provides a way of improving user comfort and developing new evening and night-time usages, although they also point out that this attention to the nocturnal dimension is incomplete, seeking to make places more attractive only to certain parts of the population, leading to various pre-existing usages being displaced or pushed out, thereby increasing social and behavioral normativity.

Olga Kolesova (from the Russian Academy of Science Newspaper 'Poisk'), Irina Skalaban (from the Department of Social Work and Social Anthropology at the Novosibirsk State Technical University), Anastasia Pogorelskaya (from the World Politics Department at the National Research Tomsk State University), and Gleb Cherepanov (from the National Research at the University in Saint Petersburg) provide the overview of the research conducted in two Siberian university cities, namely Tomsk and Novosibirsk. By analyzing the results of surveys conducted among students of both cities and digital traces of night life facilities, the authors provide the in-depth analysis into the peculiarities and difficulties arising in both cities night life. In conclusion some practical advice is provided to make night life of Siberian university cities meet the demands of current students.

The paper of Maria Giaever Lopez (from the Department of Sociology at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster) focuses on 'free parties' organized by groups of young people gathered as sound systems. Giaver López argue that these nights articulate a sense of belonging and feeling at home as well as non-traditional ways of participation in the foreign culture that constitute a deeper meaning to this migrant community than the regulated late-night leisure.

To close this book, we have a visual essay by David Kendall (from Goldsmiths, University of London, Sociology, Centre for Urban and Community Research) who considers how light energy production, consumption and pollution influences sustainable development and stimulates ecological change in Qatar and along the Arabian Peninsula.

Shape Shifting: Architecture in a Wakeful City

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Abstract

Murray Melbin writes that as we move into the night, 'we redesign our community to be ever wakeful' (1987, 9). He is not specifically addressing urban or architectural design, and yet, he raises an increasingly important question: what should a wakeful city look like? If the intention of urban architecture – its predetermined usage, its ability to fit within a particular neighbourhood or act as landmark – has largely been determined by the diurnal context, the night offers not a new frontier, but a new inclusiveness, one that addresses the needs of a diverse nocturnal population.

Certainly, the nocturnal and diurnal city share a defined footprint, a unique configuration of solid mass and open space, articulated as building, bridge, plaza or park. The night city is differentiated in the passage through, and perception of, these set pieces; in gradients of darkness and shifting zones of activity. This paper asks how the built city can both condition and participate in the economic, social and cultural movements of the night. Specifically, it looks at how architecture frames our experience of the exterior, night city. It investigates how this framing encourages, or not, the appropriation of urban spaces, identifying points of access, exclusion and opportunity. By understanding how articulations of architecture – envelopment, permeability, scale, edge, recess – influence nocturnal spatial practice, alternatives in building and lighting can be imagined. These alternatives become increasingly significant as cities such as Paris, France, where much of this research is based, grow darker, working to reduce energy consumption and light pollution.

Architecture is never neutral. It has the ability to contribute positively to the experience, sustainability and security of the night city. Moving beyond the scope of entertainment venues, the wakeful city must explore interventions in mobility, temporary installations, community participation

and the reuse of emptied structures. This contribution fits within an ongoing, doctoral research project, exploring mechanisms for generating possibility within nocturnal urban landscapes situated in Limerick, Ireland, and Paris, France.

Keywords: Architecture, Darkness, Night Walking, Urban Night

Introduction

The urban night is being redesigned. This does not mean it is being constructed on top of, or somehow outside of, the diurnal city. Acts of redesign do not necessarily require building. Rather, there is a constant repositioning going on, a responsiveness that sees cities adapt to the spatial and temporal imperatives generated by its inhabitants. At night, these imperatives include what Murray Melbin (1978; 1987) terms, a new wakefulness.

Melbin has written two seminal texts well known to contemporary night studies. In 'Night as Frontier', published in *The American Sociology Review* (1978), and subsequent book, *Night as Frontier, Colonizing the World After Dark* (1987), Melbin outlines the expansion of human activity into the temporal frontier of the American night. He defines frontier as a 'pattern of sparse settlement in space or time, located between a more densely settled and a practically empty region' (1978, p. 6). The use of the word 'or' allows Melbin to separate considerations of time from space, in order to concentrate on the incessant occupation of a supposed temporal wilderness. What had once been a geographic expansion is now a movement in time. If Melbin acknowledges that time is always used 'in some place' (1978, pp. 5-6), his analogy remains problematic for the urban night. In actuality, he advances the possibility of an urban landscape that is simultaneously constructed, or 'full', and one that is yet to be filled by ever-expanding needs and services. It is unclear where frontier and 'settled centre' meet (Melbin, 1987, p. 37), or if the existing city might offer some resistance. A more realistic depiction would be an ever-evolving night of interdependencies, including populated zones of accommodation, conflict and hope which, while not fully potentialized, provide an opportunity for space and time to move forward in concert.

The current paper looks to reinsert considerations of the built landscape into the 'inextricably interwoven' (Massey, 1994, p. 261) relationship of nocturnal space and time. Rather than relegating space to 'absence' (Massey, 1994, p. 261), particularly under the guise of nocturnal darkness, it addresses the continual lines being drawn, in time, between objects in space, light, shadow and people. These relationships are ever-present, expressed in a multiplicity of space-times across the night city. Focus is therefore directed at how the built city, and specifically the architectures surrounding exterior public space, act not as passive backdrop, but as integral participants in the social use of nocturnal landscapes. The word architecture can be expanded to the plural architectures, to include the fields of planning, landscape, lighting and urban design, which are equally integral to this framing (Waterman, 2018, p. 4). The goal, as related to the author's ongoing, interdisciplinary dissertation project, is to firstly

identify those conditions within the built frame that encourage the appropriation of urban space in darkness, and secondly to use that knowledge to begin to generate positive place experiences within the night city. Melbin's work provides a useful starting point.

In the introduction to *Night as Frontier*, *Colonizing the World After Dark*, Melbin states that as we move into the night, 'we redesign our community to be ever wakeful' (1987, p. 9). While Melbin is not specifically addressing issues related to urban or architectural design, he raises a pertinent question. What should a wakeful city look like? If the intention of urban architecture – its programmes and landmarks, the layout of its streets and neighbourhoods – has largely been determined by the diurnal context, the night offers not a new frontier, but an opportunity for reweaving space-time relationships. A contextual refocusing becomes necessary, to address both altered perceptions of the city in darkness, as well as the ability of built infrastructures to respond to the needs of diverse nocturnal populations. The relevance of reconsidering nocturnal architectures comes as cities such as Paris, where much of the current research project has been conducted, grow darker, working to reduce energy consumption and light pollution. How form, materiality, scale and other physical attributes of a wakeful yet darkening city, will influence night-time experience merits greater consideration.

Figure 1. 11:00 pm. Cour du Commerce Saint-André, Paris. Shadow begins to create its own space, to fill the built frame but also to erode edges. Source: (M. Nishiguchi 2020). Reprinted with permission.

Peripheral stirrings of a wakeful city

> While advancing into the night our destiny is to be carried along by the momentum we stir up and to accommodate to conditions we introduce.…Now we do more than merely expand in time. We redesign our community to be ever wakeful, and in the course of that, as proprietors and inhabitants of it, we are also changing. (Melbin, 1987, p. 9)

In the quote above, Melbin foresees a night in progression, where increased actions imply reactions. The word 'redesign' infers a form of adaptation to new criteria, new programmes. Ideally, changes in the social organization of a community would be reflected in the configuration of place. Even adhering to Doreen Massey's aptly founded view that human beings can and do belong to multiple communities – of family, cultures, interests and localities – simultaneously, across different time zones (Masey, 1994, pp. 153-154), one can recognize that changes in social communities affect built environments. These changes are manifested in large and small ways; in hours of passage and opening, in the walking across of thresholds and the closing of gates, in the construction of new typologies or the use of existing structures in new ways. If greater, more diverse populations are investing the urban night they will leave traces of their wakefulness. Whether in planned or spontaneous constructions, architecture must evolve to accommodate the momentum that nocturnal populations have, as Melbin says, 'stirred up' (1987, p. 9). How architectures will do this, relates to an overall understanding of how humans position themselves in relationship to shifting space-time parameters.

In *Eyes of the Skin* (2005), Finnish architect, Juhani Pallasmaa, states that architecture is in fact, our 'primary' human instrument for relating to space and time (p. 17). While introducing aspects of phenomenology within an embodied approach to architectural design, Pallasmaa explains how architecture helps domesticate otherwise limitless abstractions of space and time (2005, p. 17). It does this by providing knowable and accessible parameters that act to strengthen our sense of 'being-in-the-world' (Pallasmaa, 2005, p. 11). The experience of belonging unfolds as we move through the city, involved in everyday spatial practices. If the city on paper, drawn from a bird's eye perspective is, much like the aerial night view, disconnected from urban dwelling, the ability to appropriate space relies on physical immersion. Here, at the level of the city street, it is peripheral vision that integrates us within a spatial-temporal context (Pallasmaa, 2005, p. 13). From the perimeter comes a sense of heightened awareness, enhanced by shadow, materiality and tactility, allowing the pedestrian to project themselves into their surroundings. While darkness reduces sharpness of vision, the emergence of deep shadows opens our 'peripheral sensing' (Pallasmaa, 2005, p. 46), allowing previously undetected spatial configurations to be imagined.

Finding possibility in the built landscape of the nocturnal city means coming to terms with its 'dual character' (Dunn, 2016, p. 10). On one hand, there is the aforementioned planned city, with its unique configuration of solid mass and open space articulated as building, bridge, street, plaza or park. This footprint is not static – cities, like its citizens are in constant movement – but it is a landscape 'to which form and meaning have already been attached'[1] (Ingold, 2000, p. 153). On the other hand, the night

city has its own distinct atmospheres (Edensor, 2017; Shaw, 2014). Darkness overlays the known city with shifting synergies of illumination and shadow. The spatial context is both familiar and different, as cartography is retraced and rescaled (Dunn, 2016, p. 14). Within that difference we find the agency to interject alternate scenarios. Manifested in part, in the ways in which we chose to interact with and employ the night city.

This is not to assume that existing civic, commercial and cultural infrastructures will allow all inhabitants to interact equally with the built city at all times. As Henri Lefebvre observes, beyond allocated infrastructural provisions, urban populations need alternate spaces and times of simultaneity, encounter and exchange, not predicated solely on profit (1996, p. 147). The particularities of night, provide additional challenges to defining alternate space-times, being both physically connected to diurnal frameworks and in need of more responsive programmes. At night, zones of activity shift (Gwiazdzinski, 2005, p. 80). Buildings thought to be important by day, such as centres of power or consumerism, grow silent, their doors closed on empty streets. At the same time, other spaces open, noise and activity move to new zones or overlay diurnal activity centres with alternate uses. Disconnections arise between how the night city is lived and how it came to be conceived. It is why, the need for alterity within the night city must be manifested not only in expanded programmes – diversification of cultural venues, increased access to services and transportation, places of agency, inclusion and reflection – but also in the physical implication of the built landscape. Planners and architects can seek agency within the realities of the present, albeit non-potentialized nocturnal setting. Through 'on the ground' experimentation they can propose structures, either permanent or ephemeral, which will in turn create condition for social life (as praxis) to take shape (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 15l). What is interesting, suggests Lefebvre, is to identify the connective times, rhythms and places deemed to be '"successful"' or 'favourable to happiness' (1996, p. 151), learn from those examples and continue the momentum towards the genesis of a new project.

What we do not have is a spatial frontier. And here, to complete the discussion of Melbin, it is important to acknowledge the problematic use of terms such as 'frontier' and 'colony' in architecture. While cities have edges and borders, there exist identifiable and often violent associations accompanying representations of frontier and colonial architecture that cannot be ignored. There was a sentence taken out of the quote which opens this section. It states, 'Pioneers who dispersed geographically imposed themselves on their milieu and also were affected by their new environments' (Melbin, 1987, p. 9). The word 'imposed' speaks volumes to the entitlements of colonisation. As Rob Shaw writes, the 'night as frontier' metaphor risks replicating 'uncritical Eurocentric models of spatial expansion into an uninhabited land', while at the same time, ignoring the night's 'historically diverse, contested and complex nature' (2015, p. 637).

That the contemporary urban night is not a 'vast unchartered territory just waiting to be uncovered and colonized' (Roberts & Eldridge, 2009, p. 21) is well established. Still, there remain lines of 'negotiation' to be critically navigated (Shaw, 2015, p. 640). Shaw suggests employing the term 'contact zones', taken from postcolonial theory, to identify those places where the many populations that make

up the night engage in overlapping spatial practices (2018, p. 94). These populations are understood to have multiple perspectives according to age, gender, race, sexual orientation and status. They are also understood by Lefebvre, and additionally, Michel de Certeau (1984), as being not only the consumers of spatial and temporal frameworks, but also the producers.

Walking is one spatial practice, notably detailed by De Certeau, that involves navigating a multiplicity of encounters within the built nocturnal landscape. From the moment the walker steps into the night, edging the city's 'seams' (Lynch, 1960, p. 46) or engaging with zones of contact, their path creates a momentum. Their movements echo those of Joachim Schlör's 'pedestrian investigators' who, each with their own distinct footsteps, not only added to our knowledge of the city at night but moved this knowledge forward (Schlör, 2016, p. 269). Those points where paths converge and diverge provide clues to how nocturnal space is appropriated, and under what conditions the built frame acts to encourage contact, both with other night walkers and with the city itself.

Valorizing darkness in urban architecture

If light is scarce then light is scarce; we will immerse ourselves in the darkness and there discover its own particular beauty. (Tanizaki, 2002, p. 48)

In January 2019, France began implementing strict new legislation[2] to reduce light pollution: decreasing hours of illumination, while working to change the types of lighting technologies permitted. The city of Paris is by no means dark, but it is slowly getting darker. For people who design buildings, being asked to consider what architecture is, or becomes, without light, can seem counterintuitive. The interactions of natural light, including moonlight, with built structures are undeniable. With the advent of artificial lighting, new interactions were made possible in both the design and use of each structure. Lighting would enable the Enlightenment desire for legibility to be fully expressed, allowing that 'each street might be read by the citizen as denoting its role, nature, and moral status' (Vidler, 2011, p. 210). Still today, a lit façade or blinking sign tells us much about the purpose of a building. Architectural illumination has become an integral design tool, and through lighting design, a distinct profession.

Lighting, however, requires some level of darkness to be fully appreciated. In *Towards a New Architecture*, Le Corbusier states, 'our eyes are constructed to enable us to see form in light' (1927/1960, p. 8), but he was not excluding the importance of shade. In fact, he contends that the very 'elements of architecture are light and shade, walls and space' (1927/1960, p. 11). By placing light and shade on equal footing, he acknowledges, quite simply, that one allows us to see the other (1927/1960, p. 31). The reality is that values of light and dark are fluid and interdependent. Perception lies not in the dominance of light or dark, but, as Nina Morris points out, in a continual state of 'instability' (2011, p. 316).

Over-illumination in the urban setting is cumulative. Public street lighting joins advertising signage and building lights, to create what architect and critic Sam Jacob describes as 'a shock and awe charm

offensive' (2014, p. 19). If judicious lighting enriches architecture, the homogenising (Edensor, 2015, p. 432) effects of too much light causes the bulk and mass of the building to feel immaterial, ringing out 'every nuance' (Jacob, 2014, pp. 19-20). Contemporary lighting designers are well versed in the effects of over-lighting. The current paper leaves the important discussion of technological and creative solutions in lighting to the experts in the discipline, choosing instead to focus on what happens to our understanding of built things when the lights are turned off, or at least turned down.

Figure 2: 10:48 pm. Rue Pastourelle. With streetlights extinguished, pedestrians continue to pass through the narrow street, sporadically illuminated by apartment lights and approaching vehicles. Source: (Author 2019)

Where the public is conditioned by a brightly lit city, it is important to demonstrate how changes in lighting levels and technologies will not make the city dark, only darker. Light from essential infrastructure, apartment windows and passing cars are but some of the elements that will continue to illuminate the night (Figure 2). We are far from what Merleau-Ponty described as a of 'pure profoundness without plans, without surfaces, without distance from it to me' (1945/1990, p. 328). Rather, to step back from a dominate discourse of light means thinking of darkness not as the binary absence of light (Dunn, 2016, p. 49), but as a potentially rich material with which we can generate 'good' experiences of the nocturnal landscape.

The material of darkness is described by Nick Dunn as 'porous' and 'deep and gelatinous' (2016, p. 10). Darkness permeates qualities of mass, profile and texture, contributing to how we perceive and navigate nocturnal space. As it simultaneously 'squeezes and stretches place' (Dunn, 2016, p. 10), it

dilutes absolute distinctions (Merleau-Ponty, 1948/2004, p. 39) between the spaces it fills and the objects it envelops. Darkness is also a transient entity, able to alter space-time experiences and yet, leave no permanent trace. For these reasons and more, composite fluidities of light, darkness and shadow can be used to generate possibility in design. The outline of a shadow could, for example, inspire new shapes in nocturnal architectures, that attach to, or overlay diurnal forms. Or forms that like shadow, remain mobile.

Figure 3. 12:20 am, Rue Cherubini. Night divides building façades horizontally, the lower floors illuminated by streetlights, the top floors disappearing into darkness. The perspective view causes divisions to read as diagonal lines. Source: (Author 2020).

Not all building shadows are easily discernible in the night-time city. Instead, streetlamps, which in Paris' narrow streets are often attached to the building facade, act to divide building elevations, washing sidewalks and lower building floors with light, while upper floors appear darker. Eventually, rooflines disappear. The night sky seems to descend or, to use Schivelbusch's metaphor of the nocturnal street as exterior 'room' (1988, p. 150), the ceiling drops. As could be expected, a distinctive change in sidewalk light levels is experienced when restaurants and other venues close. Observed repeatedly in the streets of Paris was a funnelling of perspective, triangular slices of darkness and light converging on an illuminated cross street or monument (Figure 3). Low shadows from trees, awnings and urban furnishings provide some textural relief. Variations occurs as streetlights are illuminated later in summer months, while business opening hours remain largely constant.
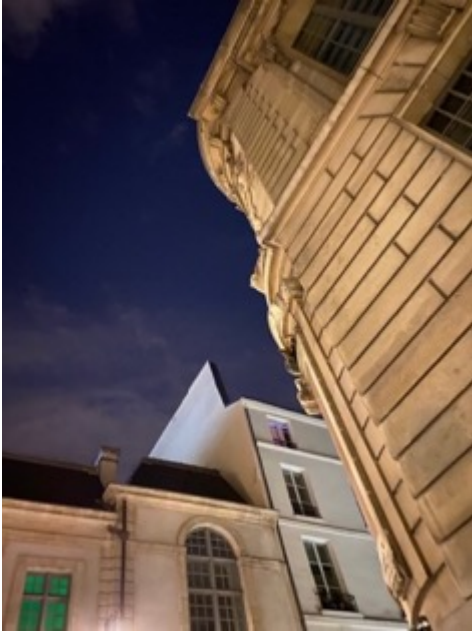
Figures 4-5: 11:25 pm, Rue Colbert. When captured in the spaces between buildings, the night sky adds to our reading of profile, while generating new and dynamic forms. 10:52 pm, Rue Cléry. Building setbacks and gaps allow the sky to become further complicit in defining spatial frames. Source: (Author 2020).

Finding potential in existing built landscapes

Considering the large amount of built space already existing within Paris and other global cities, one way that architecture can participate in improving nocturnal experience is by facilitating reuse and adaptation. In 2010, the City of Paris conducted an extensive study into the 'state' of its nights. One conclusion drawn was the need to improve access to existing venues (Mairie de Paris, 2010, 42), while finding new venues that could be adapted for community, cultural or festive uses. The city has progressively responded to public demand, facilitating more late-night openings for libraries, museums, sports venues and through the summer months, 24-hour access to many city parks[4].

Matthias Armengaud of Paris-based AWP Architects, who have conducted extensive research on urban nights and nocturnal mobilities, affirms that buildings have a right to be something other at night. They also, he adds, 'have the right to be nothing at all, to sleep'[5] (Perrin, 2017, p. 59). Being other things includes a school used after hours as a social centre, or an office sharing space in night and day shifts. A multi-use building, such as the converted Les Docks project by Jakob + MacFarlane Architects (Figure 6), accommodates a variety of programmes across a near 24-hour period, including: a fashion, design and exhibition centre, restaurant, public terraces and late-night dance club. It is also a beacon. Since it opened in 2012, the green of the Yann Kersalé designed lighting has become a point of reference along the Seine river. While Les Docks is a large and complex project, most co-opted spaces will need little to no built intervention. They develop from what can collectively be called non-potentialized social space: a 'locus of possibilities' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 191) within the built

landscape. They can be sited anywhere in the city from the perimeter, to the vacant plaza of an office tower, to the historic centre. On any given night, many of these spaces will have already been appropriated, by youth on skateboards, musicians and couples in search of privacy. Some practices will create points of tension with the planned city. And yet, as Andreina Seijas writes 'unintended' appropriations of urban areas can 'provide relevant information on how to design inclusive night-time interventions' (Seijas, 2017). Seijas, is referencing the often-spontaneous takeover of grassy areas and alleyways as people meet with friends, or simply rest, in the cool night of the Arabian city[X]; uses that are not always accommodated by city plans and regulations. Similar unplanned appropriations can be found in the European city. They might point to a need for alternate lighting, the addition of street furniture, including for garbage disposal, the passage of mobile services from health and safety, to food trucks and libraries: all of which impact the design of night-time spaces. This is not to reinforce controlled 'regularity', as in Robert Williams' discussion of reterritorialized space (2008, p.521), but to accept a participatory and fluid design response to diverse population needs.
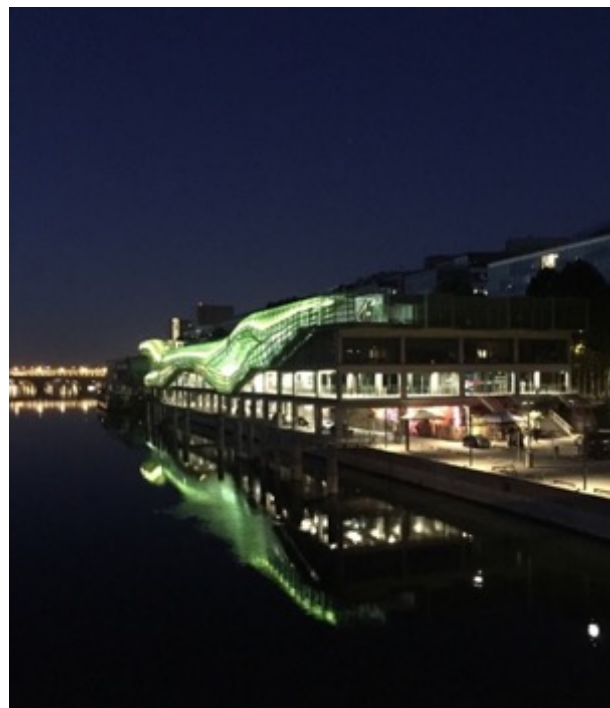
Figure 6: 5:22 am. Les Docks, Cité de la Mode et du Design. Red lights mark the entrance to a still active night club in this multi-use converted port structure. The now darkened design centre and roof-top restaurant complete the buildings near 24-hour activity cycle. Jakob + MacFarlane Architects. Lighting Yann Kersalé. Source: (Author 2018).

Not every structure will have a nocturnal use. As Armengaud pointed out, buildings have the right to shut down at night, to recuperate from the day. But even sleeping buildings interact with the night. They form the walls to the illuminated room of nocturnal street (Schivelbusch, 1988, p. 150). They can be solid, permeable or reflective. Unlike the walls of an interior room, however, they have depth and

mass that allows them not only to envelop and dominate but also, to read as negative space to the positive space of the street. An example can be taken from the author's repeated night walks across Paris' Ile de la Cité. Before the devastating fire in 2019, the island saw over 30,000 tourists-a-day visiting Notre Dame Cathedral. And yet after midnight, with few permanent residents and a surplus of vacant government buildings (most with interior lights turned off in accordance with regulations), architecture recedes into silence and shadow. This is not a bad thing, on the contrary, it is what must be accepted to lessen the encroachments of light pollution. Pedestrians continue to wander the centrally located island. They come together along the river quays (Figure 7), where the island's rough, fortress-like walls provide a buffer between the movements of city and the quiet expanse of the river.

Figure 7: 10 pm. Ile de la Cité. Set below street level, submerged in shadow, the island's quays are taken over by summer diners, their view animated by reflected light. Source: (Author 2019)

Moving forward

Marc Augé writes that we are always creating two spaces simultaneously, the one we choose to pass through and the one we choose not to pass through (1992, p. 109). As a research practice, walking at night allows these choices to be further investigated. Photographs included within the current paper were taken in the course of individual or accompanied night walks through the streets of Paris. They represent the first steps of a field methodology that moves from observation to generating alternative architects within the darkened nightscape. In identifying what operations will induce more

positive experiences of nocturnal urban space, and eventually justifying those findings, it becomes important to determine what specifically urban qualities are sought out at night and how these qualities might differ depending on the identity of the individual walker. If the scope of these questions goes beyond the necessary focus of the ongoing dissertation, they remain relevant to an overall understanding of how the built landscape interacts with urban darkness.

In a short survey of urban characteristics gleaned from books and articles on night studies, many references to illumination and shadow can be found, but also: complexity, depth, diversity, enclosure, legibility, mystery, opacity, permeability, porosity, reflectivity, scale, texture, thickness, transparency and visibility. Researchers investigating the urban night continue to add to this list, and very importantly, to define what these words mean in the context of the urban night. It is useful to understand, particularly in developing design pedagogies, what particular qualities of urban darkness are valued and why. For example, what constitutes transparency in a darkened city? Or, will the same complex urban topographies found to be attractive by day, prove difficult to navigate at night? Equipped with greater critical tools, students and design professionals can better consider how their projects will not only be interpreted in darkness, but how implicated these design decisions are in meeting the needs of nocturnal populations.

Architecture, like darkness, is never neutral. 'its power depends on the temporal and spatial contexts in which it is experienced' (Edensor, 2017, p. 179). It is therefore essential for those involved in architecture(s) to engage with the environmental, spatial and social complexities surrounding the urban night; that they as designers become part of the conversation and invested in generating better night-time experiences.

Notes

1 See Barentine (2009), for a detailed account of new French lighting legislation. The complete transcript of the 'Arrêté du 27 décembre 2018 relatif à la prévention, à la réduction et à la limitation des nuisances lumineuses' is found at: https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/eli/arrete/2018/12/27/TREP1831126A/jo/texte

2 Ingold (2000). The quote refers to Ingold's concept of building perspective as related to, and co-existing with his definition of dwelling perspective.

3 See annual progress reports, or 'Bilan des Actions', for details of nocturnal openings and other targeted actions. Available from the Paris Mayor's Office, Conseil de Nuit, at: https://www.paris.fr/pages/le-conseil-de-la-nuit-3365

4 Perrin (2019). Interview with Matthias Armengaud, translated from the original French, 'La nuit, le bâtiment a le droit d'être autre chose... Il a le droit de n'être rien du tout, de dormir.'

5 Merleau-Ponty (1990). Translated from the French, the full sentence reads, 'Même des cris ou une lumière lointaine ne la peuplent que vaguement, c'est tout entière qu'elle s'anime, elle est une profondeur pure sans plans, sans surfaces, sans distance d'elle à moi' (p. 328).

6 The conference 'After Dark: Nocturnal Landscapes and Public Spaces in the Arabian Peninsula', was organized by the Graduate School of Design and Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. Information on the conference is found at http://cmes.fas.harvard.edu/event/after-dark-nocturnal-landscapes-and-public-space-arabian-peninsula

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It's Therapy and it's Fun.
Late Night Salons in London

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Abstract

Night-time cultures have long been examined through such themes as community, gentrification and urban change. The uses and experiences of time (in both normative and non-normative ways), migration, belonging and conviviality serve as further useful concepts for the discussion below. This paper takes as its focus London based hair salons open beyond traditional opening hours and considers the ways in which they enable practices of community and belonging. The salons examined play a particularly crucial role in their local community, serving as points of introduction and as landmarks for new and established migrant communities. Based on empirical work in hair salons on the edge of central London, the paper argues that these spaces are important sites of conviviality within the capital and warrant greater policy intervention to ensure their sustainability.

Keywords

Night, hair salons, conviviality, migration

Introduction

The impetus for this paper started with a half-day workshop about nightlife in Brixton, south London, followed by a guided walk. Brixton represents many of the dominant themes that circulate through accounts of nightlife; what was once a predominantly working class and Black and minority ethnic area has, as a result of successive waves of gentrification and development, become a well-

known nightlife area and subject to considerable economic pressures (Roberts, et al, 2020; Hubbard, 2018). It was while on the guided walk the lead author of this paper noticed many of the hair salons in and around the busy commercial streets remained open well into the night. Discussing these spaces with nightlife and migration scholars it became apparent that in many neighbourhoods dotted around the outskirts of central London there were many well-known hair salons similarly catering to local communities after dark. Anecdotes about salons open until 23.00pm and in one case 3.00am were discussed as a matter of fact. As this project was developing, the importance of these salons to local community networks became further evident in a well-publicised campaign involving some hair salon owners in Peckham, south east London (Brinkhurst-Cuff, 2017; Johnston, 2018). Rye Lane, a well know street with several salons was threatened with significant upheaval owing to plans to redevelop the local train station alongside the lane, which would necessitate moving the salons to a new purpose built site. As we came to discover, and is discussed in more depth later, despite the evident centrality of hair salons to local communities and the myriad roles they play in their local area, in Peckham and elsewhere they are very much subject to the pressures of London's population churn and seemingly endless (re)development.

The paper begins with a discussion of community and conviviality, what these terms might mean after dark, and their relevance when discussing hair salons. Work on subcultures and leisure identities offer much guidance for thinking about the formation and practice of communities after dark (Malbon, 1996; Blackman, 2005) but here we want to think more about the fleeting, spontaneous and unplanned ways that sociability and communities might be generated and practiced in the night. This discussion is thus guided by the question of how research on night spaces such as hair salons enable belonging and conviviality, and the ways these are lived and practised. After a discussion of the research methods, the paper presents original findings based on semi-structured interviews with salon managers across three sites in London. We argue that as well as playing important and multiple roles in their local community, especially for new migrants, hair salons serve as an example to expand upon theories of social connection and understanding in diverse, multicultural cities.

Community and Belonging

A range of terms have been used to understand and explain the ways people in diverse cities come together and the sorts of social relations and interactions that occur as a result. Rubbing along (Watson, 2009), superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), conviviality (Wessendorf, 2014, Neal, et, al, 2019; Wise and Noble, 2016) and others (Neal, et al 2019) seek to explain and analyse the manner in which social relations are constantly being made, remade, challenged or remodelled in cities such as London. Against the backdrop of London's constant redevelopment and population churn, residents, tourists, existing and new communities share the city in everyday and institutional spaces; in education and work places (Amin, 2002), cafes (Hall, 2009), parks, markets and swimming pools (Watson, 2019, 2006), and, more fleetingly, on public transport, pavements, and the like. These different spatial scales entail

different intensities of connection and disconnection resulting from the constant flow of bodies, affects, technologies, and practices. Attempts to explain what belonging, community or indeed conviviality might mean in the shifting context of London is therefore complex, not least due to the multiple ways that we might both speak around and about these subjects (Vertovec, 2007) at a range of different scales.

In this paper we take the night as a way of adding further focus to questions of belonging, community, and conviviality. Much of the literature concerned with belonging recognises the ways in which it is articulated with temporality, not least in that familiarity might entrench a sense of being in place and identity (Altman, and Low, 1992). Annual events, ceremonies, memories of one's childhood home or school, the presence of loved ones, and the various routines we regularly perform provide a sense of continuity and belonging that is experienced or understood as embedded in specific sites. Belonging has long been conceived in this way, and the familiar, home, rootedness, and fixity circulate through some of the literature which takes a critical eye to the question of place attachment and spatial identity.

Equally, there is a significant body of work which also conceives belonging more in terms of flow, mobility, diversity and migration (Gustafso, 2011, 209, 2014). Following this account, emphasis shifts from understanding our social connections through notions of fixity and stasis to instead 'how' social connections are made, the practices through which they become legible, and the extent to which we, as social actors, experience and perform belonging in a globalised and mobile world. Our focus here on the night adds further nuance to this work. As noted, subcultures are an important theme when thinking about identity and belonging in the night. There are also spaces from bowling alleys (Jackson, 2020) to local pubs (Eldridge and Roberts, 2008) where a sense of attachment can be experienced after dark, where communities are entangled in broader networks of belonging and identification, and where practices of belonging are refined and learnt. The night, in contrast, is also sometimes considered in terms of how we might feel we do not belong. Evidence from the London Night Time Commission's (2019) *Think Night* report documents high level of concern about safety after dark in the capital. Gender, class, disability, age and ethnicity further inform the extent to which we feel comfortable venting out at night, and whether we feel it is accessible. Evidence from numerous other sites also explore how a change in demographic or use will also influence people's sense of comfort and belonging at night, be that in the areas we ordinarily live, in bars we might once have felt a strong sense of familiarity in, or even in cities where we might not live but visit regularly go for leisure (Garcia, 2015). Gentrification is a common theme here, as is tourism, where a sense of belonging via familiarity is challenged as a result of significant change.

Belonging, and how it might change over time or even across the day is a further significant them in studying nightlife. While it is therefore articulated with the temporal, it is not necessarily reducible to fixity or stability. To consider belonging at night opens up further questions about how people might feel more or less included in spaces after dark and might have a different sense of belonging once night falls. Indeed, as Garcia (2016) has extensively documented, mobility is also integral to one's sense of

comfort and belonging, such as in research which found clubbers regularly commuting between Britain and Berlin and feeling more embedded in the night-time cultures and networks of another country than at 'home'.

Our sense of inclusion and hence belonging at night is therefore fraught and subject to flows of movement and mobility, to shifting terrains owing to gentrification or tourism, and, furthermore, is marked heavily by gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, and (sub)cultural capital. Our point here is while we approach belonging in terms of practises of belonging and conceive it alongside rather than in opposition to migration and mobility, we also want to recognise that the night adds further complexity to how comfortable, at home, or in place different communities might feel across time.

Further to this point, our analysis of the salons was informed by critical work on community, especially 'community as practice' as discussed by Blockland (2017) and Jackson (2019). Community is of course somewhat different to conviviality, further muddying our terms, but our approach in taking on this notion of community very much owes to the above cited authors and the work of Neal, et al, (2019). In their discussion of conviviality and community, they raise the problematic associations that might be assumed by work that takes conviviality as a point of departure. In accounts critical of this term, conviviality is assumed to mean the erasure of conflict or the flattening of hierarchies, and is strongly associated with positivity or a 'happy clappy togetherness' (Wise and Noble, 2016: 245). As Neal, et al, explain:

> [C]onviviality has become a little stuck, bogged down in demands that it delivers on, or at least evidences meaningful interaction and transformative potential, as well as responding to concerns that it marginalizes issues of multiple subjugations and power relations (Neal, et al, 2019: 70)

Echoing their approach, we also want to work with the multiple 'everyday practices of multi-ethnic interaction' (Neal, at al, 2019: 70), and how they are understood, while also remaining attentive to the forms of community that might also emerge in spaces such as hair salons, as spaces of and for conviviality. This approach echoes Berg and Nowicka who argue that conviviality research seeks to understand 'the often subtle, unmarked quotidian practices, routines and acts of improvisation' that typically occur in areas of superdiversity (2019, 3). This approach focuses typically on shared spaces and sites including playgrounds, public transport and leisure venues where interaction is productive and generative. To speak of the productive aspects of conviviality does not erase tensions or rest on an apolitical sense of universal harmony – that assumed 'happy clappy togetherness', as Wise and Noble characterise it (2016). Our understanding of community also seeks to avoid the ways that community can lend itself towards notions of cultural inclusion, and therefore exclusion; cohesion, which might presume a lack of conflict or tension; and nostalgia, which can also be conceived as a defensive response to change (Stewart, 1993). As understood here, we take Berg and Nowicka's question 'under what circumstances do daily encounters and activities become convivial?' (2019; 17) as a central question and point of departure. The everydayness and routineness of attending a hair salon, the unremarkable interactions that might occur, and the important work that goes into working through

tensions and conflicts make this a useful term for thinking about the sort of interactions that might occur in spaces such as salons.

The night again becomes significant here, not least in how it informs, shapes or orientates the sort of practices that might occur, what is open, the sort of infrastructure that enables social mixing, and the various inclusions and exclusions and cultural memories or beliefs through which it is experienced. The night, because it is a place of work as much as leisure, serves as a useful context for thinking about how convivial relations take place; the tensions, conflicts, and everyday routines of urban life are constantly shifting and being made and remade but a contention here is that they do so in different ways after dark. Something as simple as the lack of transport, childcare support, expectations about morality, curfews, or fears about crime can both subtly and explicitly inform what is actually possible, and the contexts allowed to take place. At night, social relations might be more fraught, more intense, or more pleasurable. There is extensive work on the night which centres gender, race, class and disability to this argument, and the ways these constrain access to spaces and time. There is of course also ample critical work on conflicts between new residents, tourists, or students conflicting with established residents, especially in alcohol related venues. Conflict in the night has been extensively examined with these precise negative encounters in mind, with revellers versus residents, gentrifies versus established communities, or the mobile privileged versus the fixed structuring the argument. Again, taking conviviality as central does not erase these, but instead seeks to understand how such conflicts might be negotiated or worked through in ways which enable encounters to continue.

Following Wise and Noble, we might therefore ask instead how such conflict is resolved, the means through which togetherness is achieved, and the negotiating practice which enable this. Our own question is also where does this happen? How is a salon open well into the night also a part of this textured network facilitating such interconnections and encounters? Wise and Noble argue that '[t]his sense of 'rubbing along' includes not just 'happy togetherness' but negotiation, friction and sometimes conflict. It signals belonging and new forms of community as practice, as hard labour (Noble 2009)' (Wise and Noble, 2016: 425). To reemphasise, we do not seek to render invisible the conflicts that occur in the salons, to nightlife spaces, or indeed the threats to many of the managers livelihoods, and, as documented, conflict and better managing that conflict, remains an important theme in night studies, but we are equally mindful of how the night also provides precisely the spaces through which 'the capacity to negotiate and transcend these differences – particularly in a world panicked by international terrorism and fears of uncontrolled flows of asylum seekers – has become of greater political as well as social importance' (Wise and Noble, 2016: 424).

Grounding these theories in actual places is challenging. While large, dense, multicultural cities are broadly recognised as the site through which to conceive conviviality, critics have narrowed this down to specific spaces such as the caffs, swimming pools, markets and other leisure spaces as documented by Neal, et al, (2019). In reference to hair salons, there is less critical work on these important hubs, however. One well documented text is Oldenburg's (1989) work on third places,

however. Third places are those places which are not work sites or the domestic realm, but places in which to socialise, offering what he calls 'the basis of community and celebration of it' (14). His work has been criticised (Wexler, et al, 2017) not least for its somewhat nostalgic view of the past, and romanticising of certain spaces. This recalls, as alluded to earlier, questions about the extent to which conceptions of community might lends themselves towards models which privilege cultural stasis, fixity, and are in fact integral to perpetuating forms of exclusion.

Third places remains, nonetheless, a useful concept for thinking about how hair salons do function as kind of in-between places, between the public and private, as spaces of community building, and, following Oldenburg's typology, where we see the presence of regulars. They are also recognised as being intergenerational, which was an important finding in our own research. The concept is further useful for recognising how salons might be experienced or become, be that through familiarity, or thorough dialogue, debate and practise, a 'home away from home' where strangers and regulars congregate, rub up against each other, and negotiate difference.

In Oldenburg's understanding of third places they also function as ports of entry for newcomers and where information can be obtained, or connections between and within different social networks are disseminated or bought together and shared. This, as discussed later, was indeed a central function of the salons. Given the very high churn of the population in London salons might then then become important for introducing as well as maintaining both fragile and more grounded links between new and existing communities.

Following Grazian (2009), there is a danger in accounts of third place to be over nostalgic, as suggested earlier, or relying too heavily on the tension alluded to earlier of 'fixity' versus 'mobility'. Such an approach might then ignore the tensions, efforts and work required to sustain these fragile networks, and ignore the pressures that might challenge them. Expanding this point, hair salons, both high end and the more everyday places examined here, are highly marked by gender and ethnicity. They also play a role in producing and reproducing taste and forms of (sub)cultural capital. Salons are therefore very complex spaces, in that they both contribute to building community, and, due to producing specific styles or specific 'looks' also create social distinction. The discussion below does not, therefore, seek to position the salons as not bound up with their own broader logics of aesthetic labour and even exclusions. In taking conviviality as a starting point, the object here is thinking through instead the role they play in maintaining, supporting or developing community, interactions both fleeting and sustained, and the myriad other social functions they serve.

Research Plan

This research, as noted earlier was in part motivated by an interest in the hair salons of Brixton that opened late at night. A dispute that was occurring nearby, between different parties in Peckham,

provided further impetus. On a more personal level, our interest in hair salons came from different individual research agendas; the significance of the night in regard to how communities are practiced, the ways people belong at night, migration and gentrification in London, and how migrants also come to belong and feel a sense of community. Further important areas of interest included the role hairdressers might play in maintaining various ethnic cultures, their impact on the local economy, how regeneration potentially affects this and, finally, the implications of that for cohesion and inclusion into the wider community. A further point influencing the study is that when we first started discussing the project the London Night Time Commission (2019) report was published, revealing that a third of Londoners now work after 6.00pm. This raises important questions of who works when and how that might be marked by class, gender and race, and how might working after traditional hours impact on leisure, domestic time, and communities. A further important point was that the report found 65% of Londoners are active at least one night a week, and, of that, 42% are shopping or running personal errands, which might include a haircut.

Out of these various interests and observations our questions were: what is the role of hair salons in terms of community at night, and, more specifically, what does community mean, how is it made, practiced, and learnt in these spaces of encounter? Second, what can these salons reveal about the ways patterns of time management and domestic life are organised at night? This second question is not extensively reviewed here but did form an important theme in the interviews and provided some further nuance to how they were experienced and understood at night. In sum, we wanted to better understand the spatial and temporal organisation of the community's and manager's working lives, including the significance of hairdressers and other spaces in enabling conviviality.

To answer these broad range of questions, salons in three areas in the north, south, and south east of London were examined. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with managers in the salons and some observational work was also carried out. Each of the salons were in areas which are undergoing similar pressures of urban change including population churn and gentrification. In most cases the interviews were conducted late afternoon and early evening, but all the salons remained open well past 6.00pm, and often later into the night. Having explained the research plan, the paper now turns to key themes from the study. These have been organised into sub headed sections aligned with the key findings.

Discussion

Established work on hair salons includes significant discussion about their importance as social spaces and hubs in the community. Oldenburg's (1989) work on 'third places', for example, refers to salons as one such 'good place' which are not work spaces or the home, but a third type of place where one can relax in a shared space in public. The title of this paper nods to this approach: 'It's therapy and it's fun' came from one of the managers interviewed. She suggested that people come to her salon

because it was a leisure space, a fun place, but also "it's therapy". The salon, as she understood it, corroborates Oldenburg's account; it is where people come to have their hair cut, but also to chat about their lives, share news, buy products, and gossip. The belief that hair salons can be therapeutic spaces or important in terms of their community is therefore very well known, so served as only a point of departure for the study, which instead was more invested in these questions about what this might mean in practice, especially given the very dynamic churn of London's population and the changes that were occurring in each area.

COMMUNITY AND DEFINING COMMUNITY

Due to the well documented regeneration and gentrification occurring in London a significant theme of the interviews with the managers was the possible closure of the salons as they, and regular customers, became priced out by increasing rents. The impact of Brexit was discussed, largely in terms of people leaving London for other countries, and the changing customer base as 'locals' moved on was also touched upon. Knowing already the familiar line that salons are important community spaces we wanted to know what exactly was under threat here and how it shaped encounters? Drawing on Jackson (2020), and Blokland (2017) we looked at community not as fixed geographical spaces but instead as a practice, how it might emerge, and in what ways. Echoing the work of Jackson and her interest in bowling alleys, the salons were examined as spaces of "conviviality – defined by Gilroy (2004: xi) as 'the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multi-culture an ordinary feature of urban life in Britain' (Jackson, 2020: 3).

Given that sense of 'the cohabitation and interaction of London's multi-culture' community was not understood as a singular thing, in its own spatial or temporal vacuum, but as something entangled with the spatial, temporal, political and economic factors constantly shaping it. A significant finding was related to the economic conditions of the capital, and that hair salons were important spaces that provided opportunities for employment for workers, and to work flexibly. A struggle in conducting the interviews was precisely pinning down managers to interview, given their schedules which cut across long hours of the day and night, and across the week and weekend.

The salons were further imbricated in the migratory flows of London. As well as sharing knowledge and information for new arrivals to the area, they also provided information for new as well as established residents. This happened during the day of course, but at night they became very much like community hubs, providing points of connection between 'strangers' and 'residents' as well as anchors of 'home' and the new home. One of the managers alluded to how people from Jamaica knew to get straight on the Piccadilly tube from Heathrow, change for the Victoria line and come to his hair salon. No doubt a key draw in the later hours was the televisions screening programmes from former homelands, as well as offering material things like hair care products. Though it was noted that some customers bought their own haircare products from neighbouring shops, the salons also offered a range of products for sale that could be used in store or later.

Information about schools, housing, employment opportunities, and local products, especially for people who had just arrived in the local area were also shared amongst clients, and between clients and hair dressers. The salons enabled the constant reproduction and making of community, therefore, creating different relations of proximity between strangers / residents, new and established communities, and indeed connections between different scales – from the neighbouring shop to Heathrow airport and beyond. What was understood to be 'close' and 'intimate' was also therefore entangled with wider networks of belonging, identification, consumerism, aesthetics or entertainment forms such as the televisions, magazines to read, or background music.

There are two key points here. First, they remind us, borrowing from Lewis, how integration occurs in spaces other than simply formal institutions like education, housing, or employment (Lewis, 2015:44). Integration and introduction also occur in more fragmented ways, spatially and through the body. Trusting people to cut our hair is an intimate act. Language was also important, and knowing how to explain what was wanted or not wanted. What is sometimes referred to as aesthetic labour is through this also an act of building and developing intimacy through new or repeated visits, a networking that happens gradually over time. Unlike some of the examples of rubbing along, which are more fleeting or transitory, was in the salon actually being physically in-place, seated and unable to move for 20 minutes and up to 3 hours as hair was cut, styled, dyed, and washed along with other strangers. Future research aims to draw this point out further, drawing on extensive research on food and eating as an embodied, intimate practice, where the global and local connect in and through our bodies (Probyn, 2012). In the salons, a similar dynamic was demonstrated, one where the global, local, embodied and intimate were entangled through acts of care, conversation, and touch.

Second, and coming back to the point about community, the salons functioned as places where multiple communities, new, established and emerging, would overlap and where the connections sustaining them existed within and outside the space itself. This is indicative of the ways that Fuller and Löw (2017) describe social space; that space is always being constructed, drawing fupon Massey (2006). They ask not what space is, but what it does, how is it made, and with what consequences. Very pertinent to our argument here, they suggest that;

> Space makes us realise that things can hardly be experienced in isolation, but only exist in arrangements; this means they can be synthesised to become knowable as spaces, calling upon us to make connections between them, and not merely as individuals, but within social arrangements of persons, groups, etc (Fuller and Löw, 2017; 476).

This 'etc.' might include the co-constitution of space through the televisual, economic, consumer practices, mobilities and other arrangements that produce and make legible these spaces in ways that are always unfolding.

The salons act as a third space, and therefore have a grounded appeal, but their production is always made in and through these multiple local and global tangents through which they are experienced and lived. That regularity and patterning of these relations remains important, however. A

salon that is a 'good place' is one which is familiar, where we are confident we will not be made to feel unwelcome, or, worse of all, leave with our hair looking worse than when we went it. This harks back to an earlier reflection in this paper about belonging as something made; it is made because that which makes it is always disparate, but what it makes might approximate a sense of identity and surety. It is worth emphasising the ways that the salons become non-threatening to new arrivals – almost acting as a lubricant – to ease the encounter between new individuals and families and established communities, producing something new. The salons act as a location, therefore, where bonding can take place and trust developed. Needless to say, the night is significant here, not least due to the ways it is marked by competing discourses of fear, trust, and intimacy. Whether we ascribe to the belief that the night is a time of fear or fun, the salon is site where these are mediated through acts which seek to enhance comfort, the convivial, provide surety, and develop trust.

A further significant finding was that salons are of course quite different to pubs or cafes or other venues open at night. When we think of night spaces, we might imagine one where we text five or so friends and arrange to meet at a favourite bar, book tickets to the theatre with friends or arrange to meet in a known spot. What is common to these encounters is that there are planned arrangements to meet with other people, but salons do not work in this way at night. While there was certainly evidence of people popping in, chatting with other clients or the manager and them being sociable spaces, we did not find evidence of prearranged visits with friends, as one would a bar or restaurant, other than of course booking our own time alone.

This did not mean the relations were not important or that they were somehow 'loose'. Convivial relations might be fleeting or spontaneous, as appeared to be occurring in the salons in some cases. They were informal, but not informal in the sense of being 'informed' by rigid structures of time or place. Instead, what was found was that they were places where groups meeting up was much more spontaneous and much more fragmented; where topics of conversation included what was going on in the neighbourhood or swapping photos of new children. The salon managers also worked with the local police and other shop keepers who would pop in, they shared information about gentrification and regeneration work in the area and were a constantly rolling source of "doing community"– a space where debates took place and tensions were tested between clients and the hair dresser, or between clients waiting on the sofas for their turn. Again, this was not the happy togetherness as might be presumed in some accounts of community, but instead where conflicts in the local area were reflected upon, concerns voiced, and negotiations of difference worked through. They were a place of belonging and comfort for some, spaces of learning and discomfort for others.

Related to this was their significance as sites of security in a more criminological sense. The salons also functioned as spaces of refuge. This could take the form of being like a valve, where important local issues were be shared, debated and discussed. They also functioned as actual spaces where people went for safety. In one case a young man being chased by a group of youths had sought

refuge in one of the salons where an interview was conducted. He was shielded until the police arrived. Temporary childcare was also in evidence, while parents or guardians ran other errands nearby.

Finally, depending on the size of the salon, and some of them were very small with only one chair for cutting and one or two for people to wait, they were also used for other activities, such as eating. As mentioned earlier, a third of Londoners are working after 6.00pm, and 42% are running errands at least one night a week, and the salons in one sense therefore because substitutes for the closure of so many other community or state sponsored spaces that have closed as a result of austerity measures since the Conservative government came to power. In further evidence of this role as somewhat like community hubs, one salon manager said that sometimes, when he noticed people popping their head in and walking away he would have to go outside to let them know that not everyone inside the salon was waiting to be groomed – some were just there to chat. To summarise this point, as the number of people working late increases in London, and often in precarious labour, and where other community hubs have been closed, the salons were spaces where there was a clear sense of functioning as both an extension of domestic space after dark, such as through eating and childcare, but also a place to go after work, to pop in, shop, or socialise.

Final Comments

Thinking of the themes and findings discussed above, it is worth re-emphasising that the communities referred to here are constantly coming and going. While there were clients and salons managers who had known each for years, for others they were introductory spaces for new residents. It was for this reason Neal et al's (2019) work is especially significant and in challenging the view that 'community' can represent cultural stasis, it does not have to be conceived in these narrow terms. There were different ways community was practiced in the salons; through bodily intimacy, as introductory spaces, as places of discussion, as safety, and as spaces for tasks otherwise coded as private and domestic such as eating and childcare. Much has been said about salons as community spaces, and these have also been documented in theatre and media, such as the *Barber Shop Chronicles* (Ellams, 2017) and *No Ifs or Buts* (Lewis, 2019) but what we have tried to do here is consider what were the practices of making community in neighbourhoods of constant change. Equally, how these salons provided other types of sociable spaces for people to meet at night, becoming introduced to and strengthening their communities, was integral to a convivial approach where the fleeting, the sustained or the intimate, were crucial to ensuring the sustainability of the wider local networks of economic, social, and community relations after dark. Night-time studies is marked by a myriad of ways for thinking about intimacy, relations, connections and disconnections, and in this paper we attempted to 'tease' this out in relation to one site where the local, global, and embodied are integral to sustaining new and established configurations of conviviality.

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The socio-political context and management of urban conflicts related to night time tourism.
The case of post-socialist Budapest

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Abstract

Conflict resolution techniques and participative inclusion of stakeholders and advocates are often proposed for every context by experts and advisers. However, this approach does not take into account the social background of civic participation at the given context. The level of municipal sovereignty, the role of informality in governance and business, relations among business players and relations between entrepreneurs and political power, independence and efficiency of legal contestation and supervising authorities, and institutions of civic advocacy and political representation are highly varied among contexts. In this paper I analyze the management of conflicts from these aspects of governance. I put particular emphasis on the work of the Night Mayor of Budapest, advocacy groups of entrepreneurs and political representation of the residents struggling against negative effects of the night time economy. I claim that the situation of the legal state, transparency of business and political relations and equality before the law is central for a more just management of conflicts, where even the most vulnerable groups involved can get closer to their goals. I suggest that instead of a local focus on conflicts the broader political and social context needs to be examined to understand how conflict management and conflict resolution could work.

Keywords night time economy, post-socialist, mediation, gentrification

Introduction

The regulation of nightlife often takes extreme forms. Laissez-faire approaches on the one hand and compulsory closing times or the ban of dancing can change within a few decades (or within a few hundred metres) according to political and economic interests (Hae, 2011). The problem is that nightlife became an important means to produce revenue and to revitalise disinvested inner cities in many contexts (Bianchini, 1995). And at the same time conflicts caused by the industrialisation and economic rationalisation of nightlife affect very fundamentally the life of urbanites to the point where they cannot stay in their habitat anymore (Eldridge, 2010). Nightlife also plays an important part in cultural and creative industries that gained special importance in post-industrial cities. And last but not least nightlife and entertainment is also a basic need of people especially in cities (Eldridge and Nofre, 2018). But cultural and social functions of nightlife besides profit making are also often threatened by gentrification of inner cities and gentrification of nightlife (Hae, 2011).

In situations where planning and regulation has to apply for both sides of a conflict, participative methods and mediation is often suggested. However, both the theoretical and empirical concerns are numerous about participation in planning already in classic texts (Arnstein, 1969). In contrary to the romanticised picture about urban democracy (see for example Barber, 2013), more frequent encounters and denser cohabitation actually can result in more antagonistic situations as well (Marcuse, 1998). Assumptions about mediation and democratic deliberation often miss the inherent power relations between the conflicting parties (Mulchay, 2000; Purcell, 2009). In terms of night time conflicts mediation and participation in conflict management with special institutions and mediators (often called night mayors) is suggested to be on the rise (Seijas and Gelders, 2020).

In this paper I focus on the (lack of) conflict management during the functional transformation of a disinvested inner city urban area into a night-time tourism hotspot in Budapest. I pay special attention on the (lack of) cooperation between entrepreneurs and their relationship with the local authority, on local grass-roots movements and their relationship with political parties, and on the lack of effective mediating institutions such as the night mayor. I also present how the current pandemic situation increased tensions. I claim that the peculiarities of the conflict management (compared to Western examples in the literature) can be explained to a large extent by the post-socialist and illiberal social and political context of the city.

In the remainder of this paper I introduce in general the regulation of night time economy and the suggested role of mediation and participation in these conflicts. Then I introduce the context of Budapest and the events that lead to the current situation (before the pandemic). Next I present my empirical results about the above mentioned issues and in the conclusions I argue for the importance of social contexts against one size fits all suggestions to manage night time conflicts

Planning and regulation of the night time economy

The question of night time conflicts is often simplified to a discourse over opening hours. The debate and consequent research about the closing times (for example) in England showed that opening hours are only one factor among many in these conflicts (Roberts et al., 2006). A further factor can be the density of noisy venues within a given territory (ibid. 1116). Similarly, the size of the venues and the number of large venues is important (ibid: 1118).

Once there are existing conflicts, keeping order with enforced policing and different local rules can be introduced (Hadfield et al., 2009: 469). However, this is a costly solution, needs constant attention from the authorities, and mostly involves penalisation of consumers instead of influencing the producers (ibid. 473). Police can become an active negotiator with venues (Roberts et al., 2006: 1119; Hadfield et al., 2009: 474) but this also presupposes capacities and cooperation that are not necessarily there in every context.

An alternative form of conflict management can be the self-regulation and self-restriction of entrepreneurs such as not welcoming stag parties or financing CCTV systems (Roberts et al., 2006: 1121; Hadfield et al., 2009: 477). Quality management of venues such as the Purple Flag in England are also possible ways of entrepreneurs to mitigate the conflict and ensure their long-term economic activity.

Mediation in urban conflicts

Besides top-down regulation by politicians and authorities and self-regulation of entrepreneurs there is the possibility to mitigate conflicts in alternative ways with mediation and alternative dispute resolution (ADR) (see Palmer and Roberts, 1998). These methods promise win-win situations after negotiations by breaking down conflicts to questions of interests and deals. However, there are often antagonistic situations in environmental conflicts (Marcuse, 1998). Connected to this, in unplanned situations the conflict can reach the point of "destruction" and "exhaustion" (Kérmer, 2012: 39), when win-win solutions are not even wanted anymore by the two sides of the dispute.

Power relations are often highly unequal between the sides, and conflicts evolve exactly because of these differences (Mulchay, 2000: 134). In these cases, the weaker side can also become militant and reject negotiations because of previous grievances and mistrust (ibid. 136). The negotiations over single issues hardly ever question the systemic inequalities and very different stakes between sides (i.e. profit vs. health or habitat) (Purcell, 2009: 146). To reach the goal of more equal negotiations political power is needed to support the most disadvantaged (Silver et al., 2010: 467) and advocates and facilitators have to be provided to make these voices heard as well (ibid., 472). Instead of being the easy way out with less responsibility, mediation can be very difficult and costly if taken seriously.

Night Mayors

In spite of these theoretical arguments against using interest based dispute resolution regardless of the context and nature of the conflict, special institutions dealing with mediation of night time conflicts are introduced in a growing number of cities (but mostly in the US and Western-Europe) (Seijas and Gelders, 2020). The form of the institution can vary from "independent non-profit organisations" to local government officials appointed by mayors and councils, and to direct lobbyists working for the NTE industry (ibid.: 6-8), but all of these are mostly advisory roles.

The problems to deal with can also be highly different depending on the context. Some night mayors (mostly the earlier examples) deal with conflicts between residents and the growing of NTE industry (often fuelled by NTE tourism) while others have to deal with the disappearance of night life because of gentrification or strict regulations (ibid.: 10). In some places despite all the nice rhetoric, the institution is about the profit of entrepreneurs, the financial interests of the city and inter-urban competition fitting well into neoliberal urban governance. On the other side of the spectrum we see engagement in the protection of a certain subcultures and not simply the pursue for profit. In Berlin, gentrification and touristification of the night-time offer (besides gentrification of the inner city property market) threatens one of the most important cultural asset of the city: the electronic music scene. Also, in that context, soundproofing of clubs for example is not simply about to make a gesture to residents disturbed by the night noise, but to avoid the strict actions of authorities and the real danger of closing down venues due to nuisance (ibid. 14).

The transformation of post-socialist Budapest.
Slow gentrification

The urban transformation of inner city Budapest was described in our earlier papers in more detail (see Olt and Csizmady, 2020; Olt et al., 2019; Olt and Lepeltier-Kutasi, 2018) and here I only present the most important details: the privatisation of the housing stock explained in more details below, and the fragmented municipal structure of the city. Budapest consist of 23 highly sovereign district local authorities where the district mayors have decisive role about what happens in their jurisdiction. Meanwhile the city municipality itself is operating the infrastructural network and above all the public transport.

Gentrification in Budapest was not as pronounced as expected in the mid-1990s (see the self-critical remarks of Neil Smith in Czirfusz et al, 2015: 58; see also Kovács et. al., 2013). There were several institutional reasons behind this, all connected to the consequences of the post-socialist transformation (see Tuvikene, 2016). The exact way of privatisation of the formerly state owned housing stock in post-socialist cities happened differently in every case (Sykora, 2005: 101). In Budapest the give-away privatisation of apartments to sitting tenants (Hegedűs and Tosics, 1998) resulted in

extremely high levels of owner occupation in the run down inner city housing stock. This also meant a fragmented ownership structure of the buildings that made refurbishments (or reinvestment in the built environment) much more difficult (Kovács et. al, 2013: 5; Smith, 1996: 176). This meant that in Budapest conversion of whole tenement buildings into commercial functions such as hotels was much less typical than for example in Prague (Sykora, 1993; Sykora, 2005: 96), while demand for high status inner city housing remained low.

The evolution of a NTE hotspot

In urban rehabilitation areas however local municipalities were not forced by the privatisation law to sell their housing stock to sitting tenants. After the boom of the real estate market in the late 1990s the local authorities became the engines of gentrification (Jelinek, 2011; Csanádi et al., 2012). Somewhat counterintuitively where the social housing stock remained in the hands of the local authority, gentrification could happen since whole buildings were sold to investors and were demolished to replace it with new built apartments (Olt and Csizmady, 2020).

The institutional context of the post-socialist transformation was also present in the cases where privatisation of whole buildings was possible: the process often involved large scale fraudulence by the local politicians as in our research area in the most central part of District VII as well (Sipos and Zolnay, 2009). The political control of privatisation and embezzlement of the price paid for the privatisation of publically owned assets is the essence of the post-socialist "neo-patrimonial" social and economic relations[1] (Szelényi and Csillag, 2015). This means that instead of a quick market led transformation[2], the process was much slower and investors in the process were not global real estate giants rather much smaller speculative firms (Olt and Csizmady, 2020). Instead of a quick change to a high status residential area the deteriorated buildings stood empty for years, and were used "in the meantime" as bars (or 'ruin bars' see Lugosi et al., 2010; Csanádi et al., 2012). Some of these bars still operate today and as they occupy whole buildings they have large capacity.

The 2008 crisis crossed the plans of speculative owners (to sell the buildings later for higher prices), while the regulation of commercial activities got loosened in 2009 and tourism in Budapest increased substantially (Olt et al., 2019). As a result, the so called "party quarter" of Budapest developed in the most central part of District VII, and it remained so until today. This means that instead of the narrative where night-time economy is only a pioneer phase of gentrification (see Hae, 2011), night time economy and night time tourism remained the determinant function of the area, while short term touristic use of the apartments in the neighbourhood became widespread (Smith et al., 2018).

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[1] However, in this case at least the criminalisation of these activities happened and the mayor and vice mayor were sentenced to jail.

[2] Since the privatisation in post-socialist countries was to a large extent controlled by political power, the narrative of neoliberal shock therapy in these contexts is only a half of the story. Instead of the control of the owners' class over politics (i.e. neoliberalism), political power could keep lord-vassal relationships in the economic life, hence the term „neo-patrimonial" is suggested (see Szelényi and Csillag, 2015: 26; see also Stark and Vedres, 2012)

The essence of the conflict comes from the extreme concentration of bars and the number of people (often heavily intoxicated) on the streets at night. Complaining residents admitted that often they don't hear any noise from the venues themselves (although sometimes lack of insulation and resonation in the walls make many apartments uninhabitable). But the sheer capacity of the bars (almost every single retail space of the area is involved in NTE) combined and individually (over 200 000 visitors a weekend) caused overtourism (Sziva et al., 2019) and a level of displacement pressure unprecedented before in Budapest. In contrast with many European cities (see for example Novy, 2017) this turn towards tourism and leisure economy was not planned at all (Smith et al., 2018).

Local government and the state – the post-socialist context

In a schematic approach of local conflicts one of the stakeholders is often the local authority as a highly sovereign representative of state power in a given place. The assumption is that neoliberal governance can be detected on the urban level "most saliently" (Jessop, 2002: 452) and decisions are made on the local level (ibid. 454). However, in the context of my research, the national level political power was involved in this and other district municipality level conflicts directly and decisively (Olt et al., 2019).

In the post-socialist context, neo-patrimonial relations are not simply experienced by the economic influence of political actors during and after privatisation of state owned assets (Csillag and Szelényi, 2015, see the footnote above), but also in the traditional (feudal) power relations in politics and governance (Szelényi, 2016: 7-10 and 14-15). Legal rational authority coexists with traditional authority: the rule of law can be overruled by the interests of political power (ibid.). This is especially true since the 2/3 super-majority win of the currently ruling (state)party Fidesz and PM Viktor Orbán. With the super-majority in the legislative branch (with a one-person absolute power in the ruling party, turning MPs into voting automats) laws and the constitution can be changed at will. In this system checks and balances are eliminated, while the independence of the judicial branch of power is seriously damaged[3] (Szelényi and Csillag, 2015: 24-25).

In an illiberal country it is no wonder, that municipal sovereignty decreased radically (Hegedűs and Péteri, 2015), and politicians high in the party hierarchy can de facto command informally mayors of the same party. Informal exercise of power can work better without publically available data or as Roy (2009) puts it, by "unmapping". Legislations can be changed on the national level to "solve" local issues (Olt et al., 2019) and rules are applied selectively according to political logic. Therefore, residents think twice to vote against the ruling party in local elections, since this could mean for example the appropriation of local incomes or cutting the support for disadvantaged settlements.

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[3] The state attorney is a former Fidesz politician with very strong connection to the party elite. High level of corruption is possible through "control deactivation at the inter-organizational level" (Jávor and Jancsics, 2016, pp. 546–547).

Local government and the state – "conflict management"
Residents against bars

The change of the legislation of commercial activities in 2009[4] meant the end of preliminary permission rights of local authorities, they could only check if a venue works according to the rules after it was open. Since then, local authorities can only regulate the opening hours of commercial activities between 10 pm and 6 am. The adjacent District VI did that already in 2009 ordering a 10 pm closing time. This caused a lot of controversy in the press and consumers and entrepreneurs demonstrated against it. The regulation changed: if the majority of the residents living nearby allowed that venues could stay open after 10 pm. Later it turned out that this voting by residents was unconstitutional, and after many modifications of the regulation since 2012 a committee of the local authority decides about the permission to stay open after 12 pm. However, the original idea was clear: the conflict should be only between residents and entrepreneurs, and the local authority was supposed to stay away from it.

District VII also tried to introduce a similar scheme with residents voting about the opening hours, but as it turned out this way of decision making about opening hours not constitutional, and it never really had an effect. However, residents did try to go through the administrative procedure that later turned out to be unconstitutional. In interviews residents expressed their feelings that the local authority wants to frame the conflict to be only between residents and bars, and this is just "political manipulation".

In October 2010 they Fidesz won the local election in District VII (as most of the municipalities of Hungary). The mayor for the first and the last time appeared in a public forum in April 2011, promising a win-win solution. At that time the civil organisation of bar owners (called Azért) was already active (however only with about 20 members from the few hundreds of bars). The proposed solution of the local authority was to divide the extremely dense 0,5 square km neighbourhood into areas without and with compulsory closing times. The non-restricted areas were the ones where members of Azért had bars. This was technically absurd (people would move between areas) and bar owners who were not members of the Azért protested strongly, so the proposition was not even put to vote at the council.

National legislation and local conflicts

In 2012 a prominent cadre of Fidesz, MP and mayor of District V, the most central and touristic area of the Pest side of Budapest wanted to solve the recurring problem of tourist traps operated by organised crime in his district. In an illiberal context, the best way to do that seemed to be to change the national level legislation and give more rights to the police in terms of licencing. According to this modification the police restricted or closed down 22 venues in the last week of 2012 in the party quarter in District VII. This caused a wide controversy in the press, and by that time certain venues operated in the party quarter had very good connections to the highest level of power. So in early 2013 the MP

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[4] 210/2009. (IX. 29.) governmental decree

claimed that it was not his intention to close down the party quarter and negotiations begun strictly behind closed doors between the team of the MP and the well-connected entrepreneurs and certain other bars of the neighbourhood.

The result was the modification of the legislation of commercial activities[5]: in world heritage areas (where most of the tourists go), venues can stay open after midnight if they pay a certain "supervision fee" to make up for the externalities they cause. The amount of money was determined by the capacity of the venue, however there was a cap of the amount: 0,5% of the industrial tax base. Apparently the local authority of District VII was not aware of this cap and planned much more income[6], while the collection of the fee was also problematic and unsuccessful[7]. At the same time the local authority capitulated in terms of local rules, and since early 2013 in the most central part of District VII (the party quarter) there is no closing time only outside of it. The expansion of the party quarter was stopped and other inner city districts introduced early closing times for every new venue to appeal to law and order voters of the ruling party (see Bernt, 2012: 3046). For 4 years, there was no change in the situation in District VII, and although the Fidesz lost its majority on the 2014 local election in the district council, the mayor kept his position.

Entrepreneurs and the Night Mayor
Cooperation of entrepreneurs

The civil group of entrepreneurs called Azért had only about 20 members although there were over 200 bars selling primarily alcohol[8]. Still, as we could see above, an association like that was already taken as a stakeholder representing every entrepreneur, although this was very far from reality. Venues represented at the meetings of the association were mostly ruin bars and other places that started to operate because they realised a new scene is emerging in the District VII in the 2000s. Chain bars owned by entrepreneurs with decades long experience in Budapest nightlife[9] were never members, similarly to individual smaller pubs, the few places left for local regulars. Higher status bars opening in the early 2010s with good connections to the ruling party also stayed away.

High level of illegal tax evasions (for example on the field of health care contribution of workers) that put most Hungarian enterprises in the grey economy, also contributed to the high level of mistrust. "I would pay this fee. But how do I know I'm not the only looser who does pay that an others don't" – complained one of the interviewed entrepreneurs. It is also symptomatic that after one of the first meetings of the association, where the agenda of transparent lobbying was discussed, an entrepreneur

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[5] CXVII law of 2013
[6] http://index.hu/belfold/2014/01/09/elszamoltak_a_rogan-fele_romkocsmaadot/
[7] https://24.hu/kozelet/2017/09/24/szazmilliok-helyett-alig-tizenegy-milliot-hajtottak-be-a-kocsmaadobol/
[8] The exact number of bars was always disputed and the local authority (until recently) did not provide up to date data about the number and size of the venues. When talks about the supervision fee begun, entrepreneurs were upset about how outdated the database they received from the local authority was.
[9] That means experience from the 1980s and 1990s were boundaries of legal and illegal were even more blurry.

with long term experience in NTE asked the president of the association in private: "It's all very good. But still… How much is it? And who should I give it?" – referring to bribery of authorities and politicians.

Selective criminalisation, a spectacular feature of illiberal governance[10], also causes mistrust. Earlier we presented the extra attention paid on a community space housing NGOs and creating income from a bar and small dance venue. Although local authorities have very limited resources, street wardens posted before the place every single night in the summer of 2018, because of the political alignments of the venue and not because it was that much louder than others (see Olt et al., 2019). The close down of another dance venue in 2018 happened after a police raid found two drug dealers at the place. But busting drug dealers happens often in other places or at the Sziget festival almost every year, still they can operate further. Although, they are not in the way of investors with close ties to the political power[11].

The Night Mayor of Budapest

When the adjacent District VIII announced to introduce stricter regulation of NTE (the district was a stigmatised area of the city and NTE was only in an embryonic phase compared to District VII), the cooperation (and lobbying) of local bars was initiated by biggest and most successful venue in the neighbourhood. The later Night Mayor (NM) was only an advisor at that time to help this process. After negotiations, District VIII introduced 12 pm closing time for new bars, but existing venues were left untouched.

By 2017 in most inner city districts of Pest 12 pm was the compulsory closing time for new bars (except in the party quarter) and terraces had to close at 10 pm. Also in that year a better organised residential movement started to protest against bars in District VII (see below). Therefore, the idea of joint lobbying came up and the largest most successful venues of the whole city started to finance the of civil organisation called Night Mayor Budapest. However, the political leadership of the city was not receptive to the idea to say the least.

Thus, the NM and the civil organisation behind him with a handful of co-workers was entirely financed by the largest and commercially most successful bars and concert venues of the city. The main idea of the NM was that negative effects of NTE can be mitigated by high quality standards that should be strongly recommended to any hospitality venue for the city. In a forum for urban experts the NM admitted that this would also mean that many not so high quality bars should close to reduce the environmental impact of NTE. As an active resident noted: "so they want to kill the cheap competition, very clever…". Other ideas included the dispersal of night life in the whole city, that was actively prevented by district level regulations a few years before.

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[10] see the case of certain oligarchs in Russia (Szelényi and Csillag, 2015) or this recent case from Poland: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/oct/12/norway-grants-asylum-to-polish-man-who-fled-prison-sentence
[11] https://24.hu/kultura/2019/05/23/corvinteto-jozsefvaros-blaha-corvin-aruhaz/

From this short description it seems NM is a lobbyist of the most powerful players of the NTE, although he often claimed the opposite. However less powerful NTE entrepreneurs, especially places with social, political or artistic agendas felt not represented at all. In our interviews they talked about lack of solidarity and support by the more profit oriented NTE entrepreneurs, and their exclusion from joint lobbying because their political agenda could jeopardize compromises with the political power[12].

The residents
Disadvantaged property owners

In my research area most residents are property owners after the post-socialist privatisation, but that do not necessarily mean high disposable income and wealth (Olt and Csizmady, 2020). During the conflict it was often suggested in heated debates that residents should just sell their apartments and move away if they are disturbed by the party quarter. However, prices in other inner city areas were the same or higher for long and the costs of moving were substantial compared to the budget of most residents (Kováts, 2017). Still, a high number of residents left the area in the last 10 years, according to the estimates of political parties in the 2019 local election 4-5000 people from the 20 000 residents in 2011.

For a long time, many residents felt isolated in their fight for undisturbed night sleep. They tried to call the police, although it was notoriously understaffed and although there were improvements it is still the case[13]. The sheer number of consumers in the area makes the task of keeping order nearly impossible. Residents also tried to appeal at the legal department of the local authority, but even in seemingly quite obvious cases the department leader decided not to start an official procedure for defending the interest of owners. This meant that residents could only start lengthy and very costly court cases while the bar in question could operate further. The leader of the legal department was accused with corruption by many as he was the only decision maker in similar cases without any real supervision. Residential movements were not organised well and many active residents got exhausted and rather left the area.

The residential movement and political representation

This situation changed in 2017 when two locals with political experience started to organise meetings of residents and organised a (first informal) group called Liveable Elisabeth-Town (LE) (after the traditional name of District VII). Members of LE were mostly contacted through a facebook group originally made for the participative rehabilitation of a square in the neighbourhood in 2011 that was never realised. Since then the group was the place of complaints about problems caused by NTE and

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[12] However, as a social scientist I don't blame the NM in person. I argue that in this context pursuing radically different ways of lobbying and more inclusive agendas is close to impossible.
[13] https://24.hu/belfold/2019/05/06/bulinegyed-vii-kerulet-rendorseg/

bitter debates among entrepreneurs and residents. The experience in politics and connections with the press resulted in successful demonstrations in terms of turnout and media coverage. After a while local power was pressured enough to deal with the problem.

The members of the movement consciously agreed in a very simple message: closing time at midnight as in other parts of the district was demanded, that should apply to every venue and not just the new ones. This was a very radical of a claim for the current situation and actually many members of LE (at that time) didn't agree with that fully. Other locally active residents actually opposed the closing time solution and suggested the area should have more cultural offer and higher status places, the later idea also endorsed by LE.

In October 2017 the mayor, with the backing of the NM suggested a seemingly very democratic solution: a referendum about the closing time. The trick was, that the whole district voted about the closing time although except for the most central part, the party quarter, with less than third of the district population, there was already a 12 pm closing time. The other (somewhat) surprising phenomenon was that neither Fidesz, nor opposition politicians campaigned for either yes or no. Because of these reasons, the turnout at the referendum was below 25% that means the result was invalid.

Opposition party politicians explained in interviews that campaigning for early closing time would have been controversial with their younger and more liberal voting base and 2018 was a national election year, while the governing party was never serious about the referendum in the first place. On the 2018 national elections the small opposition parties couldn't agree in the unification of their forces, however in the illiberal system the ruling party has huge advantage. In the local elections cooperation was more likely. But mayoral candidates were appointed on the national level, and with a few notable exceptions, local grassroots movements were not part of these deals.

The local election of 2019 and the residential movement

After the invalid referendum the inner tensions (about political and ideological alignments or about the right strategy in the case, and the actual goals) of the one issue movement busted out, and the original organisers with political experience were soon not members anymore. The question was what the role of the remaining part of LE can be, and how they should strategize at the local election. In the illiberal political context cooperation of opposition parties seems logical, but the background of these parties is very different, and some of them already proved to be corrupt and incompetent. It is understandable if someone doesn't want to participate in a coalition like that, but on the other hand, sharing of opposition votes is the single most important tactic of the ruling party. Therefore, independent movements or parties who doesn't align with the opposition coalition are blamed with treason by opposition parties, so non-aligned political actors often find themselves in crossfire[14]. In District VII the

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[14] Clandestine support of a „trustworthy opposition", and infiltrating and sabotaging opposition parties is indeed a very real political phenomenon in Hungary and even more in Russia.

opposition mayoral candidate was surprise for locals, as this politician of a left-liberal party was a member of the European Parliament before, and didn't have much involvement in local issues.

The remaining members of LE decided to become an official organisation in 2018 and in 2019 they decided to participate in the local elections independently, as they felt, none of the national parties support their cause. This caused fierce reactions from the opposition parties and their supporters. Although even at their campaign starting event in April, 2019 it was understood that they have little chance to win individual constituencies, they did have a chance to give a council member on the so called compensational list where votes received in lost constituencies still count. They hoped this could help their fight about the issue with more information and more chance to maintain the issue on the surface. However certain politically active interviewees pointed out (of course with plenty of malaise), that the movement started out as completely anti-political[15] so they could reach a critical mass, but in two years, the leader of LE introduced herself without any shame as a full-time politician.

LE was able to thematise the campaign as they represented the idea of 12 pm closing time, while this wasn't so clear in case of the professional parties. The opposition mayoral candidate won the local elections. The leader of LE got into the council, and strongly criticizes the current mayor. It also turned out that a full-time politician cannot only deal with this single issue or even only local cases, and some LE member left the group after seeing that. Her proposition about the closing time was backed by the currently minority Fidesz fraction. At the same time the current mayor proposed to elaborate a system of criteria that every venue that wishes to stay open after midnight has to meet.

The system of criteria (SoC)

First the LE was opposing "another round of endless negotiations" about who can stay open after midnight because their political programme was that at 12 pm the party quarter should be shut down. However, as they have only one member in the council they had the choice to participate in the creation of this system of criteria (SoC) or not. The mayor proposed a discussion of relevant stakeholders to find solutions that decrease the noise and other externalities caused by the party quarter without closing the whole party quarter down.

According to the accepted proposition of the mayor, the committee consisted of 3 local council members, 2 representatives of the bars, one representative of the residents, and one representative of the civil groups. To make it more interesting, the representative of the LE was not among the 3 council members, and other members of the committee were chosen by a lottery(!) from the volunteers for the given roles. Since the whole issue was not very well advertised to say the least, only a few volunteers appeared to every role. The representative of the civil groups was one LE member, the representatives of bars were the owners of the two largest places in the party quarter and finally the representative of

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[15] Post-socialist anti-politics (Gille, 2010) means refraining from ideological struggles and systemic influence of state power, and rather concentrating on single issues.

the residents was a local, who had a cleaning enterprise and often worked in street cleaning for the bars.

There wasn't much officially available data about the meetings in early 2020 since the very strictly closed and confidential nature of them. The SoC revolved around technical solutions, that can reduce the noise caused by individual bars. The most important points of the SoC are: limiting the volume of music (limiter), automatic closing of the doors of the venue, no music with open windows, moving trash and used bottles is prohibited between 10 pm and 8 am, the toilets of the venues can be used by anyone free of charge, employing personnel to ensure their guests keep the noise down is compulsory, ban of single use plastic glasses, the venues should do everything in their power to prevent guests bringing out drinks and cleaning the streets before the venue every day. The permits to stay open after midnight are valid for one year.

Many of these rules were actually already in effect, such as the ban of bringing out drinks from the bars. (Because smoking is prohibited in closed spaces in Hungary since 2011 and many Hungarians and tourists smoke, this is major issue.) The difference between the existing rules in general and the SoC was that SoC was planned to be strictly supervised by the street wardens of the district and violation of it can be penalised by the loss of the permit to stay open after midnight (venues have 5 strikes). Meanwhile causing disturbance or hosting criminal activities is supervised by the police and court cases following the bans could last very long while places can stay open.

Many of the decisions were actually consensual and only a few issues caused strong debates. The representative of the LE wanted to give rights to the residents living nearby in granting the permit, and other stricter measures were negotiated, however these were not accepted by the representatives of the bars and council members. According to my sources, the only issue was the closing down of windows after 10 pm, that was forced on the bars, while other technical issues were agreed. The LE representative was aware that compared to their original goals they made huge compromises, but compared to the earlier (non)management of the conflict, this was at least something. Of course the question was, how much of these rules will be enforced.

After the SoC and the lockdown

The enforced restrictions of drinking before the bars and stricter control of 10 pm closing of terraces together with the costs of the technical solutions meant a much bigger problem for small capacity venues then the big ones actually represented in the committee. As large venues like ruin bars and bars appearing later in renovated buildings can have capacities well over 1000 guests while small places often cannot accommodate more than 50 guests, the differences in the effects of the SoC are also very large. After the spring lockdown, smaller places felt that their interests were neglected. The irony was that some of these small places were even liked by LE activists.

The lockdown in March 2020 made debates even more heated than before. Some residents commented on facebook with undisguised Schadenfreude after their realisation of what they have lost during the transformation from a neglected disinvested neighbourhood (always right before rehabilitation) to a party quarter. Meanwhile bar owners (especially those who weren't even aware of the SoC committee) felt that besides the devastating effects of the lockdown, they get even strict and costly rules instead of public help to survive. The fragile compromise was ruined, but the local authority introduced the SoC anyway and it came in effect in late August, 2020. In personal observations it was clear that the rules are enforced stronger (bartenders closed the terrace at 10 pm sharp) and interviewees talked about relentless actions of the street wardens giving fines in an unprecedented manner.

The situation made the debates (on the internet) dirty and personal. The NM used offensive language against locals stirring further controversy and staying very far from the win-win visions a few years before. Meanwhile small bars were accusing the NM and larger venues of betraying them. In interviews with bar owners it came up that maybe over 1000 people capacity venues do not belong to a residential area. The rhetoric of the LE also turned more specifically against large venues as they cause the most noise (mostly by the huge mass of people queuing before the clubs or leaving them).

In July 2020 the NM announced the funeral march of Budapest nightlife, but the attendance was so low that it was cancelled, while in a television debate the owner of a large bar claimed that he has nothing to do with that event. On the other hand, since most of the party quarter is built on tourism the funeral march seems to be an adequate term. With the current estimation of the NM 20% of the bars in Budapest can stay alive by spring 2021. Meanwhile the government gives subsidies to well-connected powerful entrepreneurs while claims that the problems of tourism and hospitality should be solved by the city of Budapest. However, the city budget was more and more centralised in the recent years and even more since the pandemic.

Conclusions

The most central part of District VII was transformed not because of conscious planning of a neoliberal urban governance or because investors were forcing their profit interests on political power and the rest of the society. Rather because in post-socialist neo-patrimonial governance political power uses public assets to accumulate its own wealth in a short term thinking, without the explicit intention to enforce and maintain market economy. This type of governance is harmful for residents but also for most of the market firms with the exception of companies directly connected to power.

The area became an NTE tourism quarter without any conscious planning for that and without cooperation with tourism and hospitality entrepreneurs (Smith et al., 2018). Eventually, in most of the city these economic activities were banned after midnight to appeal for law and order voters. In District VII the local governance refrained to openly support either the residents or entrepreneurs because of

the extreme situation in the party quarter after the corrupt privatisation. After 2010, far from the ideas of neoliberal governance on the urban level, national level political power determined the process with very direct involvement in the local conflict. The state party protected entrepreneurs connected to their circles (and as a collateral, other local entrepreneurs), while it neglected local residents as a miniature interest group compared to the national scale. The model of mediation between the local power, entrepreneurs and residents is less realistic, since the municipal sovereignty is regularly violated either formally or informally.

The representation of nightlife in general beyond particular profit interests is also unrealistic since besides different sizes and business cultures, entrepreneurs have very different relations to state power as well. In our context, the controversial position of the Night Mayor was determined by the mistrust between entrepreneurs, between entrepreneurs and the state and by the relationships between state power, authorities and residents that is far away from the ideas of legal-rational (or liberal) governance and democratic representation.

In the illiberal system, democratic representation of single issue grassroots movements is often incompatible with the anti-political attitudes of these groups and their inner political tensions as well as with the extremely unequal power relations between the ruling party and the opposition. When these groups decide to step into the field of professional politics independently they find themselves between opposition parties and the ruling power, while their agendas are hard to represent. In a number of cases political career and deals within this system became an end in itself. However, in some municipalities after the 2019 elections these civil groups could lead the opposition parties, that gives a glimpse of hope to step beyond illiberalism. In our case study the negotiations about possible solutions happened within the black box of politics without real representation of interests. However, these technocratic solutions were introduced rigorously without selective application (so far). The results of these rules remain unknown because of the consequences of the pandemic.

Mediation and negotiation based conflict resolution presupposes the respect of human and political rights of every stakeholder, however, systemic inequalities between the sides can still exist (Purcell, 2009: 146). The chance to overcome these inequalities depends on a number of human, political and social rights that are either endorsed in the political system or not. The cases of illiberal countries show that without these political and human rights (certainly in a broader and socially more inclusive sense than in most instances today) non-violent subversion of the current power relations is hard to imagine.

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Life After Dark in the Cities of the Ancient World

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Abstract

As darkness cascaded across the city sky, some workers trudged home for the day for rest and relaxation while others were just commencing their shifts. Dusk signalled the start of urban activities unlike those conducted during the day. Ancient urban dwellers repeated this rhythm many times over, and transformed their nocturnal environment through the artifacts, features, and buildings they utilized, some of which were particularly associated with the dark. Nocturnal quotidian practices shaped the archaeological record as much as diurnal ones, yet archaeologists have not routinely considered the night in their reconstructions of the past. Once we shine our light on the dark, patterns emerge which inform us more holistically about urban lives. Much of our economic, social, and ritual lives have been enacted at night, providing us with an opportunity to consider what the night offers. Many tasks are uniquely suited to the affordances of nighttime and are supported by the built environment of cities. Often times, night is quieter, and refuge from the hustle and bustle of city life is welcome. Darkness offers freedom from surveillance, stresses, the heat of the day. In this article, we examine the material record in conjunction with ancient writing to search for laborers in the night, those who worked the "nightshift" in antiquity.

Keywords (EN): affordances, archaeology, nightshift, urbanism

Introduction to Night Studies in Anthropology & Archaeology

Urban studies in the broadest sense encompass an extensive geographical and chronological range of societal formations, from the early small cities of the Middle East to contemporary burgeoning metropoli on nearly all continents. The remains of thousands of ancient cities exist in most places throughout the world and an analysis of them can contribute to an historical understanding of urbanization and other cultural evolutionary processes and lifeways. If the claim that humans are pre-adapted to urban life stands (Woolf, 2020), it is little wonder then, that most humans now live in cities. When most of us envision how city dwellers of the past lived their lives, we may very well picture a daily routine that included activities such as strolling by stone temples on the way to market, toiling in the hot sun while building roads, or sitting in a schoolroom learning script. Such endeavors occupied the days of many women, men, and children in antiquity. Daytime is the default setting when visualizing occupations of our urban ancestors, and many of these activities are similar to those performed by modern humans today. The story of our past and of city life, however, is much more than the time between dawn and dusk. The consideration of the other half of ancient life, the night, renders an enhanced depiction of life in the past, and in particular ancient urban life. In this article, we address the affordances that night provided (Nowell and Gonlin, 2020) and how humans interacted with the built environment in the darkness of the city.

In North America, archaeology is one of the four fields of anthropology and emphasizes a holistic approach to understanding cultural and biological diversity of the human species. As such, archaeologists regularly incorporate findings from linguistics, socio-cultural anthropology, and biological/physical anthropology to enrich the materiality that people from long gone societies left behind. This materiality of the built environment encompasses artifacts, features, buildings, infrastructure, and entire ancient communities. With night vision, such ruins come to life and inform us of nocturnality.

The emphasis on the night is relatively new in anthropology. Is it due to modern unfamiliarity with dark nights that researchers have not fully investigated this essential aspect of being? Or have we presumed that by delving into daily rhythms that such endeavours inform us about the night? Socio-cultural anthropologists first called for an "anthropology of the night" over a decade ago. Burkhard Schnepel (2006; Schnepel and Ben-Ari, 2005) as well as Jacques Galinier and his colleagues (2010) promoted this idea. Schnepel (2006, p. 127) aptly observed that night has been subsumed under day, when they are in a complementary relationship to one another and interdependent. It has been easier said than done to involve archaeologists in the pursuit of the night since many of our peers claim that they do not "find" evidence of the night in their work. Others do not "get it" and perceive this pursuit as futile. Perhaps for archaeologists, the non-material concept of the night serves as a barrier, but we

contend that there is materiality associated with the night (as with a multitude of other abstractions and natural phenomena archaeologists investigate) and that such physical objects are recoverable in archaeological contexts (e.g., Gonlin and Nowell, 2018; Gonlin and Reed, 2021; Gonlin and Strong, 2022). Repetitive nocturnal activities occurred in the past, as they do today. Just as landscapes comprise units of study, so, too, do "nightscapes." "The nightscape is composed of all the material objects, non-material culture, activities, and sensations associated with or used during the time of day when the sun has set and before it rises (or in the most northern and southern of latitudes, when one typically shifts from daily activities to nightly activities)" (Reed and Gonlin, 2021, p. 5). Furthermore, judicious use of analogy and ancient texts expand how archaeologists can incorporate the nighttime in their reconstructions of the past.

Michelle Daveluy makes an excellent point when she critiques the anthropology of the night as put forward by Galinier and colleagues (2010) by observing that "Two important contributions of a night perspective are to counter widespread ideas about life in the dark: (1) that it is void of activities and (2) that it is silent" (Daveluy, 2010, p. 838). Noisy, active nights involve the use of objects and scenes, and make for good archaeological signatures. However, so do quiet nights, where repose beckons in a darkened room.

Below we present a synopsis of the urban record of ancient cities and how archaeologists have investigated the largest of settlements humans created. Grounding our research in the concepts of affordances (Nowell and Gonlin, 2020) and hyper- and hypo-nights (Schnepel, 2006), we explain the utility of viewing the night from these orientations. The range of nocturnal laborers in antiquity composed far fewer workers than those during the daylight hours (Melbin, 1987), but were part of the "nocturnal economy" (Galinier et al., 2010, p. 834). Nighttime labourers performed critical functions for urban dwellers, some of which facilitated daytime business to operate smoothly. We conclude that archaeological encounters with the night do not have to be rare phenomena and we can gain much when integrating this facet of existence into current understandings of the past.

The Ancient Quest of Excavating Ancient Cities

Archaeologists have excelled at recovering the physical manifestations of complex civilizations of antiquity the world over. Easily the most recognizable ruins emanate from urban venues. Well-known to the layperson are monumental remains that, in some cases, have existed for centuries, such as Rome, Athens, Cuzco, or Tenochtitlan and have spurred our imagination about ancient lifeways. This curiosity about the past, however, is not new. As reported in this introductory archaeology textbook (Sharer and Ashmore, 1993), this inquisitiveness itself is centuries old:

> "… Thutmose IV, pharaoh of Egypt in the 15th century B.C., ordered the excavation of the Great Sphinx at Giza, then already centuries old and nearly buried by sand. He left a record of his work inscribed on a stone tablet between the paws of the sphinx. Nearly a millennium later, in the mid-6th century B.C., Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, conducted excavations to probe the ancient

civilizations that had given rise to his own, which was by then already 2500 years old. It is reported that Nabonidus even exhibited the artifacts from his excavations." (p. 45).

This long lasting speculative phase of archaeology also encompassed the antiquarian pursuits of noble members of society who, especially during the European Renaissance (14th-17th centuries CE), collected spectacular objects fueled by the discovery of Roman and Greek sites throughout Europe. These non-professionals were well acquainted with archaeology long before it developed into the modern scientific pursuit that it is today. During this time period, a variety of field methods, such as stratigraphy, were developed to better understand the context of finds, though the ransacking of ancient sites continued and has unfortunately persisted into modern times.

With midden upon midden, and collapsed structure upon collapsed structure, it is little wonder that the excavation of ancient cities takes much time and plentiful resources (McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017). It is a dirty, expensive, and political business. These issues are compounded when the habitation of a locale has persisted through the millennia, such as Mexico City, a colonial settlement founded by the Spanish built literally upon the 15th century Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán in central Mexico during a period known as the Postclassic. Teotihuacan, so named the "City of the Dead" by the Aztecs, flourished before the rise of the Aztecs during the early part of Mesoamerica's Classic Period and grew to a population of over 100,000 (Cowgill, 2015).

Revolutionizing the study of ancient cities and archaeology in general is the method of LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging). One can literally see through dense foliage and mounds of earth to identify temples, palaces, roads, and houses to identify entire cities, and indeed entire kingdoms (e.g., Rosenswig and López-Torrijos, 2018). It is only through generations of archaeological work that we can understand ancient urban nights due to the enormous amount of excavations and analysis that have occurred.

Hyper Nights, Hypo Nights, & Affordances

To obtain insights on urban nights in the ancient world, we employ the concepts of hyper nights and hypo nights from Schnepel (2006) and tie in these ideas with James Gibson's (1979) concept of affordances. All have been used to great effect and have successfully enhanced our comprehension of the complex history of nights. Schnepel (2006, p. 132) dichotomizes two major ways of interacting with the night, concepts he calls "hyper nights" and "hypo nights." He defines hyper nights as "…nights which offer spaces for rebellious and even revolutionary forms of behaviour, spaces in which the normal, diurnal form of life, with all its behavioural patterns, norms and moral values, is questioned, mocked and even transgressed." Furthermore, "Hyper nights", then, are characterized by the fact that in them, human beings wish to achieve, experience and feel more than is possible during the day and in ordinary nights. "Hyper nights", in a nutshell, are the domains of a different and heightened (nocturnal) way of living" (Schnepel, 2006, p. 133).

"'Hypo nights', by contrast, are the result of the human desire and emotional need to tame and colonize the night (Melbin, 1987); of the ambition to control and overcome the night's dangers and evil creatures, or just to cope with its inaptitude and disadvantages." (Schnepel 2006, p. 133). ""Hypo nights" are also the results of the everlasting attempts by human beings at all times and everywhere to bring light into the threatening darkness of the night… they seek to make less out of what the night has to offer; they want to minimize, diminish and get rid of its otherness, to make it closer to, even into, the day" (Schnepel, 2006, p. 133).

Schnepel's (2006) hyper and hypo nights can best be understood within the context of Gibson's (1979) notion of affordances. According to Gibson (1979), objects, or in our case nightscapes, have properties, ('affordances'), that lend themselves to specific uses, allowing human agents to take possible actions. According to Gibson (1979), human agents tend to alter or modify their environment to make its affordances better suit their needs. But we (Nowell and Gonlin, 2020) argue that the object-agent relationship is in fact a recursive one in that humans also modify their behaviors to better suit the affordances of their environments. This complicated relationship gets at the essence of the distinction between hyper and hypo nights. One of the most obvious affordances of night is darkness. Darkness allows for freedom from surveillance and respite from the heat. For example, Baxter (2018) describes how 19th century CE enslaved peoples in the Bahamas travelled, under cover of darkness, between plantations to visit friends and family, maintain cultural practices, and (re)create cultural identities under conditions of oppression. Similarly, based on ethnohistoric and ethnographic data, it is believed that Iron Age peoples in Southern Africa practiced iron smelting at night when it was cooler (Chirikure and Moffett, 2018), and Nathan (2018) observes that agriculturalists in Oman irrigate their crops at night to lessen water evaporation. These are illustrations of people in different times and places modifying their behaviors in relation to the hyper night. Other examples include early Polynesians whose seafaring at night was guided by the stars (Van Gilder, 2018), and Roman poets and historians whose writing extended long into the night to take advantage of its silence (Storey, 2018). But not all was quiet and still in nights past.

While these individuals embraced the hyper night, others sought the hypo night. These same affordances of darkness, coolness, and stillness were seen as properties of nighttime that needed to be mitigated. For hundreds of thousands of years, early humans have built shelters, created fire, and sewn warm clothing (Soffer et al., 2000; Soffer, 2004; Kvavadze, et al. 2009; Gillian, 2010; Berna et al., 2012; Gabucio et al., 2018). And, of course, they have manufactured lamps, the earliest of which date back to 40,000 years ago in France (de Beaune, 1987; Medina-Alcaide et al., 2019) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Replica of an Upper Paleolithic stone lamp ca. 17,500-year-old, from Lascaux, France. Photo by April Nowell.

Evidence for lighting devices exists throughout the ancient world. In the Aztec realm, "Fires burning throughout the night, every night, such as in torches, braziers, and hearths, were costly to maintain but brought great prestige to the palaces and temples" (Farah and Evans, 2022, p. 289). In a depiction of an Aztec palace (Figure 2), one can identify in the center of the courtyard the braziers, a type of ceramic vessel, used for light and warmth. In another time and place, high in the Andes Mountains of South America, people thrived in the city of Tiwanaku, Bolivia, from 500-1000 CE. The need for light and warmth at night would have been great, and like the Aztecs, pottery vessels were ideal for such functions. Containers called "*sahumadores*" have been found in houses and patios (Janusek and Guengerich, 2022, p. 102) within and outside the city limits (Figure 3). Many types of lighting devices altered the night in such a dramatic way as to afford one the pleasures of playing or working at night, whether in the city or countryside. It is, quite frankly, difficult to imagine human life without the taming of fire that occurred thousands of years ago.

Figure 2: In the city of Texcoco, Mexico, the 15th century ruler Aztec Netzahualcoyotl built his palace where he kept it lit from dusk until dawn. In the central courtyard, note the 3-legged ceramic braziers from which fires shoot. This depiction is from the 16th century Mapa Quinatzin, drawn ~1540 CE. Image in the public domain.
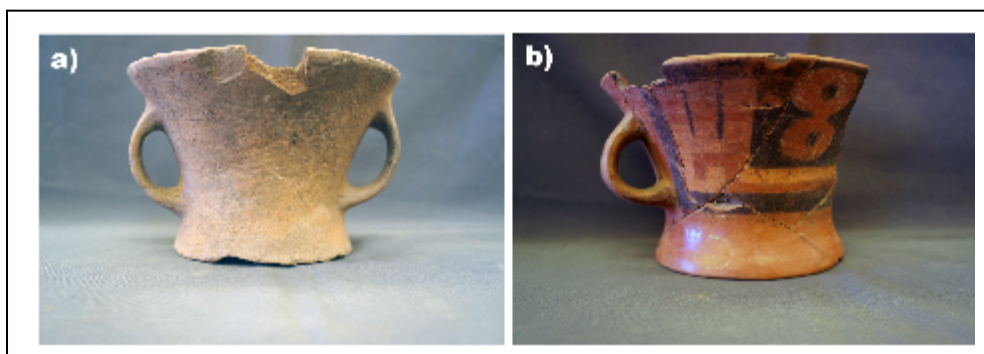
Figure 3: These ceramic vessels known as a "*sahumadores*" come from the ancient (500-1000 CE) Andean city of Tiwanaku, Bolivia, where residents used plain (a) and decorated (b) varieties to illuminate and heat their houses and patios at night. Photo by John W. Janusek.

Nocturnal Laborers in Ancient Cities

Dusk brought about the end of the work day for many in ancient cities, while others were just commencing their toil as part of the "nocturnal economy" (Galinier et al. 2010, p. 834). Spaces were illuminated and life continued with the addition of the sounds of the nightshift supplanting those of the dayshift. A careful examination of artifacts reveals much about nighttime work. For example, in this scene painted on a pottery vessel from the Late Classic (600-900 CE) Maya culture of Mexico and Central America, torches (a primary lighting device for the Maya) indicate that this ruler received subjects at night while he perched upon his throne, accepting their tribute (Figure 4). Here we have an example of a hypo night, applying Schnepel's (2006, p. 133) terminology. The roles portrayed in this artifact are many, from kingly to common. This event, which was likely repeated many times over at various ancient Maya cities throughout the neotropics, required servants and those who were served, all of whom worked in the palace after hours. Those who cleaned up after a nocturnal meeting, such as the one described above, were the ancient equivalents of modern office cleaners, doing their duty after others had bid good night.

Figure 4: Roll-out photograph of a pottery vessel from the Late Classic Maya of Mesoamerica. The scene on this vase portrays a tribute scene that occurs at night, as indicated by the torches. Photo by Justin Kerr. K1728. Image in the public domain.

Urban temples have a long history in cultures throughout the world, the earliest of which date to Sumerian times in Mesopotamia. Such remains have been recovered on nearly every continent. The highly decorated Kapali Temple, located in Chennai, India was originally built in the 7th century CE, but the present construction is over 300 years old and remains in use today (Figure 5a). Evening and late night puja services are particularly picturesque since lights are part of the ceremonies (http://www.mylaikapaleeswarar.tnhrce.in/history.html). At the sprawling urban center of Angkor, temples are numerous throughout the ancient city (Figure 5b). Like the deep-rooted Hindu temples in India, some of these ancient Buddhist temples have devotees today.
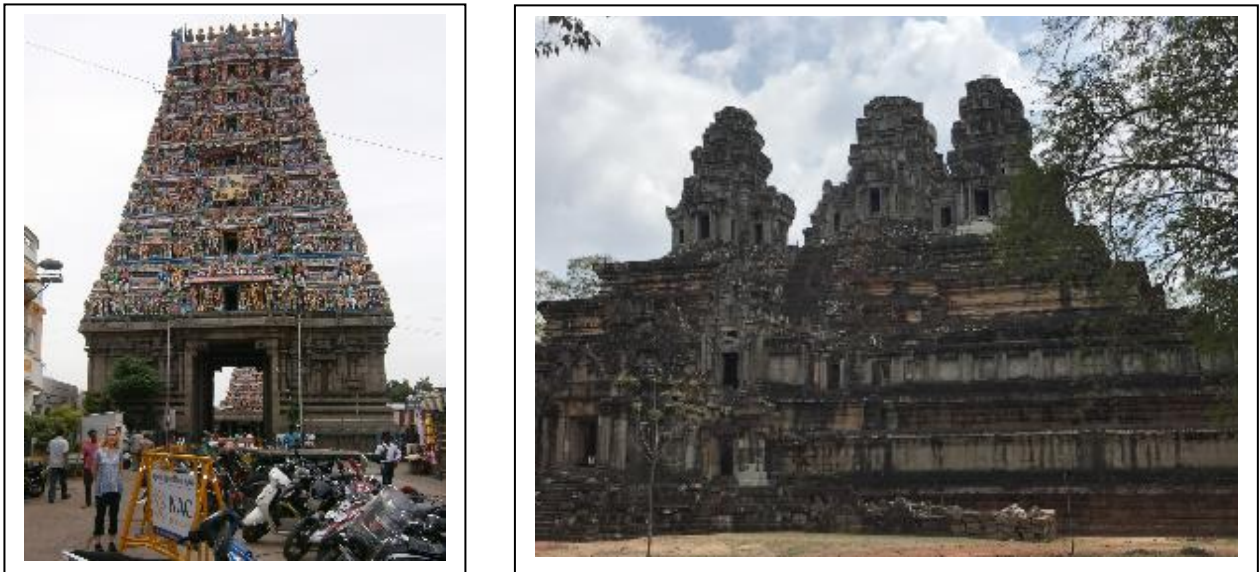
Figure 5: a) Kapali Temple in the heart of Chennai, Tamil Nadu, India. The current temple was built over 300 years ago but stands on the same spot as the original which dates back almost 2,000 years. Photo by K. Viswanathan; b) At the ancient city of Angkor in Cambodia, many temples are located throughout this urban expanse that was built by the Khmer Empire from the 9th to the 15 centuries CE. Photo by Anthony Tessandori.

Religious personnel who ran city shrines very likely worked throughout the night to ensure the harmony of the world, the placation of the deities, and the welfare of the royal family. The task of tending a temple fire was more than mundane; fire in many ancient societies was regarded as sacred and life-giving. The holiness of the night meant that one employed in this capacity spent hours awake while others enjoyed slumber. The nocturnal ritual economy was an essential feature for life in the city and formed a substantial component of the proper functioning of society.

In contrast to divine events, thieves used the night to hide their dark deeds, and this type of hyper night has a long history. Break-ins were recorded on early texts from civilizations such as ancient Egypt. Thievery took numerous forms and exploited different types of goods, as recorded in Egypt during the New Kingdom (1570-1069 BCE): "Nothing was sacred: temple grain supplies were quietly siphoned off, tombs were robbed, temple equipment and fittings were plundered" (Kemp 1989, 232). The end result of robbing was there for all to see – a broken seal on a door, a toppled grave, or a forgotten stash of

loot very much out of its original archaeological context (e.g., Ruffle, 1977, p. 79). One papyrus chronicled that Egyptian tomb robbers were examined either in the evening or morning (Carpat et al. 1936, p. 184). Such investigations required the presence of officials who worked into the night to contain illegal activities.

If one were not busy stealing goods at night, one could be partying. In Donald Ryan's (2018) book on *24 hours in ancient Egypt*, the laborers of the night included party goers and those who entertained them, such as dancing women. Physicians were known to work into the night, embalmers worked overtime to finish the job by daybreak, and farmers started the day early while there was still a coolness in the air. At Mohenjo-Daro, in ancient Pakistan, workers cleaned the sewers at night (Wright and Garrett 2018), and in Rome, delivery men replenished taverns' stores during the nocturnal hours as wheeled vehicles were prohibited in the city during the day (Storey 2018). Clearly, many nighttime occupations made life during the daylight hours easier or more enjoyable. However, sociologist Murray Melbin has noted that in the modern world, there are fewer night workers than day workers (Melbin 1987) and this group has its own psychology. We suspect that ancient night workers, fewer in number than those of the day, subscribed to their own psychology as well.

Relating to the infrastructure of cities are those who were the literal gate keepers of walled urban environments. The gates themselves and portions of walls or moats often survive in the archaeological record, such as the 14th century CE gate at Valencia, Spain (Figure 6). Humans constructed gates, walls, and moats from the very beginning of urban life. Mesopotamian rulers who enticed people into their cities protected them with enclosures that date back at least 4,000 years; and before that time, residents in the large town of Jericho constructed a wall in the 8th century BCE. The Kowloon Walled City of Hong Kong was a refuge for many for centuries before being demolished in modern times. Those who worked the gates at night had dangerous duty to perform. Pity the poor unfortunate citizen who did not make curfew and was stuck outside for the night. Others of similar employment included the night watchmen who were the "eyes and ears" for all inside (Ekirch, 2005, p. 75).

The archaeological evidence for the nocturnal urban economy runs the gamut from the sacred to profane, from the legal to illicit, and from the extraordinary to the ordinary. Citizens of all statuses were involved in night work, from kings and queens to cleaners and sweepers, to those who were subjugated as slaves. The nightshift is not new to humanity but today there are more night workers than in the past as advanced lighting technologies permit such a shift and economic demands make it profitable. Whether hyper or hypo, urbanites utilized nights for a wide variety of purposes in the past, as they do today.

Figure 6: Medieval gate completed in the 14th century CE, Torres de Serranos, Valencia Spain. Gates functioned to keep out unwanted people and simultaneously trapped inside wayward citizens. Photo by Nancy Gonlin.

Conclusions

Archaeological encounters with the night do not have to be rare phenomena. Given the abundance of art and artifacts from the past, archaeologists have the opportunity to construe such items through the lens of the night, whether a pottery vessel, a lighting implement, or the remains of a wall. But one may ask, what have we to gain by integrating this facet of existence into current understandings of the past? The daily rhythm of life is not complete without considering how people functioned in the dark hours of the day. We reiterate Schnepel's (2006, p. 127) insights on the night: "Darkness and light, night and day, are thus not only seen as two diametrically opposed and hostile sides. Rather, night and day are also (and ultimately) perceived as standing in a complementary relationship to one another; representing two unequal, but also two necessary, interconnected and interdependent partners, which cannot do without each other." Anthropologists are uniquely suited to investigate the night as a field of research (Galinier et al., 2010). Our cross-cultural holistic perspective brings in numerous societies across time and space that enrich our understanding of the human condition. Given rapid cultural changes throughout the world, the "style of night" (Galinier et al. 2010, p. 823) is changing at an ever increasing pace. Styles of nights past are fast eroding into the dust; the erosion of the archaeological record is constant and picking up speed. Ethnographic data on the nychthemeron are meager to begin with, yet archaeologists to some extent rely upon such observations to supplement the archaeological record. As modern nights become brighter, ancient nights become darkened as we lose part of the past to the present.

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Out at night.

A human-geographic research on the users of nocturnal work and leisure trips

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Abstract (EN)

This article focuses on nighttime mobility in Germany. The quantitative data evaluation of the 2017 MiD survey focuses primarily on the questions of the purposes of nighttime trips, when they take place and which characteristic features the persons who make these trips have. The analysis shows that most nocturnal leisure trips tend to take place on weekends, nightly trips to work during the week. Leisure trips are mainly made by young, well-educated city dwellers, whereas work trips are made primarily by older, less well educated, mainly male persons, as well as residents living more peripherally.

Keywords (EN): Nighttime; Mobility Users; Work Trips; Germany

Abstract (DE)

Der Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der nächtlichen Mobilität in Deutschland. Die quantitative Datenauswertung des MiD 2017 konzentriert sich dabei primär auf die Fragen zu welchen Zwecken nächtliche Wege vollzogen werden, wann diese im Wochenverlauf stattfinden und welche charakteristischen Eigenschafen die Personen aufweisen, die diese Wege vollziehen. Die Analyse zeigt, dass in den Nächten unter der Woche mehrheitlich Arbeitswege und in den Wochenendnächten mehrheitlich Freizeitwege stattfinden. Die Freizeitwege werden dabei vorwiegend von jungen, gut ausgebildeten Stadtbewohnen und die Arbeitswege primär von eher älteren, weniger gut gebildeten, hauptsächlich männlichen und eher peripher wohnenden Personen vollzogen.

Keywords (DE): Nacht; Mobilitätsnutzer; Arbeitswege; Deutschland

Introduction

The night pulsates! Nocturnal life has for a long time lived a life in the shadow of itself. However since Melbins (1978) pioneering work *Night as frontier* this subject area has been receiving a first, tentative and hesitant attention from research. Only a few decades ago, the night was still considered a period reserved exclusively for sleep and relaxation. Its mischievous image made the cultured, simple bourgeoisie prefer to stay safe and secure in their well-protected, delightfully warm living rooms rather than to venture boldly out into the sinister night. There all sorts of windy villains, dreadful ghosts or diabolical demons seemed to await them. Sent by the devil, they were up to all kinds of ominous mischief in the gloomy thicket of darkness. „[…] the devil is a special predominant planet of the night, and … Like a cunning fowler … he spreads his nets of temptation in the dark, that men might not see to avoid them. […] In the quiet silence of the night he will be sure to surprise us, when he infallibly knows we shall be unarmed to resist" (Nashe 1594, as cited in Koslofsky, 2011). These cautionary lines show that the night used to be a space full of fears and dangers, which it was better not to enter. In order to ease the population's anxiety the world's first public street lighting was installed in Paris in 1667. It was meant to be a measure against the dangers of darkness and to increase the general feeling of safety and security on the streets during the night (Defrance, 1904; Koslofsky, 2002). Today there is hardly anything left of night's once-oppressive darkness and its depressing fears. Instead artificial light has become an integral and omnipresent part of the urban civilization and the brightly lit streets of the modern cityscape are now taken for granted. The night mutated into a socially relevant space of contact, which was "increasingly transformed, economized, eventized [and] festivalized" (Schwegmann, 2016, p. 54). Colonized by light, the modern night creates a "new space for opportunity and possibility" (Weber & Henckel, 2019, p. 114) and more and more human activities are moving into this space (Gwiazdzinski, Maggioli, & Straw, 2018). The night has become an important location factor in the constant competition between cities that continues to gain importance in many places. But what would the night be without her human movements? In the shadows of the bright lights of metropolises people who work at night seemingly effortlessly keep the grinding mills of the modern market economies running, accepting to travel to work every night outside of general working hours. In their search for pleasure leisure-seekers restlessly cross the sea of lights of illuminated cityscapes. But who are these people that make the space of the night their own? Which paths do they take? And when are they on the road particularly often? These questions form the basis for the following explanations in this article. First, the current state of research will be briefly discussed and available studies on the topic of nighttime mobility will be presented. The subsequent theoretical considerations will deal with the concepts of night and attempt to define it temporally. Next, theses will be formulated whose empirical results will be documented and discussed after the presentation of the basis in data and the analytical methods. Finally, some short conclusions and an outlook on further, research-relevant topics will be presented.

State of Art

Nyctalopia, also known as night blindness, describes a "poor vision at night or in dim light" ("Mosby's," 2013, p. 1252). For a long period of time researchers had to put up with the justified reproach of suffering from this mentioned night-blindness (Liempt, Aalst, & Schwanen, 2014). While most (especially social) scientific research concentrated on daytime processes, many nighttime processes remained hidden in the dark. The night was considered a *terra incognita*, an unknown land, a "forgotten dimension" (Gwiazdzinski et al., 2018), marginalized and apparently with "lack of relevance for every-*day* life" (Schwegmann, 2016, p. 18).

Since then the situation has changed. It was recognized that not only the day is important, but also that "the night matters" (Kyba et al., 2020). Especially the last two decades show that science is increasingly turning away from the formerly primarily practiced day-centrism (Schwegmann, 2016). Scientists are beginning to increasingly break through the immaterial border of night in order to bring metaphorical light into the dark. As a result of the advancing *nocturnalization*, the "ongoing expansion of the legitimate social and symbolic uses of the night" (Koslovsky, 2011), *night studies* have increasingly been able to establish itself as a new, multifaceted subject in research with a broadly diversified range of topics. Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify any contributions on the aspects of nocturnal mobility. The largest study on this topic to date was conducted by Gwiazdzinski (2007). Based on an international survey on mobility services, the study provides an extensive inventory of nighttime transport services in numerous large cities and metropolitan areas in Europe and around the world. The insight is gained that the rising increase in nocturnal mobility is fundamentally changing the temporal rhythm of cities. Low profitability combined with additional costs and existing uncertainties may be inhibiting factors that lead to only very few state-run companies participating in the development of public transport at night. However, the resulting market niche is not seldom filled by private companies or non-public associations. More recent articles by authors such as Comelli (2018), Meier and Henckel (2017), Raharinjanahary and Rajoelina (2018) or Weber and Henckel (2019), address the topic of nocturnal mobility in their work and come among other things to the conclusion that the spatially and temporally selective distribution of nocturnal mobility offers creates conflicts in the form of unequal development and thus limited accessibility of the night (Weber & Henckel, 2019). Nevertheless, the authors in their further remarks primarily concentrated on other focal points outside of nighttime mobility. More concrete considerations of this topic are provided by the contributions of Vitrano, Ferrario and Colleoni (2018) and Plyushteva (2018). While Vitrano et al. (2018) deals with the existing problems of the general nighttime mobility of women, Pluyshteva (2018) focuses especially on the challenges faced by employees in the tourism and hospitality sector during their nightly commute to work. In her study based on a mixed-method approach she deals with the excluding factors of nighttime mobility. She states in particular, following Hadfield (2015), that "night mobilities remain inaccessible and precarious for many" (Plyushteva, 2018, p. 2). Based on this finding, she recommends that a "greater attention to the needs of those who are mobile at night for work rather than leisure is needed if nocturnal cities are to become more inclusive" (Plyushteva, 2018, p. 2). Additionally, she states that the existence of

nocturnal commuting in connection with a job is a decisive factor in the hiring and retention of workers. She explains that „all employers interviewed spoke of the difficulties they faced in recruiting and retaining staff, and recognized problems with night commuting as a dimension of these difficulties" (Plyushteva, 2018, p. 9). However, studies on who the commuting workers are that take these nocturnal routes, what proportion of general nocturnal traffic they constitute, where they come from and what socio-demographic group they belong to are, same as for nocturnal leisure travellers, as of yet unavailable.

Theoretical considerations

To answer the research questions satisfactorily, it is primarily important to clearly define the necessary parameters, as well as the terms used. Special attention is paid to the concept of *nighttime trips*. At first glance, the semantics of the linguistic expression appear obvious and trivial. Only with a more exact and reflected approach this initial apparentness loses something of its obviousness. Hereby, questions about substantial characteristics and relevant features of the night, particularly the quest for an accurate definition of a nocturnal trip, gain center stage. Especially the deliberate search for a useful, clearly definable demarcation of the night plays a decisive role for the present analysis.

First, the night can be considered a natural phenomenon. In the dichotomous interplay of day and night, it takes up the time between sunset and sunrise. It functions as a dark counterpart to the bright day in a rhythmically recurring cycle dictated by the seemingly orbiting sun. Although one half of the earth's surface is permanently shrouded in darkness, the framework of the night is neither globally uniform nor identical in its daily presence. An analysis of the sunsets and sunrises shows that they vary in time with the season of the year and the location of the observer.

It should also be noted that in its understanding, especially from a (human) geographical perspective, night should never be reduced to its naturalized form. Instead, it is to be considered in practical connection with social and spatial phenomena in sociological studies (Gebhardt & Reuber, 2020). Night is much more than (just?) a natural phenomenon. Observed from varying perspectives, it offers numerous approaches to think about it in the context of various spatial notions and other geographical core concepts. As a spatiotemporal construct night can be "produced, used, experienced and regulated" (Liempt et al., 2014). Meaning structures can be attributed to it. Imagination can be extracted from it. The night is simultaneously a living, social and recreational space as well as a space of work, leisure, contact, fun, fears, and problems. For the present analysis, it is important to understand the night as a simple, quantifiable period and to define it in a deliberately pragmatic, clear, concrete, and compatible way. A plausible and application-oriented basis is provided by §2 of the German Working Hours Act (ArbZG). Literally translated the third paragraph reads: "Nighttime in the sense of this law is the time from 11 p.m. to 6 a.m. [...]" (§2 Abs. 3 ArbZG). Taking bakery and confectionery businesses into account, the regulated, lawful nighttime extends to an eight-hour period from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. From a social and practical daily-life point of view this is also the time span in which the urban inner cities lose their usually bustling and busy faces. The during the day well-frequented shopping

streets then appear increasingly lonely, deserted, and orphaned, as do generally busy public spaces. It is not only the period of night rest, the protection of which is regulated by law, but also mainly the period of nocturnal darkness. Over a year, less than twenty percent of all sunrises and sunsets fall within this time span, by implication indicating that it is characterized by complete darkness in more than eighty percent of cases. In summary, darkness, silence, and abandonment are among the characteristic features of the period from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. Thus, it becomes relevant for the present analysis not only as a period of time but also as a space of investigation.

In addition to the concept of night, the concept of a trip and its essential semantics must be defined more precisely. A trip is not only characterized by its route. Instead, it is rather to be understood as an active process of covering a distance by locomotion. It requires translocal position changes of the person who treads it. A trip is therefore always to be thought of in combination with the process of being "on the move". Altogether, a nocturnal trip is thus to be understood as an active process of position changes in the period between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.

Theses

Nighttime mobility has many underlying motives. Several factors have contributed to the fact that more and more activities, and in this context also trips, have shifted into the night hours in recent decades. In particular these include the flexibilization and deregulation of the working world, increasing diversification of lifestyles and, last but not least, a transformation of leisure time behavior (Beermann, 2005). One sector that has recently gained more importance in this respect is the Night Time Economy (NTE) (Weber & Henckel, 2019). It contain all activities designed to entertain and whose services can be used from late evening until the early morning hours. The target groups include young, often well-educated, solvent consumers such as some university students, as well as *"Yuppies"* and *"DINKs"* (Liempt et al., 2014; Kolioulis, 2018; Weber & Henckel, 2019). Based on this, the first hypothesis is that most nocturnal trips taking place for recreational reasons are made by people between the ages of 18 and 29 who have an above-average level of education.

Most nightowls follow a periodic weekly rhythm, in which above all the weekend plays a decisive role (Hollands, 1995). In contrast to the normal workweek, it is a period of increased social activity during which young adults often go out and visit bars, pubs, or clubs (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002). On one hand, going out is already connected to processes of mobility; on the other hand, social activities can only take place in groups, which inevitably presupposes a meeting of people in a certain place. If this location is not virtual, spatial mobility processes are also required for the meeting. The thesis to be examined is therefore that an increased nighttime traffic volume in the context of leisure-time mobility is to be expected especially on weekends.

Shaw adds that „on a typical weekend evening, people often follow well-trodden paths and visit several venues, as well as making use of taxis or public transport" (Shaw, 2018, p. 72). Public transport reacts to this trend by offering extra tours or additional night bus lines during the night on weekends (Gwiazdzinski, 2007). Since nocturnal leisure activities are also often accompanied by increased

consumption of alcohol (Hollands, 1995; Chatterton & Hollands, 2002) it is to be assumed that many nightowls fall back to other means of transport than their own car. The thesis to be examined is therefore that within the group of trips for nighttime leisure mobility the use of vehicle mobility as a driver is strongly underrepresented compared to leisure trips during the day.

This described situation changes when looking at nighttime working trips. Despite many efforts by some cities to establish a 24/7 transport system, the freedom of movement of individuals remains severely restricted by the limited public transport available at night. Especially during the week, the mobility system is greatly reduced from a certain time on both in cities and the countryside, leaving only the choice between cab, private car, bicycle or walking (Gwiazdzinski, 2007; Plyushteva, 2018). Night workers with a long commute, who might have used the public transport system if it was available, are forced to look for alternatives and are highly likely to switch to their own private car. Another hypothesis is therefore that in a comparison between working trips at day- and nighttime, at night the use of public transport is underrepresented, as well as the use of own private cars being overrepresented.

Most workers who work into and at night can be found in the economic sectors of hospitality, retail trade and the health and social services (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010). Vitrano (2017) comes to a similar conclusion in her analysis of night workers by economic sector in Italy. According to her list, most night workers work in the hospitality and leisure industry, health and social services and public administration. These same categories also include the professions typically associated with night work, such as nurses and geriatric nurses, paramedics and emergency medical technicians, restaurant and hotel management assistants or staff of clubs and bars. Other occupations that also belong to the classic fields of employment with atypical working hours are protection, security, and surveillance occupations as well as occupations related to conducting vehicles and transport equipment, like often found in logistics (Backhaus, Tisch, & Wöhrmann, 2018). Rail cargo also especially makes use of the less congested trackage during the night hours. Finally, system-relevant occupations in public administration that e.g. guarantee a constant supply of energy and water, or those related to public safety, such as the police or fire department, are also relevant nocturnal work sectors (Strauß & Brauner, 2020). A first look at the listed activities clearly shows that most of them are apprenticeship occupations while typical academic occupations are less common in the traditional employment sectors of night workers. In this study, the thesis is therefore put forward that the persons who are responsible for the majority of nighttime work trips are mainly employees with a low or medium level of education.

It can be assumed that in the health and social services, as well as in public administration, the same number of people continuously work during the week or into the night. However, the situation in the hospitality and leisure industry is different. Particularly in light of the increasingly widespread NTE, it is to be expected that an above-average number of night workers will be needed. This will be the case especially on weekends, when a particularly large number of people make use of the leisure activities offered (Schwegmann, 2016). In other sectors, for example in the field of freight logistics, it is more likely that night workers will work a regulated 5-day week, thus only working during the week.

Cumulatively, over all industries regarded the thesis to be examined therefore states that the portions of all nightly trips to work are approximately equally distributed over the week.

As was emphasized in the beginning, the night not only represents an extended space for work or pleasure, but despite all efforts to shake off its old image it is still considered a space of fear and uncertainty. Various studies have shown that women in particular associate the night with an increased feeling of insecurity (Vitrano et al., 2018; Comelli, 2018; Thomas & Bromley, 2000). This feeling of insecurity can even go as far as to cause real anxiety and, as a result, discourage women from visiting city centers at night, using public transportation, or using secluded parking lots (Thomas & Bromley, 2000). Night in this way functions both as a process of segregation and as a space to which access is denied to those segregated. In this study, therefore, the thesis is put forward that women are less often out at night than men.

Data and methods

The empirical testing of the hypotheses is based on the dataset Mobility in Germany (MiD) 2017. Commissioned by the German Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure (BMVI), the study has been conducted since 2002 by the infas Institut für angewandte Sozialwissenschaft GmbH. For the most recent survey, which took place in 2017, data from a total of 316,361 persons from 156,420 households of the resident population of Germany could be generated.

The study, which was designed as a representative cross-sectional survey, was conducted in two stages. In the first stage, a household survey was performed, in which primarily the household composition, the economic status of the household and the type and number of available means of transport were surveyed. In a second step, all household members were interviewed about their individual characteristics and the trips they had taken on the reference date. Both surveys were based on a mixed-methods, including written-postal, telephone and online surveys. The survey covered the period from May 2016 to October 2017, including the pre- and post-carriage. Because of the continuous acquisition period used, the study offers the advantage of seasonal fluctuations of mobility being balanced out over the year. In addition, due to existing weighting factors adapted to the data, the dataset ensures good and representative coverage of the resident population of Germany. The collected data was then stored in six individual datasets, which were subdivided according to the basic topics of household, persons, routes, cars, travel, and stages of travel.

The present analysis is based on the route-standard-dataset (Wege-Standard-Datensetz) with which the above-mentioned questions could be investigated best. This dataset contains information on 960,619 recorded trips and provides details on the survey date, the start and arrival time of each trip as well as the means of transport chosen. The question "For what purpose did you undertake the journey?" was used to enquire about the dominant motivation for undertaking each trip. In their answers, the subjects could choose between more than 40 detailed purposes, which were reduced to the three essential characteristics of work, leisure, and others for the present analysis. All routes geared towards

going back home as well as all return routes from the previous route were recoded as the highest priority purpose within the completed route chain. Trips about whose purpose no information was available (n=2,391) were excluded from the analysis.

Subsequently, the cases in the dataset were divided into day and night trips, thus generating two units of analysis. All routes that were undertaken to their full extent in the period between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. were assigned to the analysis unit Night and all other routes were assigned to the analysis unit Day. All in all, 29,623 nighttime trips could be separated from 928,605 daytime trips. Thus, in this very conservative calculation, the nocturnal trips take up an approximate 3% share of all determined paths. If one were to consider the trips that at least partially extend into the period of the nighttime, these would take up a share of slightly under 13% of total trips. However, since the daytime influences would distort the data and results of the nighttime parts of the trips, these trips were not chosen for the analysis.

In addition to this purely trip-related information, the dataset also provides anonymized information on socio-demographic, socio-economic and regional statistical characteristics of the persons who have taken the listed trips. These characteristics are compared with the nominal route purpose characteristics (of work, leisure and other divided into daytime and nighttime trips) in the form of a cross table. This is done for the purpose of classifying and describing various mobility groups and to test the central theses. The regional statistical feature categorization is based on a differentiation of 17 regional types, which was established by the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development (BBSR). These regional types were then classified and grouped into four types by the author. The type of mobility is indicated by the variable of the "main means of transport", whereby within the characteristic value of motorized private transport (MIV) an additional distinction is made between driver and passenger.

To test whether there are statistically significant correlations between the listed variables and the type of trip purpose, a Chi-Square Test of Independence was performed for each pairing. However, since it is impossible to infer the strength of the coherence between two variables from the direct magnitude of the association measure χ^2, Cramér's V, a measure of association, was also calculated. The weaker the coherence the closer V is to 0, the stronger the coherence the closer V is to 1.

Results and discussion

Figure 1 visualizes the percentage shares of different trip purposes within the respective night, differentiated by work, leisure and other, by means of a stacked bar diagram. Furthermore, the green lines connect data points representing the percentage shares of total weekly nighttime traffic volume for the three individual trip purposes for each night. The percentages of the bars can be read on the primary axis and the percentages of the data point lines on the secondary axis. The time periods of the individual nights last from 10 p.m. of the previous day to 6 a.m. of the following day. They thus form an uninterrupted timeframe of eight hours.

The graph clearly shows how the total nighttime traffic volume slowly increases over the course of the week and reaches its peak in the night from Saturday to Sunday. The curve then drops during the night from Sunday to Monday. The case is similar for the nocturnal leisure trips. Their number also slowly increases during the week, reaches its peak in the weekend nights and decreases again in the night from Sunday to Monday. A contrary finding is seen when examining the trips undertaken for work. While work traffic during the nights from Monday to Friday still seems to be approximately evenly distributed and stable at a high level, this situation changes during the weekend. Then, the numbers decrease rapidly, until in the night from Saturday to Sunday only about five percent of all registered trips can be attributed to a work purpose. In return, however, it has been shown that approximately three out of every five people who are on the road in the night from Friday evening to Sunday morning make their trip for leisure reasons. The graph thus makes it clear that the increased traffic volume during the nights of the weekend is mainly due to a strong increase in leisure time mobility. The assumption that the proportions of all nighttime trips to and from work are approximately equally distributed over the course of the week could not be confirmed. Instead, the analysis shows that most nocturnal work trips are made in the nights between the usual working days. This leads to the assumption that most night workers follow a regular weekly rhythm, in which the nights between Sunday and Friday count as working nights and the nights between Friday and Sunday as non-working nights. At the same time, the increased NTE on weekends seems to have an influence on the number of nightly leisure time trips, but not on the number of the nightly work trips. From this it can be concluded that, compared to other occupational fields, fewer people than assumed are active in the NTE. In addition, a considerable portion of the population working at night seems to pursue occupations outside of the system-relevant occupational fields, such as nursing, police or emergency rescue, which must be constantly manned even during weekend nights. The supposedly largest sector of night work is thus likely found in
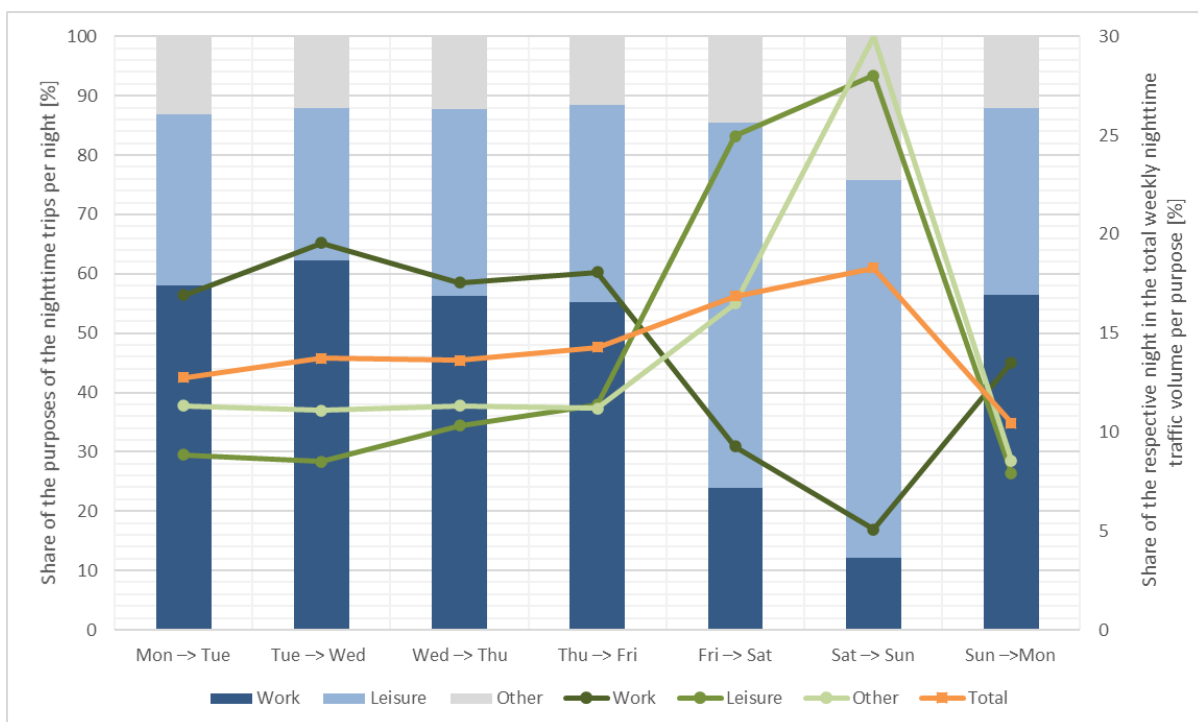

Figure 1: Distributions of the nocturnal trip purposes over the course of the week. n=29.623. Own representation.

occupational fields that follow a regulated shift system without weekend work. However, it must be critically noted here that the determined night work trips only serve as an indicator and cannot reflect the absolute state of affairs.

Table 1 shows the relationships between the variables sex, age, highest level of education, scope of employment, economic status of the household, regional statistical area type, choice of main mode of transport, as well as the variable purpose of travel. The values in brackets are based on all daytime trips and are for comparison purposes only. All values represent column percentages. The given n, as well as the determined association measures χ^2 and V always refer to the respective contingency table, based on all nighttime trips. Overall, all pairs show statistically significant correlations ($p < 0.01$). The strongest correlations are the ones for trip purpose and scope of employment ($V = 0.269$), and trip purpose and main mode of transport ($V = 0.263$). However, since Cramér's associative measure is constantly ≤ 0.3, all correlations are only weak to moderate (Duller, 2019).

The analysis of the percentage distributions seems more worthwhile. The first contingency table shows that, with 61% it is mainly men who are involved in nighttime traffic. Thereby the biggest gender discrepancy can be recognized particularly in the group of nighttime work trips. Thus, seven out of ten people who are mobile at night for work reasons are men. This large disproportionality can be attributed to various factors. Among these is presumably the general feeling of insecurity women associate with the night. This makes the night a potential area of exclusion for them (Thomas & Bromley, 2000; Vitrano et al., 2018) and thus prevents women from being highly willing to work at night. Beyond that, employers are forbidden by §5 of the German maternity protection law (MuSchG) to employ pregnant or nursing women in the time period between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. The greatest effect on sexual inequality however is probably due to the various occupational groups in which night work is most frequently performed. From the previous analysis, it is assumed that most people with a nighttime work trip are employed in industrial occupations with a regulated shift system without weekend work. These occupational groups are characterized by a larger number of male employees (BA, 2020). As a logical consequence, this unequal distribution is inevitably reflected in the sex-specific proportions of the nighttime work trips. In this context, it also confirms the assumption that a large part of nocturnal work trips is carried out by people who have a medium or low level of education. Additionally, it shows that three out of four nighttime work trips are made by employees that work full-time.

The most frequently used mode of transport is the car with almost 69%. The other shares of the private motorized vehicles are distributed among motorcycles, mopeds and scooters, as well as car-sharing vehicles or cabs. While during the day almost 17% of all trips to work is done by public transport, during the night this applies to only every tenth work trip. The assumption that the use of public transport at night is under-represented and that the use of private motorized transport is over-represented in comparison to the work trips during the day, was therefore confirmed.

It also shows that more than half of all trips to work at night are made by people between 40 and 59 years of age. Overall, the average age of persons with nighttime trips to work is 5.4 years higher than that of persons responsible for the daytime work trips.

Moreover, it appears that every fourth nocturne work trip is made by a person who lives in a rural area. Conversely, about two out of every five people who are responsible for the daytime work trips live in a metropolitan or big central city. The circumstance of this peripheral living could be explained on one hand by the fact that the high and rising rents for dwelling in city center proximity cannot be financed by many night workers. These characteristically live in households with middle and low economic status relatively often. Moving to housing in a metropolis or bigger city may not seem profitable, especially when one considers that most industrial companies with night work are probably not located in the city center, but rather on the outskirts of town. A residence close to the city center would thus in many cases mean a longer commute to work and further increase costs. On the other hand, one alternative explanation for the observed facts could be that most people who work at night are at an age where the purchase of a private home is increasingly common (Pawlik, 2020). Since homesteads tend not to be located close to the city center, the residences of people with nocturnal work trips also shift to these predominantly rural and small-town areas.

The analysis of nocturnal leisure trips shows however, that almost half of these trips are done by people living in cities or metropolitan areas. The reasons for this observation are miscellaneous. It certainly matters that there is generally a higher density of cultural offerings in cities compared to the countryside. On one hand, this extended selection increases the number of target groups addressed, on the other hand, the general accessibility of the offers is increased by the given urban infrastructure. In addition, the thesis that most nighttime leisure activities are performed by persons aged between 18 and 29 years who have an above-average level of education, could be confirmed. Various educational institutions such as colleges, universities and other higher education facilities are concentrated in the large, central cities or metropolitan areas. Therefore, it can be assumed that the choice of place of residence of this group also tends to be focused on large cities or on the immediate vicinity to higher education opportunities (Freytag, Jahnke, & Kramer, 2015).

The thesis that, in percentage terms, fewer people are on the road as drivers than as co-drivers during nocturnal leisure trips than in the same category during the day, could not be confirmed. Almost every third leisure trip that takes place between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. is made by a person driving the vehicle. During the day this only applies to every fourth trip. On the other hand, proportionally speaking more people use public transport services when they are on the move at night for leisure reasons. Another conspicuous aspect is that in the sector of leisure trips, an above-average number of people are travelling as passengers in private motorized vehicles. This can be explained by the observation that leisure activities are often undertaken within a social group structure. The influence of people who travel by cab does not play a decisive role here. Although the share of cab use is largest in the special purpose sector leisure time, it still represents less than half a percentage point compared to all other means of transport used for leisure trips.

Tab. 1: Percentage distributions within the characteristic values in relation to the respective route purposes. The data in bold are based on all night routes, the data in brackets on all day routes.

Attribute	Domain	Trips grouped by purpose			Total trips
		work	*leisure*	*other*	
Sex	*Male*	**69.9** (59.4)	**55.3** (47.8)	**50.8** (45.3)	**61.0** (50.8)
	Female	**30.1** (40.6)	**44.7** (52.2)	**49.2** (54.7)	**39.0** (49.2)
					n=29624; χ² = 794.83; p < 0.001; V = 0.116
Age group	*0-17 years*	**1.3** (16.9)	**6.5** (20.9)	**5.7** (9.8)	**4.1** (15.2)
	18-29 years	**19.8** (16.7)	**29.3** (13.7)	**21.5** (9.8)	**24.0** (13.2)
	30-39 years	**18.8** (15.9)	**15.5** (11.3)	**14.5** (14.1)	**16.8** (14.0)
	40-49 years	**23.5** (20.0)	**15.9** (12.6)	**18.8** (15.8)	**19.7** (16.4)
	50-59 years	**27.9** (22.4)	**16.8** (13.9)	**19.2** (16.0)	**22.0** (17.6)
	60-64 years	**7.0** (5.7)	**5.0** (6.1)	**6.0** (7.6)	**6.0** (6.5)
	65 years and older	**1.8** (2.4)	**11.0** (21.4)	**14.3** (26.9)	**7.5** (17.1)
					n=29574; χ² = 2389.59; p < 0.001; V = 0.201
highest educational attainment	No degree (yet)	**1.8** (17.4)	**6.2** (22.4)	**6.1** (11.0)	**4.2** (16.3)
	primary or lower secondary school leaving certificate	**30.9** (17.4)	**16.2** (20.2)	**18.2** (25.5)	**23.0** (21.3)
	Intermediate secondary school leaving certificate	**40.6** (29.2)	**25.0** (22.5)	**27.0** (27.6)	**32.2** (26.8)
	Advanced school leaving certificate, (specialized) A-Level	**11.9** (12.9)	**18.4** (11.6)	**19.1** (12.0)	**15.6** (12.2)
	University Degree	**12.0** (20.7)	**31.5** (21.0)	**26.6** (21.3)	**22.2** (21.0)
	Other graduation	**2.9** (2.4)	**2.6** (2.3)	**2.9** (2.7)	**2.8** (2.5)
					n=24870; χ² = 2394.05; p < 0.001; V = 0.219
Scope of employment	Full-time employment	**77.6** (57.7)	**45.6** (28.0)	**42.3** (27.4)	**59.1** (37.9)
	Part-time employment	**11.0** (13.5)	**11.1** (10.2)	**13.7** (12.7)	**11.4** (12.3)
	Marginal employment	**1.1** (1.7)	**1.3** (1.4)	**2.0** (2.1)	**1.3** (1.8)
	Pupil, trainee, student	**6.5** (18.6)	**19.8** (21.1)	**13.3** (8.1)	**13.0** (15.2)
	Pensioner, retiree	**1.4** (1.3)	**11.0** (21.9)	**15.1** (27.8)	**7.4** (17.2)
	other circumstances	**2.4** (7.2)	**11.3** (17.5)	**13.6** (21.8)	**7.8** (15.7)
					n=29614; χ² = 4290.40; p < 0.001; V = 0.269
Economic status of the household	Very low	**6.4** (5.6)	**6.7** (6.0)	**7.2** (7.1)	**6.7** (6.3)
	Low	**12.3** (11.9)	**11.1** (12.5)	**10.6** (13.9)	**11.6** (12.8)
	Intermediate	**43.0** (36.2)	**38.3** (36.6)	**39.3** (42.6)	**40.5** (39.6)
	High	**33.1** (38.3)	**35.9** (34.5)	**33.7** (30.5)	**34.3** (34.2)
	Very high	**5.2** (8.0)	**8.0** (7.4)	**9.2** (5.9)	**6.9** (7.0)
					n=29623; χ² = 181.23; p < 0.001; V = 0.055
Regional-statistical area type	Metropolis, (big) city	**35.8** (39.0)	**45.0** (39.9)	**43.1** (39.5)	**40.7** (39.4)
	Medium-sized town	**16.1** (15.3)	**15.7** (16.1)	**14.3** (16.6)	**15.7** (16.0)
	Urban area	**23.1** (22.7)	**19.9** (22.8)	**22.6** (23.4)	**21.7** (23.0)
	Rural area	**25.0** (22.9)	**19.3** (21.1)	**20.0** (20.5)	**21.9** (21.5)
					n=29624; χ² = 277.29; p < 0.001; V = 0.068
Main mode of transport	on foot	**8.1** (12.0)	**25.4** (31.5)	**18.4** (24.0)	**17.0** (21.9)
	bicycle	**10.2** (11.2)	**11.1** (12.5)	**7.2** (9.7)	**10.1** (11.0)
	Motorized private transport (driver)	**66.0** (53.0)	**30.3** (26.5)	**50.4** (45.4)	**48.6** (42.8)
	Motorized private transport (passenger)	**5.3** (7.2)	**20.9** (20.7)	**17.4** (15.2)	**13.7** (14.0)
	Public transport	**10.4** (16.6)	**12.3** (8.7)	**6.6** (5.7)	**10.6** (10.2)
					n=27445; χ² = 3809.42; p < 0.001; V = 0.263
Total		**43.6** (34.1)	**41.6** (27.1)	**14.8** (38.9)	**100.0** (100.0)

Source: MiD 2017

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Conclusions and Outlook

The study shows that the night is still a space that is primarily roamed, used and socially constructed by men. In doing so, it focuses primarily on the forms of nighttime mobility in Germany. The data evaluation of the MiD 2017 illuminates that it is particularly the nighttime trips to work that are primarily made by men, and thus lead to an imbalance in the sex ratio. While nocturnal leisure trips are mainly made by young, well-educated city dwellers without a predominant gender, people who travel to work at night are on average significantly older, educated less well, tend to live on the periphery and are approximately 70% male. In total, work trips take up nearly 44% and leisure trips almost 42% of all nighttime trips. Nocturnal leisure trips tend to take place on weekends, nightly trips to work during the week. While the mobility needs of leisure-time travelers are already being addressed by special trips and night bus services on weekends, there is almost no concrete attention paid to the needs of people who travel to work at night. In order to be able to better respond to the demands and needs of people with nocturnal leisure and work trips for future planning purposes, further studies both on the choice of means of transport and the associated decision-making processes, as well as on the general perception of the night, its spaces and in particular its trips appear to be not only useful, but also absolutely necessary.

One problem researchers are facing here is the hitherto inconsistent concept of night. Especially for analyses by quantitative data evaluation a clear demarcation of this (time) space is indispensable. In the future, it will therefore be necessary to clarify more precisely the immaterial-abstract, swirling and thus difficult to grasp, sometimes still opaque concept of night. It is essential to specify the understanding of our variable conception of it. Trough this unveiling, the phenomena inherent in the night can be understood more clearly and thus better analyzed.

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Exploring the nightlife atmosphere and rhythms of Beirut's leisure streets

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Abstract

Beirut's leisure streets gained international reputation for their vibrant nightlife. Reference to urban atmosphere (Lehtovuori, 2011) and rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004) serve to unpack the spaces and activities generating their atmospheres. The research builds on popular media, mapping and photographic documentation conducted in 2018, to analyse the streets' morphology, rhythms and contextual traits. Findings indicate that the inherent street morphology and relation to the city centre contribute to their popularity, versatility and attractive nightlife.

Keywords: Beirut, nightlife, leisure streets, rhythmanalysis, atmosphere

Introduction

Beirut's nightlife ranked third in 2019 after Bangkok and Barcelona (Ghanem, 2019). Beirut is described as a city with a soul (Daily Mail, 2018). The media indicate and often overlap various aspects of these nightlife streets including: proximity to the city centre, and 'Bohemian Gemmayzeh' (Now, 2008); an 'authenticity in Beirut' with the traditional architecture (Bilal, 2017); visual links, urban stairs and distinctive architecture (this big wild world, 2019); traditional architecture, mix of activities and people, and new concepts (Habre, 2019); human scale, appeal in the fabric with narrow streets, the little gardens and stairways, a 'vibrant charm' (Rahhal, 2015); 'sophisticated atmosphere' different gastronomic experiences, 'excellent nightlife landmarks and each has its own charm and their personality' (Beirut Nightlife, 2013); 'atmosphere second to none' (HG2 Torino Express); attractions for domestic visitors, Arab and western foreigners (Abdallah, 2015; Shames and Ghadban, 2015); trendy places (Yaktine, 2016); variety of food and music (Runaway27L, 2019); mixed uses, streets active night

and day (Libshop, 2019); various moods and styles (Tripadvisor and Inspirock descriptions; Brunt, 2013); successful restaurants with a 'soul' having an 'ambiance' and 'authentic concepts with heart' (Rahhal, 2018); mixture of music, food and culture (Mcdonald, 2018); places with unique and distinctive atmospheres and furniture (Goodwin, 2019). These are some among other qualifiers. These streets have a sense of place, they engage the senses, allow for mingling and encounter, they host standalone uses that are diverse (florist, pharmacy, café, pub, grocery shop, gallery, co-working space and car mechanic) yet synergetic. This mix generates activities suiting users of different nationality, income, age and taste. The result is a polyrhythmic urban area with a distinctive atmosphere. As stated by Lehtovuori (2011: 81) '... we all know that urban spaces, sometimes even whole cities, do have atmospheres, which to some extent influence material and economic practices, such as housing choice and tourism.' In Beirut's case, what attracts people to these nightlife streets? What is specific about those streets?

This nightlife experience relates to an atmosphere, which is a combination of different hrythms generated by the spatial context, buildings and physical objects, the uses in these buildings and generated activities, and the social practices taking place,. This atmosphere is explained through the history of Beirut's context, street morphology and the various rhythms of spaces and activities. Morphologically, I analyse the street network and the scalar relation to the city centre, then the relation of the urban blocks and buildings, the building uses and generated activities. The rhythmanalysis examines historical rhythms manifested in the streets, the rhythms of buildings, rhythms of urban events and social practices.

Street morphology

In analysing the streets, it is important to refer to the history, culture and social practices within their context (Evans, 2005; Marzot, 2005; Scheer, 2008). This analysis should not be static and should track changes over time, transformations that reflect responses to needs or abrupt changes, which could affect the urban fabric's configuration and impact its morphological components, the urban block, the lot and buildings, but also the street experience (Evans, 2005; Larkham, 2005; Marzot, 2005). Transformations could include developmental changes such as infrastructure upgrading, road expansion, real estate development and changes in the intensity and density of construction. Abrupt changes could include disasters such as wars and destruction. Note that different urban components transform within different time spans, with streets being the most enduring, reflecting a certain 'stubbornness of the urban artifact' (Lehtovuori, 2011: 80). It is equally important to analyse streets from the scalar perspective, and examine the centre-periphery relation, street network hierarchy (Evans, 2005; Larkham, 2005; Marzot, 2005; Hillier and Stutz, 2005; Scheer, 2008), and accessibility to the centre from a specific street for both locals and visitors. This analysis also seeks to identify urban contrasts topologically and topographically (Evans, 2005), which could render a specific location or street 'an oasis of difference' giving it a specific value among other streets (Lehtovuori, 2011: 81).

When combined with urban centrality and high accessibility, streets enable various urban practices (Lehtovuori, 2011). Streets provide an openness, a 'free space' which is casual, not formal, and used by like-minded groups (Lehtovuori, 2011: 81). The street as '… public urban space is best understood as a suspended conflict, constantly unfolding in time' (Lehtovuori, 2010; Rajanti, 1999; Mitchel, 2003; Groth and Corijn, 2005 in Lehtovuori, 2011: 72). Streets with a human scale, and specific character such as having heritage buildings contrast with streets having corporate buildings and car dominance. They also contrast in terms of decay, age, and history (Lehtovuori, 2011).

Once this relation at the city scale is understood, then I move to analysing the street itself within its immediate context, as streets are also constituted by what surrounds them (Lefebvre, 2004), the buildings with both configurational and social qualities. Several configurational qualities are considered including the directionality and flow along the street, levels of permeability, and connectivity, which affect movement and walkability. The openness and fluidity of streets allow for passage and strolling, which help explain some streets' adaptability to changing and varying uses, activities and events (Lehtovuori, 2011). Another analysis layer examines the relation of street widths to building heights, sidewalks, building facades and frontages, which in turn could provide attractors for people to frequent these streets (Evans, 2005; Marzot, 2005; Hillier and Stutz, 2005). The analysis also considers the activities and social practices taking place in the streets and their contexts, generating different rhythms. In summary, 'material urban artifacts can play a role in the dialectic of space and how people and their relations produce urban atmospheres' (Lehtovuori, 2011: 71). The morphological analysis then helps to understand the character and atmosphere of a specific urban fabric, and its streets (Larkham, 2005).

Street rhythms

Starting with urban rhythms, it is important to review historical rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004), which would influence the urban space, its economic activities and consequently the urban atmosphere (Lehtovuori, 2011), noting that the production of space has multiple agencies (Lehtovuori. 2011: 73). In Lebanon the civil war disrupted some rhythms of daily life, and the post-war period gave value to their return to normalcy as explained later in the paper. One category of actors are the investors in nightlife activities. Though nightlife leisure activities present one rhythm in urban economic activity (Lefebvre, 2004) and are tied to commercialization and commodification of space, yet these streets have some atmospheric and configurational qualities, which when situated in the appropriate context, emphasise use value rather than real estate value (Lehtovuori, 2011). In historical or heritage streets, there are specificities echoed also in their temporal dimension that are difficult to duplicate, replicate or homogenise, making the street experience unique. The use value manifests through the temporal transformations on the ground floor where spaces are appropriated and transformed to host a variety of activities and accommodate different events including pubs and restaurants and their repercussion of activities spilling over from the buildings onto the streets. In a network, the main street has its own rhythm, with side streets delineating urban blocks. The buildings as material objects have their own rhythms, those of doors, windows, proportions (Lefebvre, 2004), which affect the street experience in

day and night time, along with building uses and social practices. There are also the rhythms of those who reside along the streets (Lefebvre, 2004).

Cyclical and alternating rhythms mix together through residential everyday practices, pedestrian or vehicular movement, and nocturnal leisure activities, the 'extra-everyday' (Lefebvre, 2004: 36). These rhythms are echoed in the mixture of gestures, voices, trajectories, sounds, graffiti decay and renewal, reflecting mundane spatial practices, urban experiences and a relation among people, space and 'the physical urban artifacts' (Lehtovuori, 2011: 74).

For nightlife leisure activities, the street becomes a destination to discover oneself (Lefebvre, 2004), to unwind, to reminisce about the past or reflect upon the future, to experience in time this combination of objects, spaces, and practices, both individually and collectively (Lehtovuori, 2011). Streets are equally the place of residence and workplace for others. The nightlife street experience is also constituted by 'people [who] bring with them social questions of class, gender, profession, culturally coded practices and social networks, as well as urban economy and policies,' (Lehtovuori, 2011: 82). These streets could even extend to become political spaces in time of protests, always encompassing various user groups and practices (Lehtovuori, 2011). The possibilities of these combinations generate the attractive atmosphere (Lefebvre, 2004).

Street atmosphere

Atmosphere is generated from synergies, and socio-cultural experiences in time '… the atmosphere of a city concerns the style and manner of its unfolding urban life' (Böhme, 1998: 55 in Lehtovuori, 2011: 82) including the presence of people and their activities. The spatial is a combination of everything, natural and human, in harmony or conflict, which generates the atmosphere (Lehtovuori, 2011; Lefebvre, 1991). It is 'the way objects let us experience them' and the relation established thereafter with their spatial and material qualities (Lehtovuori, 2011: 81). One 'enters' an atmosphere through the urban open space, in this case the street, for example the atmosphere of a twilight or that of music. Atmospheres are not only aesthetic but also social. 'They are made by people, and they have to be lived.' (Lehtovuori, 2011: 82) The same street might not maintain the same atmosphere if this combination of objects, activities and people is not present. This indicates the importance of the temporal: once activated, the accumulation of these constituents contributes to the aesthetic experience of their night streets.

Beirut's leisure streets: context and analysis

The port city of Beirut increased in importance during the Ottoman period, when it became a nexus between Europe and the Middle East (Hanssen, 1998). This brought along diverse social practices, among them strolling along streets and coffee houses. The French mandate period equally introduced new cultural and leisure practices, including for example café-trottoirs (Khalaf, 2006). The

urban planning and architecture of both periods, accommodated these leisure activities, for example the seafront corniche for strolling, and the various cafés that emerged in and around the city centre, including the streets presented in this paper. In 1943 the Republic of Lebanon was constituted, marked by a free-market economy and a pursuit of western urban planning trends, including the prioritisation of the automobile and road network expansion. Beirut became a vibrant city with a historical core expanding to its surrounding neighbourhoods.

The city witnessed a civil war between 1975 and 1989. During that period, its centre was disconnected and isolated from the rest of the city and became no-man's land. The heavy destruction of a large part of its building stock resulted in a stark contrast between decay and renewal, between heritage buildings and corporate ones sprouting in Beirut's neighbourhoods, with priority given to the provision of high-speed roads rather than walkable pedestrian streets. The war had a negative impact on public spaces and leisure activities, causing their annihilation (Khalaf, 2002). This affected streets and caused the disruption of everyday life, turning urban experiences from rhythmic to a-rhythmic (Lefebvre, 2004), the return to normalcy being subject to truces and ceasefires. Heritage neighbourhoods and leisure activities hence constitute not only an important part of living in Beirut, but also a nostalgic experience reminiscent of the peaceful days of this capital city for older generations. Reconstruction efforts started in 1990 and focused on opening up and reconnecting the capital's streets, rebuilding and redeveloping its city centre with few remaining heritage buildings. For the rest of the capital, some heritage neighbourhoods were preserved In the historical centre's vicinity, which included all of the nightlife leisure streets covered in this study (see Figure 1). This exception is Badaro street, which is nevertheless well connected to the centre through main urban corridors. This proximity means that visual connections to the centre's landmarks are present (Figure 3). In contrast to the reconstructed centre, these streets '… all contributed to a special atmosphere that attracted users and underlined the value of a different place in an increasingly sanitized [securitized] city centre.' (Lehtovuori, 2011: 77)

Following the brief overview on Beirut's history, I examine the street network and figure ground analyses of the nightlife streets. While the five streets share similar results in terms of this analysis, only Gemmayzeh street is illustrated in this paper (Figure 2).

In analysing the street network, it is evident that the streets have roughly the same urban block configuration and dimensions. The blocks are walkable, ranging between 100 and 200 meters between perpendicular streets. In some cases, the streets are paved as in Hamra, Monnot and most recently Gemmayzeh (Habre, 2019), indicating an intentional change in rhythm from cars to pedestrians. These streets have acceptably continuous sidewalk stretches allowing for strolling along them, which is not common all over Beirut. One variation is that the streets are generally flat and straight in the case of Hamra, Gemmayzeh, Monnot and Badaro, while the eastern stretch of Gemmayzeh and Mar Mikhael is meandering due to its topography, which is also reflected in the presence of numerous urban stairs. The network comprises side streets, some with dead-ends leading to courts. The figure ground analysis of the streets reflects a densely knit urban fabric, with similar building footprints, exceptions being schools, or some institutional buildings (Figure 2). In short, it is a homogeneous urban fabric with an

overarching character. The street width to building height provide a human scale as most buildings do not exceed 3-4 floors, with ground floors having higher ceilings and increasing exposure to the street (Figure 3).
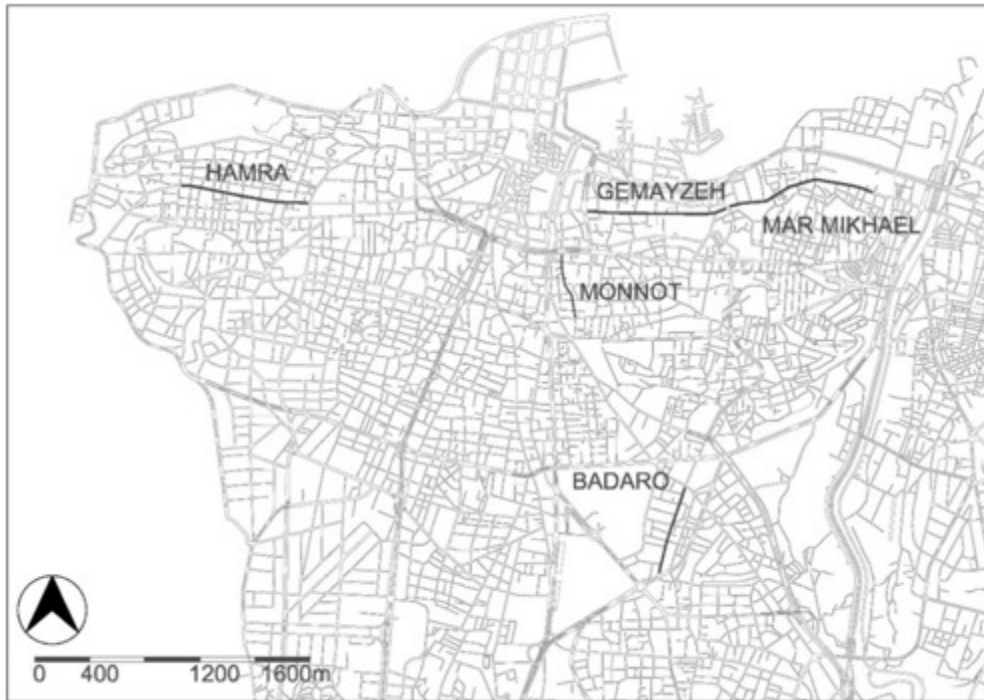

Figure 1: Left to right: the nightlife streets of Beirut, outside the city centre (source: by author)

Figure 2: Street network and figure ground of Gemmayzeh Street (source: by author)

Moving to the analysis of the buildings, two heritage styles prevail, the French mandate period, and the modernist period (Figure 3). The building frontages lend themselves to spill over onto the street with their glazed facades, qualities that suit leisure activities. In transforming the streets to host nightlife activities, there is first a certain space appropriation, which starts with the artifact, the existing building, and particularly the ground floor, and its relation to the sidewalk, then the street. The heritage traits of the buildings with their materials: stone, sand stone, glass, wrought iron (Figures 3 and 4), all mark the passage of time, giving the sense of authenticity as described in the media. Add to these smells inside these spaces emanating from the materials, the choice of furniture mixed with the smell of food, as presented through the media. Yet it is not only the individual building which offers a specific experience, but rather the chain of consecutive buildings along the street.

Figure 3: Heritage buildings with rhythmic facades defining the street rhythm, and view towards the city centre and Al Amin mosque, towards the western end of Gemmayzeh Street (source: by author in March 2018)

Moreover, the streets are characterised by a rich mix of ground floor uses within a walking distance along with residential and office uses on upper floors (Figure 3). The conducted mapping indicates several objects, manmade and natural elements that recur along the streets and a range of uses including: trees, bins, light posts, sidewalk, park meters, traffic signs, wall, parking lane, graffiti; garage, bank, pharmacy, shop, church, school police station, governmental building, restaurant, pub; heritage residential building, building entrance, abandoned building; valet parking, private parking, public parking, empty lot; library, bookshop, different shops, medical clinics, air conditioning and so (Figures 3 and 4).

The organisation of the pubs attracts different interest groups who want to spend different periods along these streets and at different intervals of the day and night. Various social and age groups come to these streets, they find these places inviting and unique in Beirut, distinguished from their surroundings spatially, temporally and culturally (Abdallah, 2015). This mix also attracts groups of residents and visitors with similar or conflicting interests whose synchronous or a-synchronous rhythms form part of the street atmosphere. It allows for the intertwining of several rhythms at different time intervals during day and night intersecting at evening and dawn; cyclical and alternating rhythms of activities, slowing down or speeding up; the retraction of residents then influx of visitors from all around

like ebb and tide. Similar to Lefebvre's (2004: 35) description of streets in Paris, these locations are attractive as urban places that are '… peopled by a sort of native, with many artisans and shopkeepers. In short, people of the neighbourhood.' In addition to the styles and buildings as artifacts, the street contexts are mostly formed of residential neighbourhoods with changing ground floor uses over time, some following trends. They first hosted interspersed cultural uses (Kabalan, 2016), then the cafés, pubs and restaurants. The popularity of these neighbourhoods have also led to renting out apartments to foreigners, causing a rise in prices that prevent young Lebanese from residing there indicating their gentrification (Blog Baladi, 2017; LAU School of Architecture and Design, 2018; Albawaba, 2019). The scaling up of these streets to the city scale happens during festivities and events, with the arrangement of special locations for stands, stages and kiosks versus the everyday furniture and objects spilling out from shops, cafés during the day, and from pubs during the night.

Figure 4: Scales, proportions, monuments, trees, materiality of the buildings along Gemmayzeh Street with residential uses on upper floors (source: by author in March 2018)

Understanding the atmosphere in Beirut's leisure streets

This paper is only the beginning of an investigation of vibrant nightlife streets and the exploration of their atmospheres through morphological and rhythmanalysis. In answering the two questions on the specificities of these streets, and what attracts people to their nightlife, an emphasis on the relation to the city centre is maintained both spatially and temporally, with what the area awakens about the city's past through its heritage and social practices. There is also the context and scale of these streets, their configuration, the buildings and their inherent material and artefact properties, their adaptability to new uses and generation of multiple rhythms intertwining with the established ones between day and night, the encounter with residents, locals and foreigners, all leading to a synergetic effect and the resulting atmosphere.

Figure 5: The night time atmosphere in Gemmayzeh while the street was being paved and completed in 2019 (source: by author in March 2018)

These streets unfold over time, telling stories of the war, which severed them from their city centre, and the re-stitching that was possible due to proximity, the variations in activities according to different historical and everyday events, attracting a panoply of individuals and groups, and returning the multiple rhythms to the areas.

As Lehtovuori (2011: 84) states regarding atmospheres generating emerging positive public spaces, 'In times of crisis, this productive and liberating dimension of urbanism is increasingly important, opening new paths towards differential "urban continent".' I end with this statement to reflect upon three recent events that affected these streets in the last quarter of 2019 and 2020. The first includes the

mass demonstrations that started on 17 October 2019 in the city centre. According to some residents in Gemmayzeh and Mar Mikhael, these two streets became an extension of the protestors' canvas, spilling over from the city centre. Protestors continued their discussions and debates into the night within a different atmosphere, merging with the pubs' visitors. Pubs opened up onto the street, raising Lebanese flags in a sign of solidarity with these popular movements (personal interview with resident N.B. in Mark Mikhael, on 12 June 2020). The second event is the outbreak of the covid-19 pandemic and the lockdown that started on 16 March 2020. All leisure activities were closed during this period, which lasted several months. With the gradual amelioration of the lockdown and the permission for leisure activities to reopen at a reduced capacity, it was evident how the morphology of these streets allowed for a smooth transition to a new normalcy in which social distancing was possible due to this openness as in the case of premises with terraces, open courts, or those directly opening onto the sidewalks. The polyvalent nature of the leisure activities manifested through turning these ground floor spaces to co-working spaces, spaces serving lunch, and maintaining other activities to support people during the pandemic (personal interview with resident N.B. in Mark Mikhael, on 12 June 2020). In addition, several music events took place to compensate for the lockdown limitations on nightlife in Beirut (Lazkani, 2020; Annahar, 2020; Yee, 2020). The third event is the Beirut port explosion on 4 August 2020, which heavily affected specifically Gemmayzeh and Mar Mikhael. Not only were lives lost, people injured and left shelter-less, but also several buildings were damaged, some beyond repair. The streets came to a time-pause, which begs the question on how to revive them and what reconstruction efforts should happen to re-establish their atmospheres. In reconstructing Gemmayzeh and Mar Mikhael, it is important to maintain connectivity with the centre, permeability in the street network, the openness of the streets for strolling and free activities, the human scale and relation to building heights, the mix in uses, and generated activities, which are inseparable from the streets' 'natives' and their everyday practices and rhythms.

Acknowledgement

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Cultural Policies and Night-time Economies in Germany/Berlin and Japan/Tokyo

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Abstract

This paper addresses the rise of night-time economies in two major countries in the Global North (Germany and Japan) from a cultural policy perspective, focusing in particular on Berlin and Tokyo as major night-time hubs. Building on existing research, which has typically focused on major Western economic hubs like London and New York, the paper makes two main contributions by (1) comparing the development of cultural policy in two distinct global regions and (2) highlighting the role of culture and cultural histories, spaces and meanings in shaping relevant policies. The research draws on a range of different sources, including policy documents, interviews with policymakers, interviews with night-time workers in Berlin and Tokyo and relevant statistical data. The paper reports several interesting findings. (1) Policy formation in both of these seemingly disparate countries is strongly influenced by the historical conflation of power and culture. (2) In both cases, the emergence of a flourishing night-time economy is driven by intermittent state policy supports that lack any clear or definitive power. (3) Linear and holistic models fail to account for inequities in the spatial distribution, success and downfall of night-time economies. Thttps://icnslx.wordpress.com/instructions-to-authors/he paper enhances existing understanding of policy cycles that account for these complex entanglements and resists any stereotypical account of cultural planning and distribution.

Keywords: culture, policy, night-time economy, urban

1. Introduction

This paper addresses the rise of night-time economies in Tokyo and Berlin as distinct urban centres, combining cultural sociology, cultural policy analysis and cultural geography perspectives to highlight some features that have shaped government frameworks and the development of cultural and night-time economies in both cities.[1] This combined perspective seeks to overcome two limitations in the current literature. First, comparative analyses of night-time economies in major urban hubs tend to rely implicitly on a global city framework that emphasises economic dominance (see Sassen, 1991). As a consequence, comparative studies of night-time economies typically compare cities, like Tokyo, London and New York (Eldgride, 2010; Sanders, 2013; Kolioulis, 2018). Secondly, research on the development of night-time economies typically adopts either a governmental perspective (addressing policies and regulations) or an economic focus on issues like urban entrepreneurialism and market liberalisation. Although some elements of the existing literature links night-time economies to creative or cultural economies, there is as yet no comprehensive approach that accounts for their development in terms of cultural history, spaces and meanings. In developing such an approach, the research reported here draws on sources that include cultural geography, cultural sociology and cultural policy analysis (see Ikeda, 2017; Morgner, 2019), looking beyond issues like cultural clustering or cultural industries to understand culture as a conceptual resource encompassing cultural capital, meaning-making and symbolic spaces. To that end, the paper proposes a relational model of culture as object, manifested for instance in music venue concentration, the administrative structure of cultural policies, as well as in how cultural meanings impact policy frameworks and urban planning models (see Morgner, 2020).

To explore the formation of cultural policy in relation to night-time economies, we have applied this thinking to two seemingly distinct cases: Germany/Berlin and Japan/Tokyo. This included a historical analysis of relevant policy documents to assess how these policies have changed over time. We also conducted interviews with policy advisors, urban planners and professionals working in the night-time economy. The data were collected in three cycles during the years 2010–2018. The aim was to develop a robust comparative framework for understanding the development of night-time economies and related polices in two cities that are commonly viewed as culturally distinct and with little in common. The approach is based on case selection according to minimal and maximal differences (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The paper is structured as follows. Sections 2 and 3 describe the context in which cultural polices and night-time economies emerged in Japan (Tokyo) and Germany (Berlin) and demonstrate that both cities had flourishing night-time economies in the 1920s before specific polices were introduced (and indeed before the term 'cultural policy' came into use). We show how WWII impacted on cultural policy and on the governing structure of night-time economies whose structure was more liberal and less

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1   For present purposes, night-time economies are considered as part of the broader category of cultural economies.

hierarchical than elsewhere. Finally, we describe more recent developments in Berlin and Tokyo (and to a lesser extent at national level) and discuss our findings in light of this comparison.

2. Cultural Policy and Night-time Economies in Japan/Tokyo

2.1. Tokyo's Night-Time Economy in the Interwar Period

In the period between the two world wars, urban life developed rapidly in Japan, and the two major urban hubs of Osaka and Tokyo had lively night-time economies. Between 1900 and 1920, Tokyo's population grew from 1.12 million to 2.17 million, and greater Tokyo grew from 1.5 million to 3.5 million. The city became increasingly industrialised during that period, and the number of factories employing five or more workers increased from about 700 in 1900 to more than 7,200 by 1919. In addition to the rise in blue-collar workers, Japan also witnessed the emergence of the white-collar worker known as the salaryman (*sarari man*) in large business corporations and the expanding bureaucracy (see Vogel, 1963). In this growing urban metropolis, new modes of consumption and a new type of consumer[2] drove the emerging night-time economy, including cinemas, dancehalls and jazz venues (*jazu kissa*), as well as bars (*izakaya*, 居酒屋), cabaret spots and nightclubs. These latter three were known as *mizu-shōbai* (水商売), meaning 'water trade'.

During this period, Osaka and Tokyo in particular witnessed a boom in dancehalls and music venues, and the 1920s is often viewed as the heyday of social dance (*shakō dansu*). Dancing to popular music was also in vogue, including Western imports like the foxtrot and the tango (Karatsu, 2003). Many of the early dance venues were in hotels, music stores or sport halls, but dedicated dance halls also began to emerge. By 1924, it is estimated that there were 20 dance halls in Tokyo, rising to 33 in 1928 (Nojima, 1984), by which time dancing had become an industry. Musicians in the bands playing these venues could make 200–300 yen per week at a time when 50 yen was considered a good income. The dance halls employed professional dancers (so called 'taxi-dancers'), most of whom were women. Larger venues employed about 100 dancers, who earned an average 60 yen per week up to as much as 200 yen (Atkins, 2001). About 5,000 people passed through the dance halls each day, but despite this economic success, social dancing tended to provoke moral outrage because it encouraged intimacy among non-married couples and was often linked to Japan's emerging sex industry.

In 1926, all dance halls in Osaka were closed, and from 1928, all dance halls and dance associations in Tokyo required a licence and were controlled by the police (Veemees, 2011). Despite these restrictions, dance halls continued to flourish in Tokyo and other urban centres. In Tokyo, the Florida dance hall became famous beyond Japan, attracting Hollywood stars. The rise of this element of Tokyo's night-time economy reflected the rise of popular music and the recording industry (see Fujie, 1991), and popular songs (*ryūkōka*) by emerging stars like Yoshie Fujiwara and Chiyako Sato combined

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2   The rising income of working class and middle classes contributed to the rise of night-time economies and to modern modes of consumption: shopping for pleasure, fashion cycles and Western-style goods.

traditional folk music with Western influences. A song called *The Tokyo March* (released in 1929) is widely said to mark the breakthrough of popular music in Japan, and developments in cinema, dance and music are linked to the rise of other night-time activities at the time. Along with the growing radio and gramophone industry, live music clubs, bars, tea houses and music cafes became increasingly popular; by 1929, there were 15,559 waitresses working in 6,187 cafes in Tokyo (Tipton, 2008). Beyond entertainment, these venues were associated with prostitution and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Consumption of sake peaked in 1925, and consumption of beer grew throughout the 1920s (see Francks, 2009) as reflected in the increasing number of bars; a 1929 police survey recorded 1,345 bars in Tokyo (Tipton, 2008).

Along with the flourishing night-time economy, this intersection of culture and business also led to developments in the broader cultural economy[3] and the notion of cultural life. The word 'cultural' (*bunkateki*) originally featured in Meiji 'Europeanization' policy, which encouraged the citizen (*cimin*) to become more 'European' This became an umbrella term encompassing 'cultural cafes', 'cultural houses' and even 'cultural shampoo' (Mansfield, 2009). Although the term *cultural policy* was not yet explicitly in use, the idea underpinned some of the legislation introduced during that period. Some of the more restrictive measures included licensing to control the entertainment and night-time industries. (In 1948, these measures were combined in the still more restrictive '*fueihou*' or Laws Regulating Businesses Affecting Public Morals as described below). Copyright protections were also introduced to safeguard Japan's music and cinema industries (Fujiki, 2013). In 1919, Hiroshi Ikeda's zoning system divided Tokyo into residential, commercial and industrial land uses, restricting 'noisy entertainment uses such as theatres and nightclubs … to commercial zones' (Sorensen, 2002, p. 115). Beyond their internal significance, these 'cultural policies' became integral to Japan's international ambitions. In 1923, the Ministry of Finance in Tokyo established the China Cultural Affairs Bureau to enhance Japan's cultural activities on mainland China. Japan's colonial ambitions included a culture-driven agenda to unite Asian countries in a Japan-led 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'.

During World War II, Japan's cultural industries (film, publishing, radio, arts festivals) became occupied territory, as culture was used for propaganda purposes and to maintain political control. Together, these industries and the war effort shaped the formation of policies and institutions after the war, including their relationship with culture. Perhaps the most crucial impact was the view that culture should be independent of the political sphere (see Morgner, 2018), and the consequences were twofold. During the post-war rebuilding process, culture was considered a risky investment. As nationalist cultural propaganda had harmed Japan's cultural standing in Asia, it was deemed necessary to promote economic relationships with other countries without linking these explicitly to Japanese culture or cultural products (Otmazgin, 2012). This thinking also prevailed in the internal rebuilding of Japan; only

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3   The Japanese government played an ambivalent role in is regard. The Great Kanto Earthquake destroyed large parts of Tokyo, including the famous Asakusa entertainment district. To manage the chaos and unrest in Tokyo, government proposals to counteract these developments focused on recreational options for Tokyoites. Theatre, music, museums and consumer stores were seen as positive forms of distraction (see Schencking, 2008), and Asakusa was rebuilt quickly, leading to the development of new cultural economy clusters in Ginza and Shinjuku (Tipton, 2013).

cultural activities that were distanced from the nationalism of World War II were considered worthy of protection and support. These included traditional arts like tea ceremonies, pottery, flower arranging and calligraphy. While these were organised in strictly hierarchical terms and so resembled the stereotypical picture of Japanese society (see Fukutake, 1989), their cultural independence from politics meant that Japan's entire cultural economy lacked any unifying hierarchical oversight, and this had three major consequences. (1) Post-war policies failed to regulate Japan's cultural and night-time economy. (2) Cultural economies emerged as an alternative, shadow or underground culture. (3) Entertainment and culture underwent an economic transformation.

(1) One legacy of post-war legislation has generated significant political debate since the 2010s. The notorious 'fuzoku' or 'fueiho' laws introduced after WWII sought to regulate parts of the entertainment industry, especially prostitution. Implemented in 1948 during the period of Allied control, the Businesses Affecting Public Morals Regulation Law (*Fueiho*)[4] originated in pre-war prefectural ordinances designed to control public behaviours and customs, including crime-related activities like prostitution and gambling. As well as regulating the sex industry, these measures extended to all leisure businesses, including bars, restaurants, amusement arcades, cabaret venues, gambling parlours (*Mahjong* and *pachinko*), dance halls[5] and, by implication, nightclubs. All such businesses required authorisation from the prefecture's public safety commission, effectively rendering dancing illegal in most nightclubs.[6] From a present day perspective, this latter prohibition seems drastic, and it was considered quite extreme even at the time. Most importantly perhaps, the law remained unconnected to other cultural policies and was enforced only by the police, which undermined its social force. In this regard, a clerk of the Supreme Court made the following observation in 1955: 'Many Japanese laws fail to work as their drafters intended them to, and this is because of a failure to investigate, thoroughly and in detail, the manner in which society is likely to react' (cited in Seitensticker, 1990, p. 191). The relationship between police and Japan's entertainment industry is perhaps best described as a truce; as long as these activities remained more or less socially hidden and avoided strong links to organised crime, there was little police intervention. In this affected mutual ignorance, dancing in nightclubs achieved a certain normality within a cultural economy that remained largely hidden (Kadokura, 2007, Morgner, 2019).

(2) This hiddenness had a profound effect on alternative culture and creative activities in Japan and especially in Tokyo, where these underground venues mirrored the city's development during that period. Tokyo had been largely destroyed during World War II, and post-war rebuilding was extensive

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4   It is difficult to translate this concept of 'public morals'. its meaning is quite broad, referring to everyday manners, habits and customs. Historically, Japan's police controlled such behaviours in business and entertainment contexts, as well as in society at large. However, applying specific cultural standards across society became more problematic after World War II and was increasingly confined to commercial activities. Police forces in Europe performed equivalent duties (e.g. Germany's *Sittenpolizei*, the United Kingdom's Vice Squad).
5   Dance halls were included because of the links between taxi dance halls and prostitution, and because they were seen as settings in which the genders would mingle, which fell under the general interpretation of manners, customs and habits referred to above.
6   The law prohibited dancing in nightclubs smaller than 66 square meters or operating after 1 am. As Japan's high urban density means that most nightclubs are quite small, and as nightclubs by definition operate at night, most are affected by this law.

but uneven. The combination of rapid and eclectic expansion (Okata & Murayama, 2011) and an influx of younger people created a multitude of social niches. These could readily be ignored, as they did not interfere directly with the city's everyday life; at the same time, they were sufficiently extensive to allow freedom of creative expression to flourish. While much of the relevant literature has focused on Japan's economic ascent, the post-war emergence of creative activities has been somewhat neglected. In reality, Tokyo's growing youth culture, individualism and emphasis on self-expression is reflected in the growth of higher education and the student protests of the 1960s and in the emergence of multiple subcultural tribes (*zoku*) encompassing everything from motorcycling to electronic music and psychedelics (Seitensticker, 1990). This diversity influenced the new literary and filmic genre of *taiyozoku* (Sun Tribe) that flourished in former night-time districts destroyed during World War II, which provided a safe space for 'deviant' subcultures. The emergence of popular media forms (film, comics, television and music) prompted new patterns of urban consumption (see Tsurumi, 1987; Clammer, 1997). For instance, when the American military clientele left Roppongi, it was replaced by a 'hipster' culture that centred on television, youth fashion and trends, pizza and dancing. This exotic mix attracted media coverage that turned Roppongi into one of the premier night-time districts (Seidensticker, 1990). As well as supporting youth culture, protest and new consumerism, Tokyo's urban fabric provided an ideal site for avant-garde creative expression, including new developments in the performing arts, experimental film and electronic music. In the post-war period, the Japanese New Wave movement produced celebrated experimental film-makers like Nagisa Oshima, Kaneto Shindo, Masahiro Shinoda, Susumu Hani and Shohei Imamura. In electronic music and the performing arts, artists like Yoko Ono, Yuji Takahashi, Kosugi Takehisa and Ichiyanagi Toshi and groups like High Red Center contributed to the growth of Japanese intermedia art in the 1960s, and Tokyo became the capital of Fluxus in Japan (Munroe, 1994).

(3) In the 1960s, Tokyo's Shinjuku district was an unfettered site of experimentation and counter-culture, and the combination of commuter hub and night-time economy attracted a new audience of white-collar workers. As Tokyo's daytime population of about 15.6 million (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2015) falls to about 13.2 million at night, about 2.3 million commuters are thought to leave the city each evening for the suburbs. In the case of Tokyo's three central business wards—Chiyoda, Chūō and Minato—this effect is still more extreme, as the daytime population is more than seven times the night-time figure. As Japan's rail system usually closes down after midnight, night-time economies tend to cluster around major commuting hubs like Shinjuku. Bolstered by Japan's economic growth in the post-war era, the district is well known for its gaudy neon signs, advertising Golden Gai bars, nightclubs, restaurants, karaoke venues, theatres and 'love hotels' to entertain Japan's rising middle class.[7] This largely accounts for the growth of an intense night-time economy between 6pm and

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[7]   Consumption of recreational and entertainment activities and goods increased significantly (Bronfenbrenner & Yasuba, 1987), defining what came to be known as the 'bright life' (*akarui seikatsu*).

midnight,[8] and Japanese corporations exploit this connection with the 1960s for corporate entertainment purposes (Norma, 2011).

2.3 Tokyo's Night-Time Economy and 'Cool Japan'

By the late 1980s, the economic situation in Japan had changed dramatically. The collapse of Japan's bubble economy in the late 1980s had a significant effect on the national cultural policy agenda and severely impacted the cultural and arts economy (Sugiyama, 2006; Hiraki et al., 2009). Suddenly, Japanese industry's traditional focus on the domestic market had to develop a more international approach, including new industries to drive future economic development. At this time, the Japanese government also accepted the need for a more ambitious approach to cultural policy. That term also began to enter the lexicon of Japanese arts administration (Wyszomirski, 1998), appearing for the first time in a 1990 report for the Agency for Cultural Affairs. Japan's first official cultural policy plan was drafted in 1992 and led to the establishment of the Cultural Policy Office under the umbrella of the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

By 1993, the Ministry of Education was also using the phrase 'cultural policy', and by 2005, the Japanese government had adopted the slogan 'Cool Japan' for nation-branding of cultural goods (Valaskivi, 2013). The slogan mimicked similar characterisations of creative industries in Australia and the UK (as in the UK Labour Party's use of 'Cool Britannia' in its 1997 election campaign) for secondary analysis of market data in Japan (Yoshimoto, 2003). However, the most comprehensive report employing this idea was produced by a non-governmental research agency (NLI Research Institute) to demonstrate the capacity of Japan's cultural industries, revealing the need to adapt this approach to fit the Japanese market (Yoshimoto, 2009). To facilitate this development, the creative industries were awarded official recognition in 2010 with the foundation of the Creative Industries Promotion Office. However, this fell under the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry's Manufacturing Industries Bureau rather than the Agency for Cultural Affairs. The new office favoured the term *creative* or *lifestyle* rather than *cultural* industries, and the 'Cool Japan' slogan was an acknowledgement that Japan's creative industries would play an important role in the government's 'New Growth Strategy' (Cool Japan Advisory Council, 2011).

Nevertheless, the classification and policy strategy encompassed large parts of Japan's entertainment sector and night-time economies, as the Japanese government discovered that food and beverages account for more than 70% of the creative industries' total revenue (Creative Industries Division, 2014b, p. 1). This also confirmed the emergence of an economically viable industry that was previously hidden from official statistics and from urban society. While the Cool Japan strategy was largely export-driven, it was also hoped that the international impact of Japanese culture would increase 'inbound tourism' (Creative Industries Division, 2014a, p. 11; see also Suzuki, 2013), shifting the focus

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8   In the early 1980s, about 2,500 bars, nightclubs, restaurant and other entertainment venues were concentrated into 0.34 square kilometers of Shinjuku's Kabukicho (Kanematsu, 1988).

to creative and lifestyle industries in Japan. As night-time economies attracted more attention, the number of police raids and closures increased in 2010 in Osaka, Tokyo and a few other cities. These clashes again highlighted the legacy laws, leading to a civic campaign for reform called 'Let's Dance'. As well as seeking to legalise dancing in nightclubs, the campaign sought to promote the night-time economy using incentives seen in other countries (like the creation of a night-time mayor) and to demonstrate the potential benefits for the overall economy (Saito, 2018).

By 2016, a new governmental ordinance introduced a more relaxed approach, with a new licensing regime that permitted both dancing and drinking. Despite the fragile status of this new arrangement (see Ikeda et al., 2018; Hartley, 2020), the overall changes since the beginning of the 1990s paved the way for further initiatives to develop and promote the night-time economy, especially in Tokyo. In 2017, for instance, the Tokyo Metropolitan Tourism Industry Office officially acknowledged the need to promote nightlife tourism (PRIME Tourism City/Tokyo Tokyo Tourism Industry Promotion Plan). To support such initiatives, the Tokyo Metropolitan Bureau of Industry and Labor surveyed local residents and foreign tourists in 2018 to find out what they most enjoyed about the capital's nightlife. In 2019, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and Tokyo Tourism Foundation introduced the Nightlife Tourism Promotion Grant to promote night-time events. While highlighting Tokyo night life, these initiatives were also a reminder of the obstacles presented by the hidden nature of this economy. For instance, 40–50% of international tourists reported difficulty in navigating Tokyo's night-time economy (as compared to only 18% of people living and working in Tokyo), indicating a need for more guided tours and additional information (Tokyo Metropolitan Bureau of Industry and Labor, 2019, Table 1-19). Similarly, a majority of visitors reported difficulties in finding information about Tokyo nightlife (Tokyo Metropolitan Bureau of Industry and Labor, 2019, Table 2-12). These difficulties are also reported in travel websites, magazines and newspapers, confirming the obstacles to inclusion and access arising from Tokyo's history, as night-time entertainment and creative activities could only survive by occupying hidden spatial and social niches. While this complex structure enabled Tokyo to flourish as a creative and entertainment nexus, it also makes these activities less visible to outsiders, and indeed to many Tokyo residents. While it is hoped that the upcoming Olympic Games will improve that visibility, it is also important to balance any contribution to Japan's economy against the potential negative impact on the many small venues that have managed to survive in central locations. As one of the world's most expensive cities, Tokyo is prone to gentrification, which has impacted niche economies in many Western cities. However, niche activities can often survive because they remain somewhat disconnected from the mainstream and pose no direct threat.

3. Cultural Policies and Night-time Economies in Germany/Berlin

3.1. 1920s Berlin as Cultural Metropolis

While Japan emerged as a new global superpower after WWI, Germany found itself in a very different position, with high unemployment, food shortages and poor public health, and inflation and the

subsequent hyperinflation were about to ruin Germany's middle class. Politically, the country was on the brink of collapse, with marauding ex-soldiers and extreme political factions. In the years following the end of the war, regional military upheavals and general strikes led to multiple deaths. About 2, 000 people were killed during the Berlin battles of March 1919 alone; other bloody demonstrations like the Reichstag incident in January 1920 and the Kapp Putsch in March of that year added to the chaos. In these circumstances, Berlin remained the capital, but the new parliament had to operate from provincial Weimar.

In that turbulent climate, social life seemed contingent by comparison with the conservative world of Imperial Germany. However, this also stimulated social experiment and greater freedom of expression, as hyperinflation and political instability encouraged the middle and upper classes to spend their money on fleeting entertainments and distractions (Widdig, 2001). Berlin's rise as a cultural capital is grounded in this chaotic context (Peters, 1995; Weiss-Sussex & Zitzlsperger, 2007; Mothes & Bartmann, 2015). In contrast to Tokyo, this brief period of the *Golden Twenties (Goldene Zwanziger)* has been widely discussed in the academic, film and media literatures (Schrader & Schebera, 1987; Richie, 1998; Bienert & Buchholz, 2005; Metzger, 2006; Whyte & Frisby, 2012).[9] However, these studies have tended to focus on specific aspects like cabaret dancing, the rise of the new woman, movements in cinema and the visual arts (Expressionism or Berlin Secession) and prostitution. While mentioning Berlin's lively night-time economy and rich cultural life, such studies do not consider these developments from the broader perspective of night-time economies.
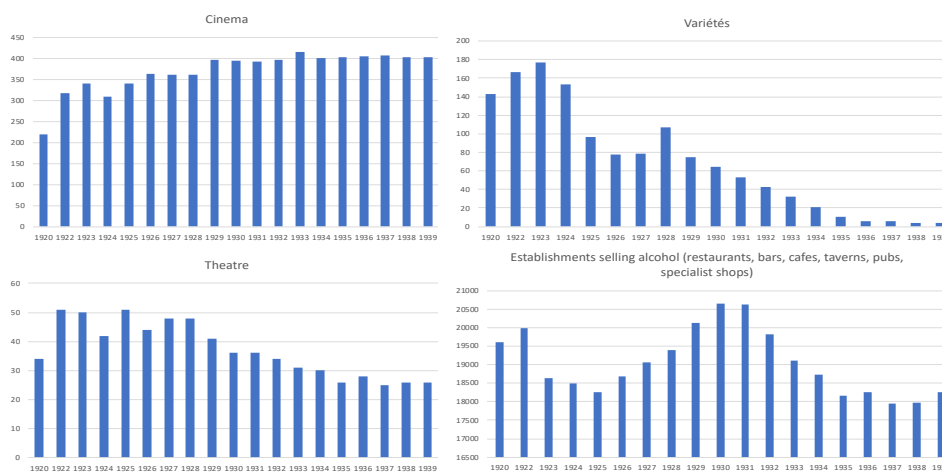
Figure. 1 Night-Time Economy Berlin. (Source: Statistical Yearbooks Berlin)[10]

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9   Berlin had grown rapidly since the beginning of the 19th century. The reforms in the Greater Berlin Act merged the city with surrounding towns, increasing its area from 66 square kilometres to 883 square kilometres and doubling its population from about 2 million to almost 4 million. This made Berlin the third largest city in the world in terms of population (after London and New York City) and the second largest in terms of territory (after Los Angeles). The city also advanced as an urban centre, with initiatives like Tempelhof Airport (1923), S-Bahn electrification (from 1924 onwards) and the Funkturm radio tower (completed in 1926).
10   The data for Variétés between 1929 and 1935 are based on trends in previous years. From 1929, the statistical office in Berlin changed how Variétés were counted by including only venues with fixed seating. This distorted the figures, leading to a huge drop from almost a hundred to just eight in 1929.

During the interwar period, Berlin had a lively and growing night-time economy. However, the statistical data in Figure 1 show that this development was uneven, with different trends in the various sectors of the night-time economy. For instance, bars, nightclubs and other venues that sold alcohol had to close earlier during World War I and declined severely. After the war, there was intense political debate about how any changes in these policies might impact on morals and manners.[11] By 1921, however, most establishments selling alcohol could open until midnight or 1 am,[12] leading to a first peak in the number of venues. This was followed by a period of decline caused by hyperinflation in 1923; when economic stability was restored, there was a second peak in 1930, followed by a rapid decline. Again, it seems that global recession impacted this part of the night-time economy, although more drastic signs of decline only set in from 1932 onwards. Another notable trend is the relative stability of cinema numbers at this time. While the ebb and flow of other night-time venues reflected the prevailing economic and political circumstances, cinemas remained relatively unaffected during the period 1933–1945 because they were used for propaganda purposes by the Nazi regime. Avant-garde formats were more likely to be suppressed in Nazi-led book burning and attacks on 'degenerate' art, including musical forms like Swing and Jazz (see Barron, 1991). In contrast, film was prioritised by the Minister of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda as well as Reich Chamber of Culture. As in Japan, politics had a defining impact on culture and the arts.

3.2. Culture and Cultural Policies in a Divided Berlin

In economic, political and cultural terms, Berlin has always been a special place. While the Berlin Wall was seen to create a divided city,[13] Berlin's cultural economy distinguished it from other cities in both the West German Federal Republic (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to the East. This special status played a key role in the formation of Berlin's night-life economy.[14] As capital of the GDR, East Berlin sought to project an international image of the state, and the city was in receipt of more funding and subsidies than other East German cities. Supermarkets offered a better range of products, and there was substantial state investment in arts and culture. During the 1950s, the municipal government spent almost 30 million German Marks on the arts every year—ten times more than was spent on science and research, and five times more than expenditure on sport (see Magistrat von Gross-Berlin, 1958). The concentration of key organisations like theatres, concert halls, opera houses, art schools and art associations = in East Berlin attracted many artists and other creatives to live in the

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11   Policies regarding opening times were rarely discussed in economic terms but had a strong moral agenda; opening at night was considered likely to encourage immorality (see Schlör, 2016).

12   In 1926, Berlin's municipal government again changed closing times to between 3 and 6 am.

13   The Berlin Wall is often characterised as dividing the city in half, confining East Berliners to a limited area from which there was no escape (see Major, 2010). However, while West Berliners could travel throughout the FRG and could also visit the GDR by applying for a visa, daily life in the city was always somewhat confined, and West Berlin too was viewed as an 'island' (Rott, 2009).

14   Perhaps the first of these special factors emerged in the late 1940s. As relationships between the Allied parties that controlled the city deteriorated, different curfews were introduced. Closing time was 9 pm In the Western sector and 10 pm in the East. This triggered strong competition between nightclubs and bars in the different sectors, and the advantages of the extra hour prompted hotel owner Heinz Zellermayer to convince the Allied powers to abandon the curfew in the Western sector. Although mandatory closing time was maintained in the Eastern sector, this was rarely enforced, and clubs would close only when the last customer left. No other German city had such a uniquely unrestricted nightlife scene.

city. However, while the arts and culture sector flourished, there was insufficient investment in the post-war reconstruction of Berlin. World War II destroyed more than 600,000 flats, and the GDR did not have the economic resources to rebuild that stock or to upgrade the older housing infrastructure. Many of the older buildings had no central heating, and residents continued to depend on coal-fired ovens. Toilets were located in the stairway halls rather than inside the flats, and none of the buildings had lifts. Many buildings still bore the scars of World War II, and living in them was not an attractive prospect. However, this at least meant that there was plenty of empty and affordable housing, and this mix of ruined and older buildings attracted artists to Berlin. They imagined getting lost there, beyond the reach of the authorities (Rueschemeyer, 2005), and this climate generated a lively arts and nightlife scene. The city's many bars and clubs became well known as party destinations, attracting well-known artists from Germany and elsewhere, including regular visitors like Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Yves Montand and Sophia Loren (Voigt, 2016).

The economic situation in West Berlin was essentially upside-down. Important industries that survived World War II had migrated to the FRG,[15] and more than 50% of West Berlin's budget had to be directly subsidised, supplemented by indirect subsidies like tax breaks, bonuses and other incentives. A large part of this budget was supposedly allocated to rebuilding and renovating the housing stock, but instead West Berlin became notorious for building scandals. Until the city again merged after the events of1989, buildings remained in much the same pre-war state as in the East. As noted above, West Berlin also remained isolated as an island in East German territory during a period of great tension between the political superpowers. For all these reasons, life in West Berlin was an unattractive option, and celebrities and the German upper classes chose to live in Munich, Frankfurt or Hamburg, so increasing these cities' conservatism. While Berlin was in this sense 'left behind', its status as a special place endured. In contrast to the FRG's focus on economic rebuilding and conservative values, West Berlin's subsidies created very cheap living conditions. The absence of obligatory military service, curfews and perhaps most importantly a conservative middle-class meant that deviant behaviour, including queer culture, vibrant music[16] and drug use, could flourish, along with a highly subsidised performing arts scene. It is perhaps unsurprising that West Berlin was a stronghold of the 1960s student movement and provided the backdrop for Christina F.'s book *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo* (*We Children from Bahnhof Zoo*). As well as famous German artists like Günter Grass and Christian Hasucha, Berlin attracted international bohemians like David Bowie, Nick Cave and Iggy Pop, who lived there in the later 1970s. The strange economic, cultural and social contrasts between Berlin (West and East) and their national territories made both cities a haven for creatives.[17] As a result, both were obliged to tolerate high levels of cultural and artistic contingency, and to accept that not all activities could be (or wished to be) sponsored. By the end of the 1980s, both Berlins had developed a robust alternative

15   Siemens relocated to Munich in 1949; AEG moved to Frankfurt am Main in 1951, and Borsig moved to Düsseldorf in 1950.
16   A range of important clubs emerged that dominated the music scene, like Dschungel, Risiko, SO 36, Shizzo, Penny Lane, Anderes Ufer, Frontkino, Ex'n'Pop, Kumpelnest 3000.
17   There is also a striking resemblance in the experience of architecture. As mentioned, both governments were unable to restore the pre-war architecture with large number of building remaining unrenovated for decades. Thus, the experience of grey buildings or black smoke was very much alike in both parts of the city.

nightlife scene that survived by occupying distinct cultural niches within their respective states (see Richter, 2019). Ongoing exchanges were sometimes part of official events, as for instance when West Berlin was designated European City of Culture in 1988, or during the 750th anniversary events in both cities. In other cases such as punk music, these exchanges often migrated underground (Reeder, 2015).

3.3 Berlin as Aspiring Global Capital of Culture

When the East German government collapsed, the GDR was integrated into the territory of the West German state, and the 'divided city' gained a third overarching layer widely known as the 'New Berlin' (Strom & Mayer, 1998; Colomb, 2013). After 1990, Berlin's economic situation changed drastically. All subsidies and additional economic supports were withdrawn within a short timeframe, leading to rapid industrial decline (Häussermann & Strom, 1994; Krätke, 2011). There were also changes related to the Wall itself. As mentioned above, living close to the Wall was an unattractive option. Its destruction opened a huge area of open land and buildings; with no clarity regarding ownership, orthodox political and economic actors were wrongfooted. Berlin's physical centre had suddenly shifted from the Kurfürstendamm and Alexanderplatz areas of West and East Berlin, creating a new milieu for the alternative scene. While the abandoned spaces were in many respects a symbol of a new freedom, this was not an overnight phenomenon; the freedom from isolation and 'island' living in the West and political constraints in the East was grounded in many years of alternative lifestyle 'training' in the form of squatting and living with minimal resources.

However, the common narrative that underpinned these developments was not expressed verbally but through Techno music. Techno is not just about the music; it must be understood in the context of a non-existing curfew, empty spaces and the refusal to prescribe fixed meanings. By sensually overwhelming the space, Techno inhibits strict ordering as strobe lights, extreme darkness, loud music and moving bodies intersect in a mutual choreography, creating a fluid space that disperses any notion of fixity (Denk & Thülen, 2012; Peter, 2014; Schofield & Rellensmann, 2015). From a meaning-making perspective, this fluidity does not exclude meaning but creates other meanings (Luhmann, 1996), and this became a defining feature of the sensual experience, energy and sense of freedom that characterised the New Berlin. As a result, the night-time economy that emerged had a strong sense of aesthetics in its approach to yet-to-be-defined spaces—for instance, hosting overnight stays in former prisons, a festival in a bunker, a club in a former toilet or marriages in a former museum. This atmospheric quality differed fundamentally from more functional locations like hotels, fairgrounds or modern entertainment complexes, making the Berlin scene sufficiently diverse to accommodate other creative formats once Techno was no longer the dominant driver of meaning- making. From 2005 onwards, the night-time and wider creative industries played a key role in rescuing Berlin's economy (see Kozlowski, 2009). The Club Study Berlin (Damm & Drevenstedt, 2018) estimated that about 300 nightclubs generate a turnover of about €168 million, hosting more than 70,000 theatre, music and other artistic events every year. Most importantly, perhaps, Berlin nightlife is a destination; visitors do not simply enjoy it as part of holiday but come specifically to experience certain clubs and events. About

35% of Berlin's visitors come for the nightlife, and 42% of all visitors are less than 40 years old (Jürgens, 2012). Berlin's hotel and catering sector has also grown considerably since 2010 (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2018), and the city now has nearly 9,000 restaurants (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2020).

4. Conclusion: Cultural Policies and Night-times Economies in Germany/Berlin and Japan/Tokyo

This paper identified two gaps in the current research on night-time economies. First, existing comparative studies tend to focus on global cities and regard economic power as a proxy for cultural influence. Secondly, this research tends to look at night-time economies in terms of policy frameworks or market research. In contrast, the present study situates the development of night-time economies within a broader interdisciplinary framework, combining cultural history, cultural sociology and cultural geography to explore changing cultural meanings and conditions. Using this framework, we established that recent government and media interest in the rise of nightlife as a key aspect of economic thinking (as in the case of tourism) is grounded in long-term cultural developments. These reveal the complex and often paradoxical relationship between policy, urban development and cultural economies, as well as the striking similarities in both regions despite their cultural differences.

When Japan's night-time economy first took off in the 1920s, metropolitan Tokyo was at the centre of Japan's emergence as a new superpower. As well as attracting workers to Tokyo, this contributed to the rise of a middle-class that worked in the service industries. Spending power, urban growth and a cosmopolitan atmosphere all helped to build a diverse cultural economy, including a flourishing nightlife. However, the country's growing militarisation in the buildup to World War II framed the night-time economy in moral terms, forcing it to migrate to social niches and hidden spaces. The political use of culture for propaganda purposes during World War II caused the Japanese government to refrain from introducing any comprehensive administrative structure or policy to regulate the cultural economy. When legislation was introduced, the alternative subcultures of the night-time economy remained untouched as long as they did not interfere with the wider social world. Under this truce, night-time cultural consumption grew within designated areas, and these venues avoided social interference by presenting themselves as harmless light entertainment or by occupying hidden or niche spaces. This strategy successfully avoided the perils of gentrification or suppression by more dominant economic narratives.

Berlin's emergence as a cultural capital followed a different trajectory. Following World War II, Germany was in dire circumstances, with the devastation of economic resources and an absence of political authority. In Berlin, these conditions led to a kind of social anomie, in which high social contingency turned in on itself to become a breeding ground for experimenting with social identities, testing new ideas and providing a space to mingle with like-minded creatives. In these circumstances, Berlin's night-time economy grew rapidly. In many respects, this effect was heightened by the city's

division under two political regimes at the end of World War II. West Berlin was somewhat removed from the economic and conservative post-war narratives of FRG, and East Berlin was seen as a showcase for the arts as the 'cultural work' that would rebuild the socialist state. Massive investment in that cultural infrastructure attracted creatives in large numbers to East Berlin, but the endeavour was only partially successful. However, German reunification in 1990 granted Berlin access to a massive cultural infrastructure, including unrestricted nightlife. The removal of the Berlin Wall opened up 'free' spaces, and the role of Techno in this experience-driven night-time economy consolidated the New Berlin's reputation for experimentation and social contingency.

Despite their differing approaches and cultural histories, there are a number of striking similarities between Berlin and Tokyo in terms of cultural policies and night-time economies. Both cities experienced a brief spell of growth in creativity and cultural consumption in the 1920s, driven by a sense of openness, disposable income and rapid metropolitan growth. In both cases, war did not suppress the cultural economy, which became part of the war effort in both countries, with profound impacts on post-war government measures in both Japan and the FRG, as neither country developed a cultural policy framework. The GDR framework adopted a restricted view of 'cultural work' as part of the socialist project but ignored other cultural dimensions. As there was no all-encompassing narrative, many cultural activities in the GDR developed in the shadows of 'official' culture, notably in the unclaimed spaces of Berlin. For a time, cultural activities in Berlin used survival strategies that resembled those used in Tokyo. Importantly, these cultural activities developed over many years through extended experimentation, but their wider contribution remained unrecognised. In both countries, most cultural investment focused on more traditional artistic formats and institutions, and municipal governments in Berlin and Tokyo have only recently discovered the hidden potential of these places and have struggled to develop a model to sustain them. It seems clear that policy makers cannot properly take account of complex phenomena like night-time economies without a comprehensive framework that combines cultural history, sociology and geography.

Grants & Financial Aid

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Clubsterben. Threats to Berlin's Club Culture and Responses from Nighttime Governance

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Abstract

Clubsterben ("club dying") and the precariousness of clubs in urban space has been a topic in Berlin public discourse since the early 2000s. Even for clubs with a still-strong artistic concept, business model, and audience base, longer-term vulnerabilities from gentrification and complex administrative and planning processes can facilitate closure. This paper argues that *Clubsterben* is a result of specific political and policy circumstances. Based on three key case studies, this paper proposes a working definition of *Clubsterben*, identifies threats to club culture spaces, and explores how a nighttime governance entity aims to mitigate them through innovation.

Keywords: Gentrification; Urban Development; Club Culture; Urban Night

1. Introduction

Nightlife scenes and club cultures have a powerful impact on local creative, community, and economic conditions in cities, but their value in urban life and space is often not well understood. Club culture can appear evanescent, using informal or temporary space as-available, shifting locations from one center to another. But as urban gentrification and densification make space scarcer, the "next" location for displaced clubs becomes ever more difficult to secure, weighting the loss of each with more meaning.

Clubsterben ("club dying") and the precariousness of clubs in urban space has been a familiar topic in Berlin public life and media for nearly two decades, but takes on greater urgency as affordable urban space becomes more rare. Club culture can occupy a complicated position as both accelerator and victim of neighborhood gentrification, and both commodity and casualty of creative-city marketing strategies. To maintain a vibrant creative culture in spite of these paradoxes, it is essential to understand the political and policy factors in otherwise-successful clubs 'closures—and the tools and actors that can remedy this phenomenon.

This paper builds upon existing urban nighttime scholarship around the loss of cultural and subcultural space in cities, and around the rise of nighttime governance and "night mayor" offices. Thus far, there has been little exploration of how nighttime governance actors attempt to stanch the ongoing loss of cultural space. Berlin provides an ideal case study to answer this question, with a club culture central to its economy and global identity, a history of *Clubsterben* public discourse, and a longstanding nighttime governance body. Based on a review of extant literature and three key case studies, this paper proposes a working definition of *Clubsterben*, identifies primary threats to club culture spaces, and explores how a nighttime governance entity aims to mitigate them through innovation.

2. Background

Berlin is well-known as a center of music and club culture, with an estimated 500 live music venues and approximately 225 "professional clubs" hosting over 70,000 artist performances per year (Creative Footprint, 2017; Damm & Drevenstedt, 2020, pp.75-79). Distinct within the wider field of live music and nightlife, club culture is characterized by its social, aesthetic, and economic dimensions:

> "[...]the phenomenon of people meeting in clubs or in similar spaces (e.g., open-air concerts, warehouse raves, or festivals) characterized by a program focused on live music, restricted access of a certain nature to create a protected space with its own rules, and a community to listen to music, dance, and socialize" (Drevenstedt 2020, p.12).

As Damm & Drevenstedt further explain, successful clubs must operate simultaneously as businesses, artistic experiences, and spaces of community, remaining economically-viable while offering compelling artistic visions and communal experience. Pressure on any of these dimensions affects the others: increased rental costs may force changes in artistic programming, or raised prices can shift audiences, thus impacting a club's social and aesthetic experience and possibly its existence.

Spaces of Club Culture

Though club culture has international resonance, at its core it is a physical, local, and site-specific (Biehl-Missal, 2016) phenomenon, indissociable from its physical space. Club and alternative cultures rely on large, low-cost, sound-insulated spaces easily accessible to artists and audiences, centrally co-located with other cultural and nightlife uses (Shaw, 2013). These criteria draw club operators toward 'urban voids': disused spaces such as former breweries, factories, or industrial buildings (Colomb, 2012). The flexibility of these "Low Road" buildings can catalyze innovative, improvisatory uses (Brand, 1995). And following the 1990 *Mauerfall*, Berlin's relative abundance of these buildings and its administration's increasingly tolerant attitude toward temporary use allowed club culture to develop in repurposed, short-term spaces (Colomb, 2012).

These spaces offer not only cultural value, but "the right to be different in central, public space" (Shaw, 2005, p.155). Club and nightlife spaces serve as alternative social infrastructure for marginalized communities, such as for LGBTQ+ populations systematically excluded from other traditional spaces like faith institutions (Buckland, 1990). These spaces 'disappearance, then, has "a huge impact on vulnerable minorities" (Campkin & Marshall, 2018, p.95).

Clubs are ultimately subject to legal frameworks of licensing, permissions, noise protection, taxes, and building and planning law. Most significantly, clubs are classified in German building code as 'entertainment 'rather than 'culture', imposing both practical limitations in permitting and social stigma (Schmid, 2010). In contrast to permitting processes for culture venues such as operas and concert halls, permits for entertainment venues—which include any business with a DJ and dance floor, as well as betting parlors and pornography theaters—require complex exceptions in mixed-use areas or are not allowed at all (Schmid, 2010).

Paradoxes of Club Culture

The paradox of vibrant, dynamic club culture is that the more successful it becomes, the more vulnerable it makes itself to displacement. First, as users of interim space, club culture acts as both a driver of, and victim of, neighborhood gentrification and displacement: Hae's (2011) "gentrification with and against nightlife" (p.3450). Through temporary re-use of former industrial space, "pioneer" cultural activities add visibility and value, acting unintentionally as a middle step between industry and newly

desirable commercial space (Colomb, 2012; Shaw, 2005). In Berlin, neighborhood hotspots of gentrification and centers of club culture have mirrored one another over time (see Holm, 2011). Thus, gentrification can be understood not as an outcome caused by cultural activity, but rather as "a symptom of an underlying struggle for urban space" (Garcia, 2017, p.467).

On a citywide level, club culture can serve as a desirable asset in global city marketing, but a successful economic development strategy also threatens the preconditions for vibrant creative or alternative culture: inexpensive space and cost of living, a critical mass of creative individuals (Colomb, 2012; Shaw, 2013) with space for diverse "outsider" perspectives (Hall, 2000). The MediaSpree project exemplified this tendency, with corporations such as MTV and Universal drawn by Berlin's vibrant youth and club culture displacing key spaces of that culture despite self-organization efforts of the local scene (Scharenberg & Bader, 2009; Hesse & Lange, 2012). This paradox is viewed with resignation: subcultural actors must either be institutionalized or displaced (Shaw, 2005), while Kuchar (2020) views this appropriation by city marketing as simply "the price clubs must pay to maintain their freedom" (translated Kuchar, 2020, p. 252).

Into this cross-sector and multi-stakeholder contested landscape of urban space enters a new civic actor: the "night mayor" or commission. Since Berlin Clubcommission's founding in 2001, more than 50 cities have developed a nighttime governance actor in a variety of municipal, business, and community contexts (see nighttime.org/map). Berlin Clubcommission is a bottom-up organization for club culture and nightlife advocacy established by club owners, event organizers and artists, distinct from other night mayor models housed within city or economic development offices. Nighttime commissions can act in three key capacities: improving urban "hardware" (physical infrastructure), "software" (policies), and promoting mediation and consensus-building (Seijas & Gelders, 2020). Alongside these capacities, Straw frames nighttime advocates as activists saving "the remains of nightlife in a context of gentrification and massive closings of music venues that have turned the night mayor into an almost necessary figure" (as cited in Seijas & Gelders, 2020).

The Clubsterben Discourse

Since its first usage in 2001, the term *Clubsterben* has been used regularly in German and English-language media to refer to disappearance of club space due to external, gentrification-related processes. A 2001 *Der Spiegel* article used *Clubsterben* to describe clubs 'vulnerability in the face of rising development and noted the phenomenon as a threat to Berlin's cultural vibrance and desirability (Luetzow, 2001). Usage of the term spiked next around 2010 and first appeared in English-language press amidst a spate of club closures fueled by Prenzlauer Berg's rapid gentrification (Connolly, 2012). This growing discourse continued to tie club closures to other fights for the right to the city, against large-scale development and 'urban renewal '(Garcia, 2017).

The Berlin administration counts a relatively constant 90 club closures and 77 reopenings from 2010 to 2020 (Abgeordnetenhaus, 2020a). Yet the term and topic has remained in the public eye from in the *New York Times* (Rogers, 2020) to the German Bundestag, where a hearing linked involuntary club closures to the end of affordable commercial leases, approaching residential construction, and residents 'noise complaints (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020). Although the overall count of clubs remained relatively stable in the past decade, in a contest for urban space, each club closure impacts the city's creative landscape and club culture.

3. Methodology

The *Clubsterben* discourse lacks a clear, agreed-upon definition. Understanding that clubs close for numerous reasons, a definition of *Clubsterben* must exclude closures due to internal reasons, referring only to clubs that ended operations involuntarily *and* whose physical venues are then lost to the city's overall club culture. From compiled mentions in media and academia, we propose:

***Clubsterben:* involuntary club closures and loss of club culture space due to external factors, despite a still-functioning (economic, aesthetic, and social) concept.**

The conducted research uses in-depth explorations of several representative cases to identify external factors causing venue closures, and to test the popular understanding of *Clubsterben* as venue closure due to processes of gentrification and political and policy circumstances. Potential cases were identified from publicly-discussed closures from the early 2010s spike in *Clubsterben* discourse to the present day. Three cases (see Table 1) were then selected that offer strong structural contrasts in their programming, founding, and role in Berlin's club culture ecosystem. Based on media and popular discourse as well as documents from politics and administration, the processes that led to closure were traced, as well as interventions taken by club operators, nighttime governance bodies and/or public administrations.

The case-study and process-tracing approach is derived from political science qualitative research methods. Rather than focusing on quantitative evidence, case-study methods use observable evidence to identify causes that led to a specific outcome, in the context of one or several cases (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006; Bennett & Elman, 2006, p. 458; Evera, 1997, p. 64). News media, zoning and land use maps, and documentation of district, city, and federal judicial and government processes formed the materials of each case study. Semi-structured interviews with club operators and scene actors were also conducted to supplement cases.

4. Clubsterben Case Studies

CASE	Knaack	ICON	Jonny Knüppel
YEARS	1952 - Dec 2010	1996 - Dec 2011	2015 - April 2018
"SCENE"	Rock, punk, metal venue and club.	Drum'n'bass, dubstep, reggae, hip-hop, electronica.	Varied arts program, underground; "utopian."
SPACE	Former tailor shop; residential neighborhood	Former brewery; commercial and residential mixed area (permit exception for club)	Industrial area, many nearby clubs and venues
LOCATION (DISTRICT)	Prenzlauer Berg (Pankow)	Prenzlauer Berg (Pankow)	Lohmühleninsel (Friedrichshain- Kreuzberg)
THREAT	● Delayed notification of incoming construction ● New adjacent residential development ● Noise complaints (indoor sound) from new residents	● New adjacent residential development ● Noise complaints (outdoor sound) from new residents ● Sudden revocation of venue permit	● Challenges securing entertainment permit ● Noise complaints from adjacent residents
RESPONSE	● Legal cases; ● public campaign; ● media visibility.	● District-level government proceedings; ● Elected official support; ● Poster competition and public campaign.	● Relationship-building with state/district elected officials ● Crowdfunding public campaign; ● Elected official support.
OUTCOME	Despite legal decision partially in Knaack's favor, new decibel regulations led to audience decrease and closure.	Despite permitting decision in Icon's favor, tension with property owner obliged club to seek new space; closure upon lease end, no renewal.	Despite soundproofing, safety building upgrades in process, property owner declined to renew lease.
LINKED INNOVATIONS	Clubkataster (5.2); Lärmschutzfonds (5.1)	Clubkataster; Kulturstätte designation (5.2)	Kulturstätte designation (5.2); Lärmschutzfonds (5.1)

Table 1: Clubsterben *case evaluations*

4.1 Knaack, 1952 – 2010

Knaack transformed from the East German-operated *Ernst Knaack Youth Center* in 1952 to a financially-independent event and alternative youth culture hub in 1990, then post-reunification to a live music venue and 'springboard 'for German and international rock, punk, and metal acts including Die Toten Hosen, Muse, Interpol, Deftones, and Rammstein's early forays into pyrotechnics (tipBerlin, 2010; BZ Berlin, 2010).

Knaack recognized the threat posed by intensifying residential construction in Prenzlauer Berg in the early 2000s and was able to avert a proposed residential development northeast of the club (OVG Berlin, 2010, 1). However, the venue overlooked another residential conversion permitted in 2005, adjacent to the club's windowless back wall. As construction proceeded, the venue took notice only after the one-year legal window for comment passed. The new residential building directly adjoined Knaack's wall, but the permit did not mandate soundproofing.

Noise complaints began shortly after the building was occupied. Administrative authorities subsequently ordered limits on sound emissions after 10pm. In court, a first verdict found the original building permit unlawful due to lack of soundproofing (VG Berlin, 2010). Later, a higher administrative court ruled that the club had missed its window to object to the project despite theoretically visible signs of construction such as a building crane onsite; thus, the sound limit was upheld (OVG Berlin, 2010, 6).

Knaack took measures to soundproof but was still obliged to obey the 85-decibel limit after 11p.m. (Flatau, 2017). Business fell sharply, with operators noting, "Nobody wants to dance in a club where the music is quieter than at home" (Strauss, 2017). The venue closed on December 31, 2010. After Knaack's closure, state and district governments conducted a portfolio analysis of publicly-owned property for a potential new location, but as of this writing, a second location has yet to be established.

This closure is attributable to noise, but several secondary factors surround that primary cause: delayed notification of incoming residential development, the necessity for venues to track all nearby development processes and intervene on their own behalf, and the building permit's lack of required sound insulation.

4.2 ICON, 1996 - 2011

Icon was notable in Berlin's techno-dominated landscape for drum 'n 'bass, dubstep, electronica, elektro, funk, hiphop, indie and reggae, with international lineups including hip-hop "godfather" Afrika Bambaataa, breakbeat pioneers Goldie and Doc Scott, and a popular drum 'n 'bass event RECYCLE (Icon Berlin, 2009).

Housed in the basement space of a former brewery, Icon's permit was granted as an exception in a mixed-use area based on its predominantly commercial surrounding. With a separate building foundation in the entrance area acting as sound insulation, the venue operated without recorded incident from 1996 to 2010 (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020). But once an apartment building was completed on the previously vacant lot next door, directly atop the basement club's unmarked entrance, noise complaints about the queuing crowd began (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020). Lack of communication between the venue, new residential building, and its tenants fueled tension—one tenant, in the press, noted that he had not known until move-in that a venue sat below (Kampmann, 2012).

Soon after, the Pankow district government pulled Icon's permit on unrelated grounds, citing that the new residential building had changed the conditions of the original exception, and invalidated the permit granted 15 years prior (Bezirksamt Pankow Pressestelle, 2010; Kampmann, 2010a). Several months of public and political activism followed, including letters from district officials and an outpouring of support from the club's public (Kampmann, 2010b; Knorr, 2010). The district government then withdrew the permit suspension on a technicality, determining that the revocation took place after the legal timeframe. But in the interim, Icon's operators, concerned about the financial burden of a lease with no permit, had terminated their lease. A lease through 2011 was hastily secured with the intervention of a district representative (Kampmann, 2011).

However, tensions between the club and adjacent residents remained, and communications between the venue and property eroded. The next events are disputed: the real estate company maintains that a 2012 lease was offered, while the venue operators note that they reached out unsuccessfully, failing to secure a lease for 2012 (Fersch, 2011; Kampmann, 2011). Precisely a year after Knaack, Icon closed on December 31, 2011, with its operators shifting focus to an alternative, city-owned space in Kreuzberg still in operation at the time of this publication.

Like Knaack, Icon's closure was also attributable to noise conflicts from new residential development, exacerbated by the underlying vulnerability of being an "exception" in a mixed-use area, facilitating sudden revocation of the permit 15 years later.

4.3 Jonny Knüppel, 2015 – 2018

Experimental art club Jonny Knüppel sought to link "Hochkultur und Untergrund," offering programming five nights a week including large jazz ensembles, techno, disco, art exhibitions and performances, with meeting space for collectives and community organizations in its off-hours (Jonny Knüppel, 2017). The non-commercial space operated communally, with nearly 200 people contributing to various party series or collectives over its life cycle (Jakob Turtur, 2020, personal communication).

As soon as Jonny Knüppel signed its lease, two challenges became evident. The club's location on the Lohmühleninsel, a highly-desirable peninsula on a Spree canal near the former Wall, fits so

many criteria for ideal club siting—centrally-located, industrially-zoned, near transit and other venues, far from residents—that it was already a popular node of club culture. District authorities were initially reluctant to grant another entertainment permit on Lohmühleninsel due to the high density of clubs already in the area. The club was thus obliged to operate under the radar to pay rent while it worked to secure permits. It was perpetually a work-in-progress. Venue operators noted that the wood-framed space always held surprises: "...guests came in [saying], 'I am sure that there was a door here last week…' like a theater, when you have a new stage for every production" (Jakob Turtur, 2020, personal communication). This constant evolution was not just theatrics, but necessity: club operators tried numerous tactics to secure a permit as an arts and culture space, even reducing the club's dance floors to ten percent of the venue's total size (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020).

Meanwhile, operators also discovered that despite Lohmühleninsel's industrial zoning and a working cement factory next door, a residential dwelling still existed on the factory grounds. The financial pressure to program frequent events conflicted with noise complaints from the unanticipated residents. Operators continued to work with district and city authorities to secure legal footing, bringing the improvised space in line with regulations. But a small electrical fire in August 2017 outside of operating hours brought the club further into authorities 'focus, forcing all activities to cease until appropriate noise and fire protections could be made.

With no income from events, Jonny Knüppel launched a crowdfunding campaign in winter 2017 to finance needed upgrades, ultimately raising 70% of the targeted 100.000 EUR from over 2000 supporters and gaining politicians 'support. As construction began in February 2018, operators began negotiating with the property owner for a lease longer than a year, given the new investments in the space. But popular and political support may here have been counterproductive: operators hypothesized, "we were no longer useful to the investor, as an art and culture business with support from politicians, perhaps even more of a threat to the area's future development" (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020). In April 2018, negotiations fell apart, with the property owner declining to renew the lease despite construction underway. Ultimately, Jonny Knüppel closed on May 1, 2018.

Though this closure can be linked most directly to the property owner's decision, additional stressors contributed throughout including incomplete information about neighboring buildings, permitting challenges due to other established nearby venues, and a complex working relationship with local authorities.

4.4 Discussion
Threats and Underlying Vulnerabilities

In each of these case studies, involuntary closure interrupted an otherwise-successful operating concept, causing loss of the space as a cultural venue. None of these cases display just one

isolated cause leading to closure; rather, a constellation of vulnerabilities and threats accumulate, making a single event consequential. Even clubs with a long history of previously stable operation in an area can become destabilized by residential development as with Knaack and Icon. In these two cases, new venue-adjacent residential construction surfaced other existing vulnerabilities including challenges navigating district-level permitting policies and exceptions (Icon), and late notification of new construction that precluded a club from raising timely concerns (Knaack, Icon). Noise complaints play some role in all of these cases and can be interpreted as a clear sign of the failure of processes ensuring coexistence in urban space: open communication between adjacent urban actors (Icon, Jonny Knüppel) or mechanisms ensuring physical soundproofing for a new building (Knaack).

Clubs renting or subleasing space are also dependent on good relationships with property owners, which issues with permitting, noise or neighborhood tension can significantly strain. The two renter cases here, Icon and Jonny Knüppel, experienced issues in communication with their property owners; for Jonny Knüppel's property owner, the strong political and public response to potential closure seemed to warn that the longer the venue remained onsite, the more difficult it might be to dislodge in future, leading to a decision not to renew the club's lease. This speaks to the challenges associated with temporary use: while the model makes more spaces available for cultural and community uses, the framing of a club as an interim use also fuels instability in a city's cultural scene, limiting clubs ' ability to book and program in advance, and disincentivizing investment in measures like soundproofing, safety, and sustainability. Together, these vulnerabilities and threats can place clubs at a systemic disadvantage as they navigate complex administrative and judicial processes.

5. Responses: Interventions and Tools

These cases demonstrate the more significant role of long-term vulnerabilities than individual threats in cases of *Clubsterben*. Thus, the second part of this paper focuses on efforts by multiple stakeholders, including Clubcommission, to address longer-term framework conditions that create these vulnerabilities. We examine several interventions through Straw's framing of nighttime governance actors as activists protecting nightlife space in the face of gentrification and closures, and also align several examples of long-term interventions with Seijas & Gelders '(2020) identification of nighttime governance's three primary capacities. We understand the Noise Protection Fund as part of Berlin's nighttime "hardware" (physical infrastructure), the Clubkataster and changes to building code designation as a part of nighttime "software" (policies and laws) and recent actions around Griessmuehle's 2020 closure as examples of mediation.

5.1 Nighttime Hardware: Noise Protection Fund (Lärmschutzfonds)

As demonstrated by these cases, noise conflicts can present a major threat to clubs near residential buildings, making the physical "hardware" of soundproofing essential for these two uses to coexist. While an Agent-of-Change law (see: Lotinga, Lewis & Taylor, 2019) can place financial

responsibility for soundproofing onto new development in a neighborhood, this policy is not currently in place in Berlin, leaving the onus on clubs to make upgrades in the event of noise complaints. As evidenced by Jonny Knüppel, these upgrades can be cost-prohibitive for clubs. Thus, the Noise Protection Fund provides financial and technical capacity for soundproofing. Funded by the Berlin Senate Department for Economy, Energy, and Business and administered by the Berlin Clubcommission, the Lärmschutzfonds helps small and medium size clubs to mitigate existing, documented conflicts around sound and noise by providing both financial resources and expertise to install sound-absorbing panels and other technologies (see Laermschutzfonds, n.d.).

In December 2017, advocacy from Berlin politicians representing Die Grünen, SPD, Die Linke, and CDU, culminated in the allocation of a 1-million-Euro *Lärmschutzfonds* (noise protection fund) starting the following year. Press releases at the time cited Icon and even linked to Jonny Knüppel's crowdfunding page to illustrate the new fund's rationale (Kössler, 2017). As of January 2020, 13 applications have been approved with another 12 in process (Abgeordnetenhaus, 2020a). Current evidence does suggest positive impact, with political support (Abgeordnetenhaus, 2020c) and two *Lärmschutzfonds* recipient clubs near the former Jonny Knüppel remaining operational despite proximity to residential buildings and a history of noise conflicts.

5.2 Nighttime Software: Clubkataster & Building Code Designation

As contributions to the 'operating system 'of nighttime software, the Clubkataster and current legislative efforts to designate clubs as places of culture have built upon one another in recent years.

First, the *Clubkataster* tool acts as a piece of nighttime "software" proactively addressing potential noise or sound conflicts between venues and new residential development. Clubs 'responses to incoming residential developments depend on timely notification; delayed or incomplete information played a major role in Knaack's and Icon's closures. As a direct result of Knaack's closure, the Berlin Clubcommission, Musicboard, and the Berlin Senat created the 2014 Clubkataster, a map visualizing present and past club culture venues to better inform district administrations when granting new building permits.

Under this model, the Berlin Senat asked districts to consider clubs and music venues 'sound needs (*Bekanntgabe*) when granting permits for residential developments, and to require developers to implement appropriate soundproofing (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt, 2014). However, without a legally-binding requirement, adoption of the Clubkataster tool was low with only one of twelve districts putting the tool to use (Abgeordnetenhaus, 2020b). This model also raised privacy concerns around the potential dangers of providing centralized access to a comprehensive view of local venues.

In 2019, Berlin Clubcommission, Musicboard and a private planning firm began developing "Clubkataster 2.0", which shifts the burden of responsibility and the maintenance of sensitive information from government to a nighttime governance entity. The new Clubkataster acts as an early warning system: by integrating current club locations in Berlin with area development plans (*Bebauungspläne*) and developments, it automatically notifies a Clubcommission program manager of anticipated conflicts, which enables clubs to be notified in a timely fashion and then supported in contacting district administrations. This (quite literal) nighttime "software" empowers club culture actors to take a more proactive role in administrative processes, further establishing them as a visible and valuable part of the local landscape of civic actors. (Abgeordnetenhaus, 2020b)

Building Code Designation as *Kulturstätte*

Meanwhile, current legislative advocacy efforts aim to change the policy "software" of nighttime management on both a local and national level. Clubcommission's national umbrella organization LiveKomm is currently advocating to re-classify clubs as cultural spaces, as clubs 'high level of curation, focus on artistic activity, and community benefit makes them more similar to other cultural venues than entertainment businesses. This change would ease the siting of clubs under certain types of zonings and provide additional protection in potential cases of displacement (LiveKomm, 2020). Supporting expert testimony incorporated Icon and Jonny Knüppel, linking these closures to their entertainment-venue designation: one of Icon's operators noted this "outdated" designation as a place of amusement "discredited" the venue "in terms of content and marginalized [it] in terms of urban planning" (Deutscher Bundestag, 2020, p.9).

A parallel resolution in the Berlin House of Representatives supports this national effort, affirming ongoing activities such as the Clubkataster and Lärmschutzfonds, and encouraging Berlin's policymakers to support amendments to the federal building code and the introduction of Agent-of-Change (Abgeordnetenhaus, 2020c).

These legislative efforts not only institutionalize existing "hardware" and "software" of the *Lärmschutzfonds* and *Clubkataster*, but a far broader philosophical message that clubs are culture and should be treated as such in urban space, representing a major shift in the overall framing of club culture as high culture.

5.3 Mediation

Griessmuehle, a high-profile case of *Clubsterben* in early 2020, demonstrates this additional capacity of nighttime governance as a mediator both in and out of the public eye. Operating since 2011 on a sublease in a former pasta factory in Neukölln, the club gained international visibility, especially as home to monthly queer party Cocktail D'Amore. The property changed hands in 2016, and in 2019,

owners informed the club the sublease would not be renewed (Rogers, 2020). The club launched a campaign to #SaveGriessmuehle and #SaveOurSpaces, contextualizing the closure in the larger *Clubsterben* discourse. The campaign engaged over 54,000 people via online petition and earned international media coverage via a unanimous statement of support from the culture committee of Berlin's House of Representatives and a rally with support from Clubcommission and local politicians at Neukölln's town hall (Griessmuehle, 2020; Rogers, 2020).

The club operator had reportedly been unable to secure a meeting with the site owner, but added pressure of the public campaign led to a series of closed-door meetings between the club operator, property owner, and local policymakers, mediated by board members of Clubcommission. Although the talks changed little in the club's closure plans, securing a couple weeks 'additional time for final programming and move-out, more significant outcomes included the owning company expressing good faith intentions to bring club culture, and ideally Griessmuehle itself, back to the site in medium-term temporary-use during development and longer-term area development plans (Griessmuehle, 2020).

In this case, Clubcommission and club operators engaged the media, the public, district-, and state policymakers to bring about a conversation between a club operator and property owner that otherwise may not have been possible. This example models this third capacity of mediation and demonstrates how the long-running discourse of *Clubsterben* builds successively to bring the weight and significance of prior closures to each case.

6. Conclusion

The investigated cases demonstrate that instances of *Clubsterben* result primarily from accumulated long-term vulnerabilities that make clubs less able to respond to sudden or new threats. This case-study approach provides an initial understanding of which policy and political factors contribute most significantly to cases of closure and offers insight into how subsequent interventions attempt to address the hardware, software, and mediation processes associated with these factors.

Addressing the varied factors that cause *Clubsterben* requires new perspectives, cross-sector collaboration, and learning from experimentation over time. The Clubkataster (2014), Lärmschutzfonds (2017), Clubkataster 2.0 (2019) and current efforts in stakeholder mediation and legislative advocacy can be understood as innovations that build upon previous cases of closure and upon one another, addressing additional elements of *Clubsterben*-related vulnerabilities in service of an effective nighttime governance strategy.

Particularly for cities that rely on creative industries and club culture as key elements of their economy, tourism, and global brand, it is essential to understand, and respond effectively to, the city's changing environment to maintain vibrant cultural space. The varied actors involved in nighttime

governance must understand club culture and adapt policy frameworks accordingly, in order to counteract problems that come with gentrification, creative city marketing and urban development.

Further research is required to assess impact of the profiled interventions, tools and efforts. In addition to analysis of individual *Clubsterben* cases, further examining the media, public and political discourse surrounding these closures can lead to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Additionally, other nighttime governance models such as those situated within municipal governments have a different set of tools at their disposal and investigation of one of these models may yield additional insights. *Clubsterben*-focused research can provide important indications for nighttime governance, but it must be accompanied by exploration of other elements of club culture and the distinct role it plays in a city's creative sector.

The uncertainty of the current COVID-19 crisis worldwide highlights the precarious position of clubs and nightlife in cities and nighttime governance actors 'ability to respond to crisis. It is difficult to predict in the long term how the pandemic will exacerbate *Clubsterben*, bolster advocacy efforts to protect clubs—or both. But recent months in Berlin have shown a willingness to support clubs as culturally valid venues and a renewed grassroots commitment to collective action in support of a vulnerable creative scene. The coming months and years present an opportunity to better integrate nighttime cultural spaces into our urban fabric, in Berlin and worldwide.

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Club culture in post-Soviet Estonia

The emergence and challenges of a creative urban night

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Abstract (EN)

Drawing on the collected empirical material like interviews and newspaper articles, as well as sociological analyzes to provide context of the postsocialist Estonian society, I explore the position of 90s alternative club culture among the bigger societal processes, and the rights and opportunities of youth to actively engage with the nocturnal urban space, form identities and create a sense of community. I explore the strategies and practices used for producing and experiencing the scene. I discuss the official regulation and public attitude towards the alternative music based club scene throughout the past 30 years.

While night holds a cultural and creative potential, the public and official attitude has generally regarded the nighttime leisure activities to be based on drinking and hedonism. Creativity that challenges established values is seen as a form of transgression. Enforcing regulations that consider the nocturnal city to be a homogeneous scene leads to a standardized experience and threatens the existence and sustainability of a creative and inclusive urban night.

Keywords: postsocialism, club culture, night culture, urban night

Emergence of club culture in post-Soviet Estonia

Furtively at first, manifestations of a previously unknown subculture began emerging in Estonian towns and smaller settlements in the beginning of 1990s. Youths started creating nocturnal environments with their own rules – influenced by Western culture yet adapted to specific local conditions. Outside of the mainstream, many were drawn by the electronic music and underground events inspired by the US and UK, gathering for dance parties in basements and derelict factories.

Electronic music like house and techno sounded totally unlike the music heard on commercial channels. These new sounds began to shape the sound of leisure activities and nightlife as they drew young people who started developing a local version of club culture. On 31 August 1991, less than two weeks after Estonia had restored independence from the Soviet Union, the first semi-public underground dance party was held in the Kodulinn movement's building in Tallinn Old Town.

The pioneers of Estonian club culture were a relatively small group in their late teens and early twenties who shared similar taste in music and felt the need to share the music with others. In the early years, the participants were mostly people within the same social network. These youth were simultaneously the producers and consumers of the emerging scene. Blurring the division between production and consumption, they would actively exchange ideas and networks within these underground communities (Chatterton & Hollands, 2001, p. 111). The producers of alternative nightlife collected and exchanged music and DJ equipment, rented venues, designed and printed flyers and played music while also partaking in the event on the dance floor and socialization spaces.

According to the DJs, musicians and promoters of the time, the main incentive to organize these events was simply music – the playing it, enjoying it and creating networks to talk about it. This was repeatedly emphasized in the interviews that I conducted in 2017-2018 with 14 club culture and hip-hop pioneers in Estonia. While different core meanings like identity construction, self-expression, self-establishment and community creation emerged from participating in the scene, these values were essentially realized through music. What was relevant for these youth, as one interviewee put it, was to „*play [the] new vinyls, and throw another cool party in some new place*" (Dj Critikal (Bert Prikenfeld), personal communication, August 8, 2018).

While Estonian underground punk scene in the 80s had famously been a radical anti-communist resistance culture, then the emerging club scene was not consciously counter-hegemonic. There was no authoritarian ideology anymore to go against: „*At least for me and those, with whom we organized these things - we didn't protest against anything, we didn't shake our fists. We wanted to make good music, listen to good music and go to cool events with good music.*" (Jungle music producer Virko Veskoja, personal communication, April 14, 2018)
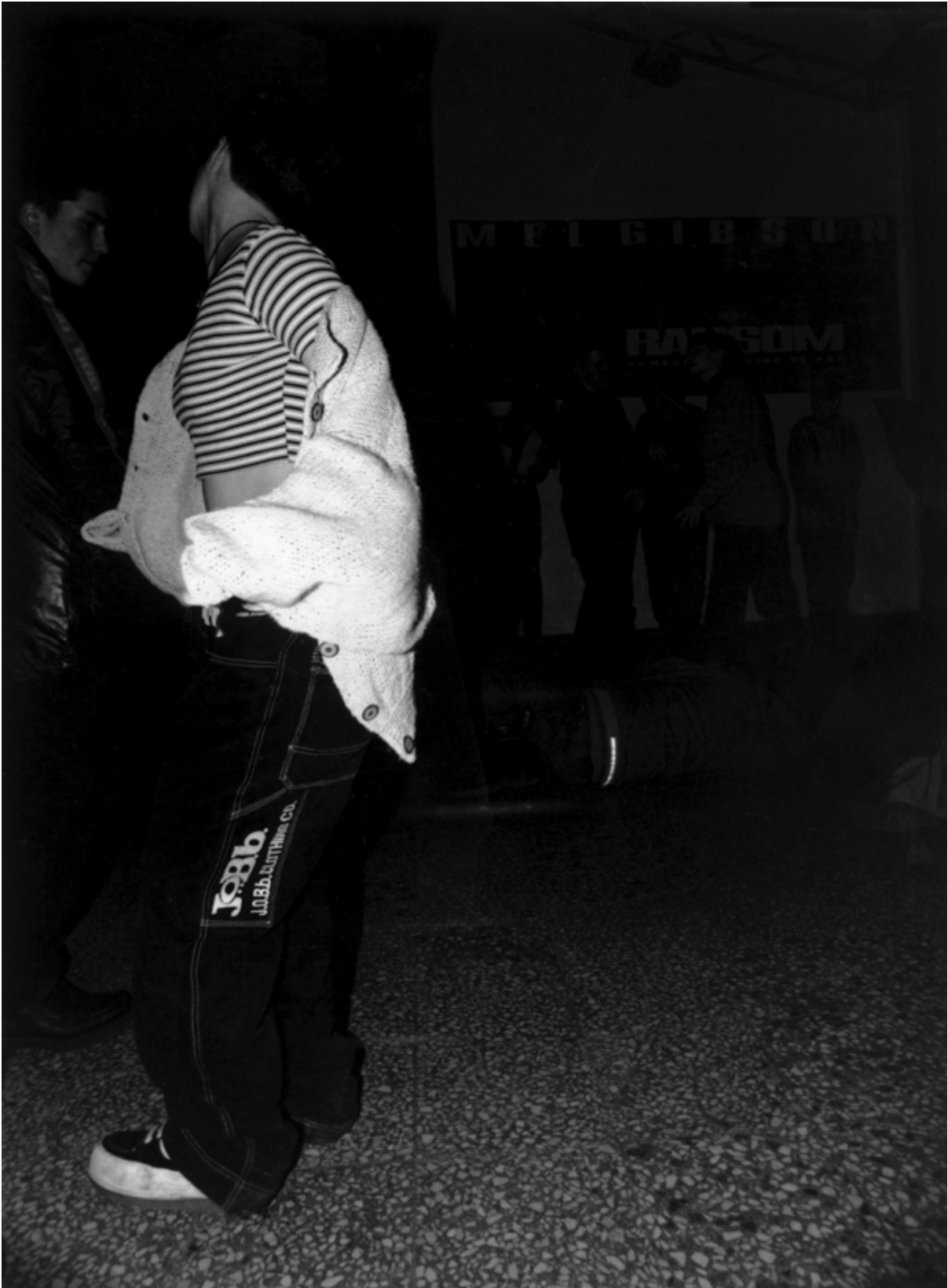
Figure 2: A dancer in Club Illusion. Photo credit: Peeter Paasmäe

In the Soviet Union, there had been institutions that organized and controlled the „correct ideological entertainment of Soviet people" (Ventsel, 2018, p. 100). Western music was under strict ideological control as well, but as the Iron Curtain started to crumble in 1980s, the youth, who were supposed to finalize the building of communism, were now seen as victims of Western influence (Pilkington, 1994, pp. 66–67 in Värv, 2006, p. 11). The desire for Western youth culture was comprehensive and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, rapid integration of young people into the international youth culture took place (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 1997, p. 255).

Lauristin notes that the new society offered very different social and cultural circumstances for people coming from a „collectivist system of values [that] undermined the notion of „self" (Lauristin, 1997, pp. 38-40). She elaborates: „...[A]uthoritarian societies [were] denying the autonomy of the individual „self", not recognizing individual rights and freedoms, and not allowing any opportunity for free personal choice of honest self-expression" (Lauristin, 1997, p. 30). Considering that one of the purposes of participating in a subculture is the creation of one's personal time and space (as discussed in Vaher, 2001, p. 55) then Soviet order had been strongly opposed to such individual freedom.

Regarding the suppression of individual freedom and the yearning for Western culture, it is emblematic that practically at the same moment when Estonia restored its independence, house music – known for enhancing a very individual, inward sensuous experience – began to make a move in Estonian urban night. Langlois (1992, p. 236) describes the specific experience such music can evoke: „Each individual is able to concentrate on their own sensual „danceworld" – to „lose themselves" in the music." People dance alone to this music, but they share a sense of unity as they recognize the others being in the same emotional state (Allaste, 1998). This concept of individual freedom within a community can be considered an expression of horizontal collectivism, which allows space for individual self while being based on mutually positive and equal relationships and similarity between the members of the group (Lauristin & Vihalemm, 1997, p. 246).

Figure 3: Dancers in Club Illusion. Photo credit: Peeter Paasmäe

Hence, the emerging scene, while not consciously counter-hegemonic, was an explicit act of dismissal of Soviet values and ideologies, and signified the local youth becoming part of a much larger, more open and more individualistic world. New, individual values and newly gained freedom were embodied on the dance floor.

Improvisation in the nocturnal city

According to Sztompka (1996, p. 120), after the collapse of Soviet Union there was a strange mixture of components of various origins used to reconstruct a new social order – a post-Communist culture and civilization. Such practice was also typical of the emerging DIY underground club culture. Liberated from ideological control, the post-Soviet youth had gained an opportunity to create their own spaces of music and leisure, using the scarcely available resources creatively and adjusting them to their needs. The country was in a rapid transitional phase and young people were fast to adapt to and use the conditions to improvise a subculture based on music and creativity: "Invention takes place within a field of culturally available possibilities, rather than being without precedent. It is as much a process of selection and recombination as one of thinking anew." (Lavie et al., 1993, p. 5) Dance music like

house is mostly based on sampling technology and recombination of different music: „[S]omething new is created by using something old, but it is presented in a new way." (Allaste, 1998) In addition, the making of event flyers can be described through the prism of sampling and mixing: *"[The making of flyers] was freestyling – like the music making was. It was a total sampling – taking a picture from somewhere, adding some texts."* (DJ Orav, personal communication, January 22, 2018)
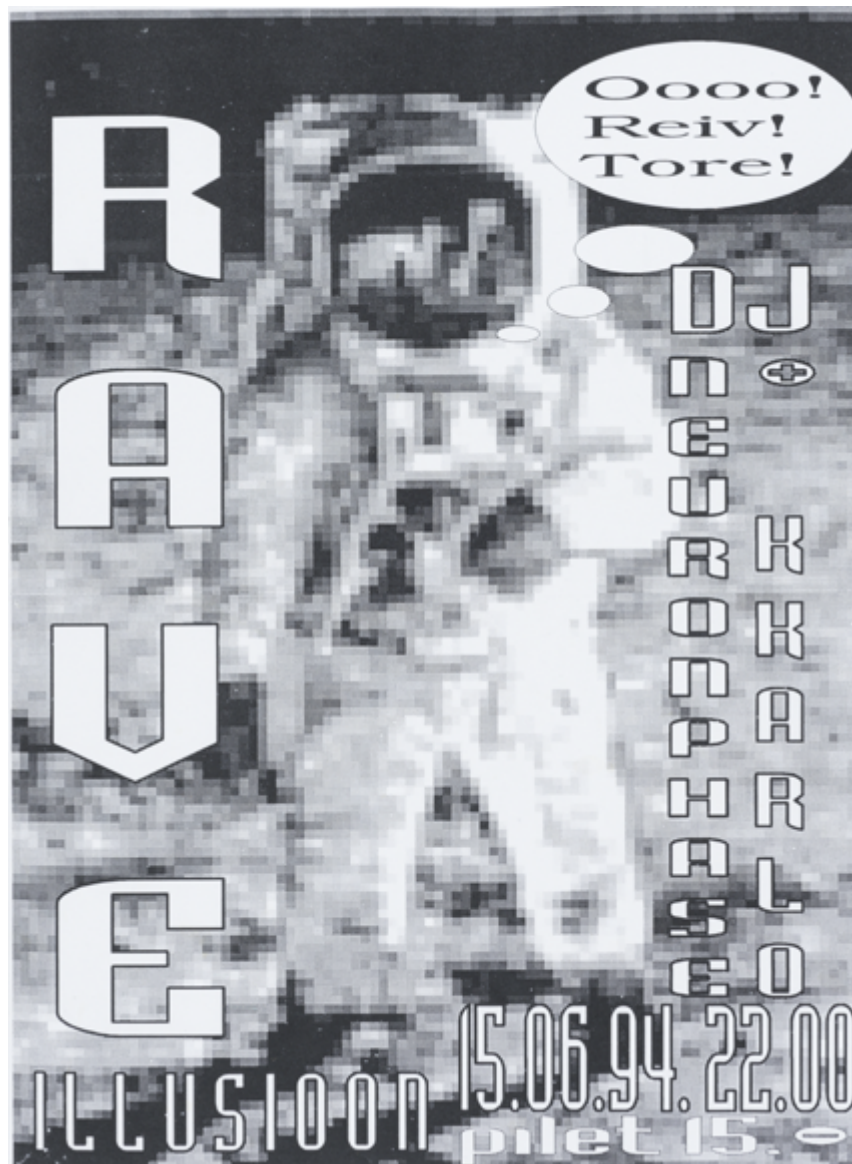

Figure 4: Flyer from 1994. Rave ("Ooh! Rave! Nice!") in club Illusion. DJs from Neuronphase + Kkarlo

The sound equipment was often stitched together from old technology originally used for different purposes:

The sound equipment was particularly bad. [We] mixed tracks with a very poor quality Russian-made console that weighed a ton and had been scored from some communication station. It was originally meant to be used for the megaphones that blared out official announcements in cities. You could connect a number of the city loudspeakers to it at the same time. Very bad, but these were the first steps. (DJ Estrada, personal communication, June 19, 2018)

Similarly, the party venues were often upcycled. Previous functions for many spaces in the cities had been dismissed after the collapse of the Soviet Union and therefore it was possible to temporarily give the spaces a new function:

All these underground parties were really underground. For example the space we started our parties in [the small town of] Kilingi-Nõmme – it was a former shooting range. /.../ There was a sort of wood heater inside. [The space was] was damp, unused most of the time. When we wanted to have a party, then we had to bring firewood, heat the place up for two days, so that the bigger dampness and fungi was under control. Quite unsanitary and dark it was. (DJ Estrada, personal communication, June 19, 2018)

The state of public space in Estonian in the beginning of the 1990s reflected the overall calamitous economic state of the newly independent country. There was little life even in Tallinn Old Town – a district that later was added to UNESCO World Heritage list and began playing an important role in Tallinn's tourism economy and the city's promotion. Before such changes began to take place, the unused space and its potential inspired the underground youth who were searching for a party venue.

At the time all those parties were basically pop-up parties. Where there was a place to do something, we were there. Parties were in different Old Town locations. The Old Town was a totally different place at the time. No one wanted to live there and it was quite easy to access some cellar. (Musician, DJ and radio host Raul Saaremets, personal communication, May 23, 2018)

While resources were limited, my informants emphasized the sense of freedom to organize events, as there were very few official regulations. Music fans came together from all over the country. The events' aesthetic and even audio quality were not prioritized and these events were seen as a form of *„social gathering, a meeting of music lovers"* (DJ Kalev K, personal communication, June 18, 2018), that would evoke spontaneous interactions between people who were involved in forming the subculture. It became a country wide network of youth with shared interests and practices: *„Eventually there was a „madman" in practically every bigger center who organized something in some cellar."* (Erki Pruul, personal communication, October 31, 2017) Through the practices of mixing, reconstructing, upcycling and freestyling that were central to creating this unique underground scene, the youth would start actively engaging with the nocturnal city spaces, creating their own meanings, values and social codes of conduct.

Nocturnal activities as a threat to established meanings

Historically, night has been perceived as a „site of excess, vice and crime" (Lovatt, 1995 in Chatterton & Hollands, 2002, p. 106) and the activities in the urban night are often seen as transgressive and anti-social (Gallan, 2012, p. 557). However, when Estonian underground club scene was initiated, there were very few moral, political or ideological restrictions that would dictate the nocturnal activities of this emerging scene. This had to do with the scene's miniature scale and the fact that the country's attention at the time was turned towards a surge in crime rates and social issues caused by the chaotic situation in the society as a whole.

In a more general context, the lack of regulation of the nighttime city has indirect similarities with deregulating the urban planning in Western European town centers in the 90s, in order to bring life to the city center after five. However, such strategies contributed to a rise in antisocial behavior, noise and crime, which in turn led to restrictive regulations (Hadfield, 2015; Seijas & Gelders, 2020). Hence, while the context for the use of nighttime public spaces for postsocialist Estonia and Western Europe was distinctly different, the overall tendencies were somewhat similar.

As the underground club culture gained popularity in the mid90s, it became subject to prejudices and moral distress for the out-group. The emergence of recreational drug use among young club goers, non-traditional codes of conduct like dancing without a partner, and the alien nature of club music began to hit the moral nerve of the public and city officials, who were beginning to pay attention to who is using the city when the night falls, and how.

The social codes of the new underground scenes were not universally understandable and were morally ambiguous. Underground club culture was perceived to be based on drinking and drug use – an escape from reality without a deeper meaning (Allaste, 1998). Hedonism was considered a primary value of international youth culture (EIA, 2000). As the scene did not obey the conventional rules and structures regarding 'normal' music, venues, experiences and practices, it became to feel threatening for the outsiders:

> *Once there was a student union's party where one guest called me a drug addict, like why am I playing junkies' music. The society's attitude was like that then, that it is a junkies' music. Like, „what are these people doing there, it is completely offbeat, some other world, they're mad, probably outcasts."* (DJ L.Eazy, personal communication, May 11, 2018)

Williams (2008, p. 519) brings subcultures as an example of a disorderly dimension of the night that disregard normality and conventionality:

> *Darkness serves to deterritorialize society when it obscures, obstructs, or otherwise hinders the deployment of the strategies, techniques, and technologies that enforce the rationalizing order of society, thereby allowing potentially transgressive behaviors to occur under a veil of anonymity.* (Williams, 2008, pp. 518-519)

Similarly, Vaher (2001, p. 55) states that such transgressive subcultures give alternative meanings to the dominant culture's elements, causing a more traditional segment of the society to feel threatened, as those new meanings do not submit to the control of „core values" that the society has established. Hence, creativity, that emerges from past traditions, that mixes and reconstructs them and eventually moves beyond them (Lavie et al. 1993, p. 5), is seen as a threat to established meanings rather than a potential for innovation. Such deviation from conventional meanings is immersively and poetically depicted in a local youth newspaper from 1994:

> *The music that you hear for the first and probably for the last time does not cease for a second, but instead deforms, develops, loses itself and moves on. Breakbeat is seamlessly mixed with ambient, a slick disco-soul of the 70s, that stinks from nylon, rubber and varnished leather soaks in from somewhere. Oh, pointless to explain, it is all crazy sensuous and can only be conveyed in poetry etc. Seriously, these people are not THERE. Otherwise, they would hit their heads against the cellar's low vaults.* (Meri, 1994, p. 33)

According to my interviewees, the youth who participated in the scene appreciated most the aspects of music, social contacts and a sense of belonging, but the outsiders were sensed to consider the scene to be mainly based on drug use. Such diverging discourses are clearly seen in media representations throughout the decade. People who go out at night are considered problematic and are related to drinking, noise and vandalism (van Liempt et al. 2015, p. 413) by the out-group. Emphasizing the potential for excessive drinking, drug use and hedonism has contributed to the creation of stigma around young people who go out at night. The spread of prejudices help guard the established meanings and values that those youth aim to reconstruct.

Nighttime activities have however played an integral role for the subculture around alternative dance music. In 1990s, this music did not have a place in the daytime music shows. Instead, the youth, yearning for different sounds and rhythms had to wait until the night arrived to see their favorite MTV shows like Dance Chart and Chill Out Zone or listen to a local radio show Vibratsioon.

> *One of the shows aired at night from 12 to 2 AM. I remember I was always late for school [the next day]. I did not only listen to this show, I also always recorded it. Later I would make a mixtape of the best tracks.* (DJ Orav, personal communication, January 22, 2018)

When the youth started organizing events, they would play the same music recorded to the cassettes at night. Additionally, the activities around the parties would often be carried out at night:

> *I have designed a big pile of my flyers with the computers in Egmont Estonia Publishing House that published Mickey Mouse and other children's books by Disney. At night, these computers witnessed a very different activity. Similar parallels can be brought from the music world. The guys at the studios that would record pop and rock during the daytime, would do their own underground stuff there at night.* (DJ Orav, personal communication, January 22, 2018)

Figure 5: Flyer from mid 90s. "Öö linnas" ("Night in the City") in club Bel-Air. DJs Tõnso and Orav.

Estonian urban night in the beginning of 1990s provided a space for young people to access and share new music, construct and express their identities and form social bonds and networks.

> *It definitely gave an identity, which is what subcultures tend to do. I haven't thought about it very deeply, but it was one thing that was ours, or mine, which was perhaps different from the mass. /.../ It definitely brought about many great acquaintances with whom I still socialize today. And it definitely gave a lot of practical skills ... Surely some things couldn't be done, but it wasn't about what cannot be done, but about what we wanted to do. And fantasizing big, dreaming and conquering the world was on the agenda.* (DJ Orav, personal communication, January 22, 2018)

> *But it all starts with love for music and goes on from there. And that was fresh. What really was important for me [was that parties with this music] had never been organised before and it was so different. That's what I was probably looking for.* (DJ Kalev K, personal communication, June 18, 2018)

> *I got out of the old circle, environment, to a totally new world and I felt that this is really cool. That now I can do my music things better and obtain acquaintances from this circle. /.../ I was active myself, socializing with people who had the same interests and that helped a lot.* (Electronic music producer Out-Or, personal communication, July 10, 2017)

Hence, „rather than simply constitute spaces of hedonism and escape, the urban night [became] a site of identity transformation." (Gallan, 2012, p. 557). Moreover, it created an underground music scene that over the years has grown into a unique and diverse cultural field that draws together different generations.

The challenges with contemporary night in Estonia

Night is a natural phenomenon, but through regulating, experiencing and using the nighttime, it has gained a socially mediated spacial dimension (Williams, 2008). Melbin (1978, p. 10) likens the nighttime to travelling to an unfamiliar place where implied norms are gone to leave room for unconventional behavior. It is a space-time where a sensorial shift takes place and people feel and act differently comparing to the daytime. Night can be a shelter, a space-time for release, ecstasy and amusement, hedonism and creativity. Night can also be a space-time of fear and oppression, excess and transgression, marginalization and discrimination. For many, it is a space-time of work and care, sleeplessness and sleep. Night has a myriad of different meanings, yet the regulations of the nocturnal city are not generally considering its heterogeneity. Nocturnal spaces are „constituted by social struggles about what should and should not happen in certain places during the dark of the night" (Williams, 2008, p. 514). Nighttime is seen as problematic and even dangerous, and is regulated according to the social norms of the daytime.

In the case of contemporary Tallinn, the capital city of Estonia, the city officials do not see the nocturnal city for the creative value it holds or could hold. Instead, the nighttime city is approached through the perspective of what should be forbidden at night or excluded from it.

Throughout the past 30 years, Estonia has transitioned from postsocialist uncertainty to a relatively strong market economy. In the beginning of 90s there was very little attention paid to public spaces and its uses, but after the turbulent transition period Estonian urban night has gradually been transformed into an increasingly commodified, standardized, regulated and gentrified space. Political and ideological processes shape public space (Lefebvre, 1977, p. 341) and its purpose today is to meet the requirements of capital (Harvey, 1978). The colonization of nocturnal urban spaces by capitalist interests has been analyzed by Laam Hae (2012), who argues that contemporary processes of commodification and gentrification have a profound influence on the social and cultural life of the cities and citizens who have increasingly limited access and diminishing rights to the diverse and experimental subcultures (Hae, 2012, p. 33).

While the contemporary, touristified Tallinn Old Town has been taken over by primarily profit oriented establishments that offer a rather standardized bar and club experience, there is a vibrant alternative nightlife on the margins of the city center that encourages experimental approaches to the urban night and facilitates engagement with the urban space and people. A number of venue owners, promoters, DJs and musicians are directly or indirectly connected to the 90s alternative nightlife scene. When club culture scene emerged in Estonia in the 1990s, its impact on the wider cultural landscape was marginal, but in 30 years, the small subculture drawing a small specific crowd has become a diverse and visible scene, that still somewhat encompass the DIY practice and improvisational spirit, which used to define the emerging scene in the 90s.

Such alternative scenes are however particularly sensitive to regulations, as the support, understanding or acknowledgement that these could have any cultural or social value, are not being considered by the city officials. Globally, a number of sustainability-oriented cities have created a ground for a dialogue by implementing the position of a night mayor as the translator between the two separate worlds of the city council and nightlife (Seijas & Gelders, 2020). Tallinn city council has kept steering in a different direction by enforcing late-night alcohol sale prohibitions (coming into effect in 2021) that will likely cut down the income and endanger the sustainability of alternative night venues. While the current Covid-19 pandemic has caused unprecedented damage to Estonian nightlife, the long-term effects on night culture could most likely be the result of the city councils' willingness or unwillingness to start a conversation that goes beyond formalities.

The draft that was composed to clarify the need for prohibiting the late night alcohol sales at night spaces (Tallinn City Government, 2020), claims that the city council has previously brought together various interest groups for discussion. However, in reality, they have left out the voices of people who go out at night. The draft is a distinct reflection on the city official's traditional concept of the urban night, as well as people who go out at night.

In the draft, nighttime activities in public spaces are demonized, claimed to be rife with violence, excessive drinking and antisocial behavior like making noise, urinating, littering and disturbing others. Venues that are open late at night are claimed to leave an undesirable image of the city to tourists, as all venue owners are seen as lacking responsibility towards the general community. The draft points out that the main incentives why people visit such venues are entertainment and consuming alcohol. The notion of nocturnal life being essentially about hedonism and binge drinking and the dismissal of it having any cultural value or creative potential, is harmfully generalizing and makes it easy for policymakers to regulate the urban night as a homogeneous scene.

The alcohol sale prohibition makes an exception for nightclubs, allowing these to sell alcohol an hour longer, in weekends until 4 AM. To make such exception, the city council had to first compose a definition to what constitutes a nightclub. Unfortunately, this definition is confined, discriminative and arbitrary, stating among other clauses that nightclubs are spaces with at least 450 square meters that have a separate cloakroom with an appointed employee and that require clients pay to enter.

While the problems brought out in the draft do exist in varying degrees in some areas of the city, then instead of implementing strict prohibitions that seem to be based on city officials' moral judgements, it it unfortunate that the good practices of other countries to tackle these problems are not considered. Those practices are, for example creating institutional spaces that discuss the urban night, experimenting with nocturnal infrastructure, creating inclusive nocturnal spaces and considering nightlife as a form of culture that needs to be protected (Seijas & Gelders, 2020).

Diverse and creative nightlife encourages engagement with the urban space and with the people who use it, helping to create a personal relationship with nighttime spaces and the city in general. Zieleniec states that „to live in an open, creative, democratic space of a truly inclusive urban society is

one which encourages playful expression and communication, artistic and aesthetic interventions in, on and through urban space." (Zieleniec, 2016, p. 10) Such „social spaces of distraction and display [are] as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living." (Harvey, 1985, p. 256)

Instead of keeping the emphasis of the debate on danger, social control and regulation, it should be re-evaluated and re-framed to focus on concepts and policies of inclusion, diversity and creativity (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002, p. 96). It is important to understand the history, dynamics and impact of nocturnal spaces and the cultural value of the nighttime city, in order to comprehend what we can gain or lose by heedlessly regulating or crudely condemning the scene.

Conclusion

On 31 August 1991, just days after Estonia had restored independence from Soviet Union, the first public alternative club music event was held in Tallinn. The demand for creative nightlife spaces for such music spread across Estonia and by the mid-decade, the first gigs among small groups of friends had grown into raves that attracted a mass audience. In the 1990s, in many areas of life, young Estonians experienced freedoms the older generation had not known. The crumbling of the Soviet Union and rapid technological advances turned them into citizens of a bigger and more open world. Daily life may have lacked today's comforts and stability, but youths had gained much more independence in shaping their creative output, identity and the course of their lives. Making use of the vague or non-existent legislation regarding the right to nocturnal urban space, young people started creating environments in derelict factories and basements to which they applied their own rules. The social gatherings were influenced by Western culture yet adapted to specific local conditions. Several music styles like house and techno began to shape the sound of leisure activities and nightlife.

According to my research participants, the subcultural activities built communities and formed identities and social networks, while offering a space for individual freedom that Soviet ideology had strictly suppressed. The main incentives for coming together was listening, making and playing music. The subculture formed mainly through reconstructing, remixing and improvisation, which was a common element in obtaining music and technology, designing and printing event flyers and finding venues. Such improvisational practices were emblematic to the postsocialist context in which the society was reconstructing a new, democratic social order by using a mixture of different components with resources that often originated from very different value systems.

Gaining little public interest in the beginning years, in the mid90s the scene became subject to prejudices as it was considered to be based on drug use, anti-social behavior and hedonism. Negative signifiers like drinking, noise, drug use, hedonism without a deeper meaning have often been used to describe nocturnal activities and people who go out at night. While Estonian club culture scene is inherently a culture of the night, the past 30 years have witnessed little support to, understanding or acknowledgement of its cultural and creative value, as is the case with most nocturnal cultural venues

and activities. Instead, in the case of Estonian capital Tallinn, the contemporary regulations imply that the nocturnal city is a homogeneous scene with identical problems, regardless of the location, venues and events. To alleviate the social problems that the nighttime sometimes amplifies, it would be worth to look into the good practices of other countries, which have created a fair dialogue with different interest groups, aim to create safe, diverse and inclusive nocturnal spaces, and consider the cultural and social potential of the night valuable.

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Warsaw at night: mapping nightlife hotspots

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Abstract

The paper presents results of the study, which goal was to identify the structure of nightlife industry and the level of concentration of nightlife industry premises in the most attractive part of the central district of Warsaw. For the purpose of the study, the database of nightlife premises within relevant categories i.e. restaurants, coffee shops, bars and clubs was prepared. Specific location and time of operation of every premise were determined. Location patterns of every category of premises and the rhythm of activities were identified. The results of the study show that, just like retail commerce, restaurants and coffee shops prefer location on main streets and near tourists attractions, while bars and clubs are grouped in small clusters and typically are located in adjacent areas. The opening hours of the premises make the nightlife in this area short. The study shows that the city "goes to bed early" even in the most attractive, central location with potential to develop nightlife activities. The central part of the city cannot be considered a nightlife entertainment district.

Keywords: nightlife, night-time city, Warsaw, central district

Introduction

Modern cities function in a 24-hour rhythm. This fact is reflected in the organization of urban transportation systems, organization of spaces where services are offered and in urban development

policies and activities undertaken by cities' authorities to secure public safety (Hadfield, Lister, Hobbs, Winlow, 2001; Hae, 2012; Dimmer, Solomon & Morris, 2017; Chatterton, 2002). For many cities, nightlife is an important part of an urban economy and a factor influencing the assessment of their attractiveness by residents, students, tourists and other users of urban space (Hollands, Chatterton, 2003). The nightlife economy is the UK's fifth-biggest industry, accounting for at least 8% of the UK's employment and annual revenues of £66bn, according to the Night Time Industries Association (2020). The nightlife economy is part of a wider social and cultural economy and the promotion of urbanity and vibrant nightlife in the cities centers needs to be examined critically (Clark 1985). This is due to the fact that the city's nightlife brings both benefits and risks (Lovatt, O'Connor, 1995).

What city has to offer after dark depends on city's functions, spatial structure as well as city users' expectations and needs; different groups of residents and visitors have different needs and preferred ways of meeting them. The nightlife culture also results from the socio-cultural factors such as the lifestyle of residents. Nightlife develops most dynamically in metropolises that are cities with many functions and attractions. Metropolisation reorganizes not only space but also time, particularly night-time. Public policies consider the city at night-time to be a new field of action for competition. Cities aim to develop innovative actions to make them more attractive at night. The location of nightlife venues is the result of both activities undertaken at the local scale by service providers and planned activities of the city authorities. The planned activities may have greater range i.e. they cover the area of a districts or the whole city. However, public policy-makers often have difficulties positioning their actions and establishing guidelines for nightlife development (Mallet, Burger, 2015). It results from conflicts and problems related to the functioning of the city at night, especially in those parts that also have a residential function. City inhabitants do not want the nightlife to flourish at their expense.

For Warsaw, as a post-socialist city, the issue of nightlife is relatively new. There is no recognition of the problem, the public authorities do not pursue a policy regarding the city's nightlife. The activities of the authorities are of interventional nature. This situation differs from that of many cities in the European Union countries, in Asian cities, in the United States, Australia or Canada (Talbot, 2004; Purcell, Graham, 2005, Campo, Ryan, 2008; Hae, 2011; Wadds, 2013; Farrer, 2018; Picaud, 2019). In these countries, the policy concerning the city's nightlife is often combined with other policies, e.g. incentives for development of specific areas, complementing existing functions or supporting the revitalization processes. In addition in Warsaw there is a lack of research on nightlife, although the problems related to it are increasingly often articulated by the inhabitants.

The experience of many cities shows that although nightlife takes place in different parts of the city, the greatest concentration of facilities occurs in central parts or in neighboring areas. The article presents the results of a study which was intended to answer the following questions: what is the structure of nightlife facilities located in the most attractive part of Warsaw's downtown? what is the distribution of these facilities? what is the rhythm of their activities? does the central part of Warsaw play a role of a nightlife entertainment district?

Historical and cultural conditions of Warsaw's nightlife – legacy of communism era

Contemporary Warsaw has a well-earned reputation as a livable, creative and attractive city for residents and tourists. Warsaw is perceived as a modern, dynamic metropolis, with the most important cultural institutions in the country (Dudek-Mańkowska, 2008, Dudek-Mańkowska, Grochowski, 2019). However, Warsaw is the post-socialist city. This fact affects the nightlife culture, conditions of nightlife industry and has also impact on location of nightlife facilities.

The contemporary functional and spatial structure is the result of exceptional events in the history of the city. The continuity of the city's development was interrupted twice: by the Second World War and by the introduction of the communist regime. During the war the city was razed to the ground. After the war, the city was rebuilt according to the paradigm of a socialist city. The development of the city was subordinated to the development of industry. The city's land was nationalized. The private sector in the economy practically did not exist. New centralized rules of urban management were introduced. Ideological principles influenced the ways of programming economic development and preparation of spatial development plans. The shape and functions of public spaces were subordinated to political goals. The city was to become an egalitarian socialist city. The communist regime controlled social behavior. The socialist planned economy was an "economy of shortages". Services were underdeveloped and dominated by state-owned enterprises or cooperatives. The society was relatively poor. There was no common custom of eating out or organizing social events outside home. The city's nightlife was very poor.

Since 1990, when communism collapsed, the city has undergone a profound transformation (Dudek-Mańkowska et al. 2011). Warsaw is no longer an industrial city. Specialized metropolitan functions appeared. Services are the basis of economic development. A metropolitan class has developed in the city. Along with the socio-economic changes, social expectations regarding the offer of services are growing. The level of wealth is higher, and a new lifestyle has appeared, similar to that in developed cities in Western countries.

The functional and spatial structure has also changed. Industry disappeared. In the areas where it was located, residential and office functions are located. The smallest changes took place in the central district of the city, which is characterized by a mixture of functions. Warsaw does not have a fully developed, prestigious downtown area. The central part of the city is partially developed in a chaotic manner. The structure of the center is like a patchwork. The most attractive areas of the city that include the Old and New Towns are located on the outskirts of Śródmieście. The city is divided into 18 districts. Every district has its own offer of services, however, Śródmieście dominates when it comes to nightlife facilities.

Mapping Warsaw nightlife

The first step of the research process was identification of the number, type and location of businesses which were open right in the city center over the night time. Businesses were classified as follows: restaurants, coffee shops, bars and clubs. The following distinct time periods were used in analysis: evening: 8pm – 11pm, night-time: 11pm – 2am, late-night: 2am – 5am. Analysis of spatial location of businesses allowed to identify in the next step hot spots of nightlife activity in the city center.

The analysis covered the very city center, which is part of Śródmieście district. It is the most lively area in the city - important communication junctions, location of tourist attractions, cultural institutions and universities (e.g. Royal Route, National Opera, University of Warsaw, Academy of Fine Arts, Zachęta – National Gallery of Art, Saxon Garden, Presidential Palace, and Bristol hotel are located there). This is the area where numerous outdoor events are organized, mainly concerts on the banks of the Vistula River. The city center offers a wide range of activities and services. It is adjacent to the Old Town which is a concentration of restaurants that are, however, closed before midnight. The area is very well served by public transport system: bus and tram lines, including these dedicated for tourists. There are two metro stations and a suburban railway station in the area.

At 8pm there were more than 200 businesses opened; more than half of them (58%) were restaurants, one sixth (17%) were coffee shops, 15% bars, and 9% - pubs and clubs together (Figure 1.).
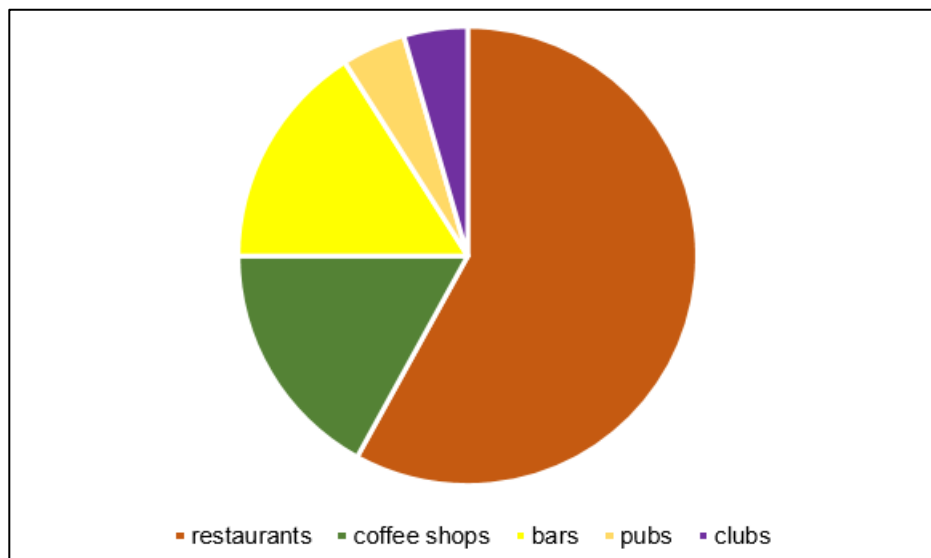

Figure 1. Structure of nightlife premises

The prevalence of restaurants is related to the character of the area – this is the area where many tourists and people who work or study in the vicinity meet in restaurants both for business purposes and with friends in their free time. The restaurants are very diverse - small bistros, places with ethnic and vegan cuisine, as well as traditional Polish dumplings or elegant restaurants, which are included in the Michelin Main Cities of Europe guide.

Nightlife premises operate in various parts of the center of Warsaw. Based on the results of the study, the following areas of nightlife premises concentration were identified: Bulwary Wiślane / Vistula Boulevards (1), Nowy Świat Street (2), Chmielna Street (3), Krakowskie Przedmieście (4), Mazowiecka Street (5), Jasna Street (6), and the area in the vicinity of the National Opera House (7) (Figure 2.). The results of the analysis indicate that the profiles of businesses varied greatly between the different areas of the city center:

- Bulwary Wiślane / Vistula Boulevards (1) is an area of concentration of restaurants and clubs; the nightlife however takes place here mainly in the summer. During the season, concerts and a food street markets are often organized. Clubs are the only premises open in night-time and late-night periods. Short opening hours of majority of other premises are related to the vicinity of housing estates (open area - residents exposed to noise).
- Over 20% of all businesses operate at Nowy Świat Street (2). The vast majority of them are restaurants and coffee shops, but late-night bars also could be found. This area attracts both tourists and residents of the city; bars are especially popular among students.
- The vicinity of Chmielna Street (3) is an area that lives around the clock. There are many restaurants, coffee shops and clubs in this pedestrianized street. It is a meeting place for residents of all ages, area less popular and not often visited by tourists, not so prestigious and elegant as Nowy Świat.
- Krakowskie Przedmieście (4) lives mainly until midnight. It is a popular place for walks and meetings for residents and tourists, coffee shops and restaurants are eagerly visited by students of the University of Warsaw and the Academy of Fine Arts. Restaurants located closer to the Old Town attract tourists. This area has a mix of restaurants, coffee shops and bars.
- Mazowiecka Street (5) is the largest cluster of clubs in the city. The premises operating here are open until morning. However, it is not a club street. The landscape of the street is rather gray and sad. Businesses are open on the ground floors of tenement houses, adjacent to ordinary shops.
- Mainly small restaurants are located at Jasna Street (6). Most of the places are open until 10 pm. One place is open after midnight.

- Concentration in the vicinity of Teatralny Square (7) is related to the location of the National Opera and the National Theater, most restaurants close before midnight, only one business is open for longer time.

The identified premises of nightlife operate at different times. Their opening hours determine the rhythm of nightlife in the whole analyzed area and changes in nightlife's intensity that occur over time in its different parts. The rhythm of nightlife also affects the perception of the whole area and its specific parts as places of night entertainment.
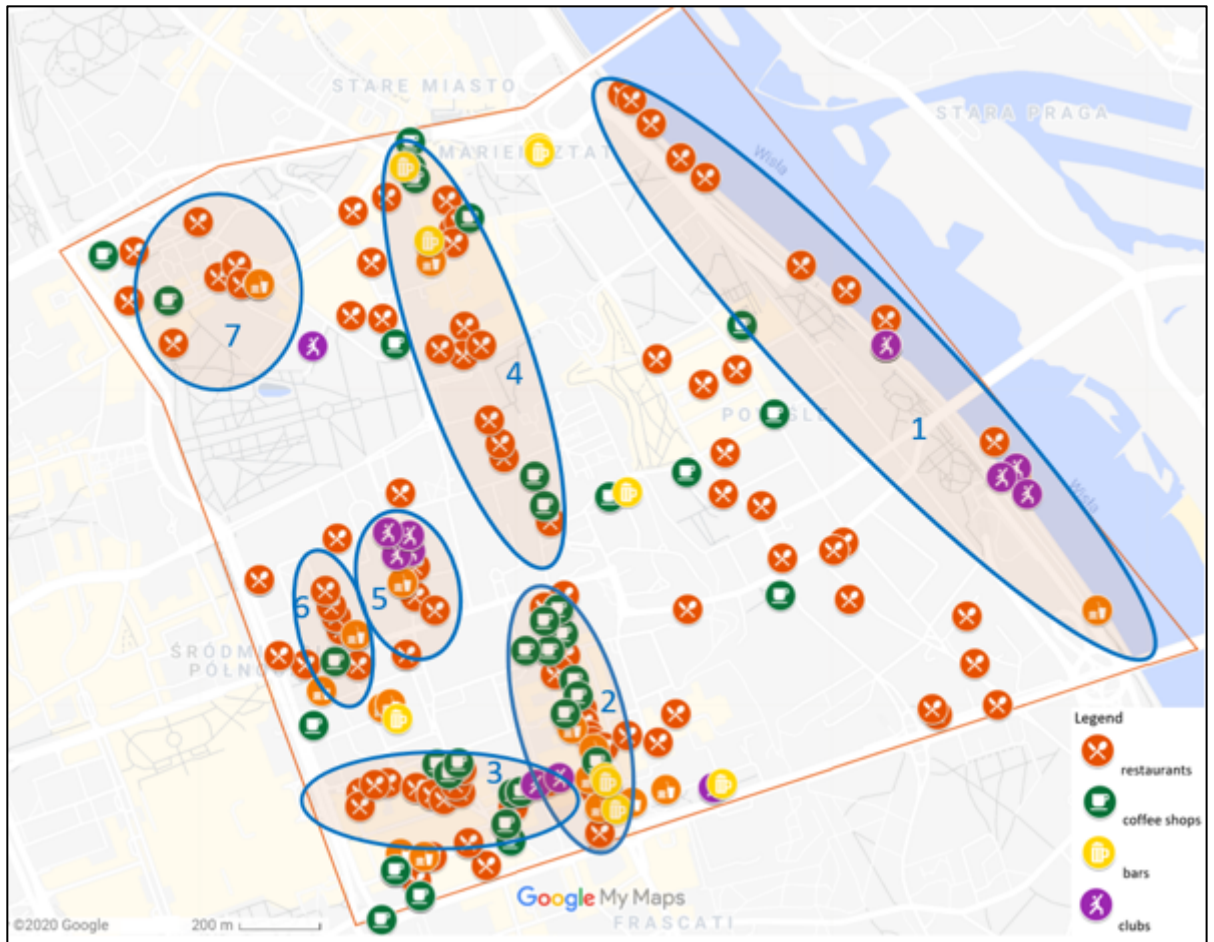
Figure 2. Distribution of nightlife premises

Evening (between 8-11pm) was the busiest period with over 200 businesses open. Later, the number of open venues dropped significantly – about 150 were open at 11pm, about 70 at 2am and 40 at 4am. One might be surprised by the slight differences in opening hours depending on the day of the week. From Monday to Friday, the largest number of premises is open until 10pm - then 88% of the analyzed businesses work. At 11pm a large drop in the number of open premises could be seen; the same situation is at 12pm - less than half of the premises (42%) work at midnight. Later, the fall eases from hour to hour. Nevertheless, there are few premises open after 12pm. On weekends, more

businesses are open in the night-time (55%), and between 2am and 5am (35%). On Sundays, the premises close early, even earlier than on weekdays (Figure 3.).

The evening was characterized by a high proportion of open restaurants and coffee shops (72% of open businesses at 10pm); pubs and clubs represented only one tenth of open businesses (11%). By midnight the profile changed, to a high proportion of open pubs and bars (35%). In the night-time the proportion of open pubs and bars increased to 47% of all open businesses. By 5am there were only 30 businesses open – 40% were bars and pubs, 30% were clubs, 30% were coffee shops or restaurants (Figure 3.).
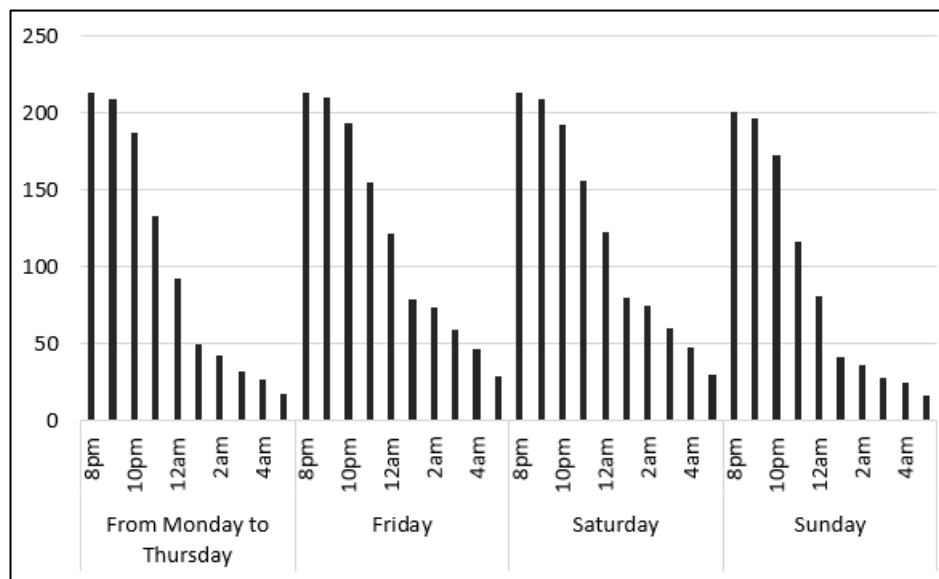
Figure 3. Number of businesses open

The results of the analysis of the location of nightlife premises and the analysis of the opening time of these premises (Figure 3., Figure 4.) show that in the scale of the entire area, most premises are closed at midnight. The signatures on the dot map have a similar distribution regardless of the day of the week; their density is similarly reduced over time. There is not much difference to the way the nightlife in this part of the city looks like if you observe the situation of premises at the week days and weekends. However, Friday and Saturday are the days of the peak nightlife.

Interestingly, the nightlife does not appear on the post-industrial Powiśle, which is part of the analyzed city center. Ongoing urban renewal processes in Powiśle resulted first in introduction of more residential functions. Then developers started development of commercial functions (office spaces), and then services, but service facilities are not oriented towards nightlife.

Of the seven identified concentrations of nightlife venues, only venues located in three of them i.e. Vistula Boulevards (1), Chmielna Street (3), and Mazowiecka Street (5) operate during the

designated late-night time, i.e. until 2am - 5am. In the case of the Vistula Boulevards, nightlife is present there in summer.

Figure 4 Decreasing number of nightlife premises operating in the middle of distinguished time periods during weekdays, Friday, Saturday and Sunday

Conclusions

The city's nightlife can be analyzed from different perspectives and in different dimensions. In the conducted research, the attention was focused on the nightlife offer, which requires appropriate infrastructure. In a static approach the analysis concerned the distribution and structure of the nightlife industry (location of venues and types of their activities). In the dynamic approach, the time of operation of venues of various categories was analyzed.

The concentration of venues of nightlife in Śródmieście is the result of the location of food and entertainment services in this part of the city before the systemic changes in Poland and transformation of Warsaw. During last three decades the offer of facilities existing earlier has been supplemented by new investments. Since 1990 the pace of the emergence of new venues has varied over time. Their types and standards have also evolved. Usually new facilities in the very center of the city can be located in the existing urban fabric, i.e. depending on the premises available for use. The exception is the Vistula Boulevards - a new public space created in the last few years. In this area, food trucks are located in the open space on the river banks and bars and restaurants are located on boats and barges on the Vistula River.

Identified concentrations of nightlife facilities are surrounded by residential functions. It is related to the history of spatial development in this part of the city. The novelty is the discovery, both by inhabitants and city authorities, of the Vistula River as an important asset of the city space. Vistula District - this is a slogan promoted by river lovers who have been lobbying for a long time for better management of the Vistula banks. As a result, the city authorities began working on the development of the Vistula Boulevards. New facilities were built to increase the attractiveness of this part of the city in the evening and at night.

The dynamic analysis shows that the nightlife "fades out" on Sundays. The type of venues affects the rhythm of their operation. It should also be noted that late at night the nightlife shifts from areas attractive to tourists to areas with a small number of facilities that function in isolation from their surroundings. The good example are clubs. Their number is small for the city of this size. Clubs form a cluster located in the outskirts of the area. The streets where the clubs are located do not have the character of bustling downtown streets. Clubs are located on the sidelines of tourist attractions.

Results of analysis provide arguments to state, that most venues should be treated as elements of service infrastructure that is not oriented towards night-time activities. The number of places where in the evening you can dine, eat cakes and ice cream or drink coffee or wine in a calm atmosphere is definitely much bigger than the number of places offering conditions for crazy parties which are usually associated with serving alcohol. The nightlife infrastructure in the very center of Warsaw is not conducive to the development of a drinking culture or clubbing popular especially among young people. This infrastructure promotes rather quiet and short nightlife.

Returning to the questions posed in the study, it can be said that the central part of Warsaw is not the center of nightlife. The rhythm of the nightlife depends on the type of venues. Their services are not complementary, i.e. at certain times of the evening and night, the choice of venues with different offers is limited.

Although the nightlife in Warsaw is not developed it already generates conflicts between lovers of nightlife and city residents. Thus there is a need of formulation of policy and preparation of instruments which, on one hand, will ensure the development of nightlife in Warsaw as a factor affecting the attractiveness of the city, and on the other, will prevent conflicts.

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Urban Nightscapes of the Late Classic Maya of Mesoamerica

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Abstract

The urban experience is a phenomenon that we humans created beginning about 5,000 years ago, but we have faced the night for eons. Archaeology is uniquely suited to answer long-term questions of urban adaptation, and in particular, how humans coped with nocturnal dimensions of city life. A case study that well illustrates the challenges and opportunities of the night and how these reflect inequalities is the culture of the Late Classic Maya (600-900 CE) of Mexico and Central America (Mesoamerica). In the neotropics, Maya people constructed grand cities of sky-high temples, palatial residences, grand open plazas, roads, and residential areas we would call suburbs. The Maya created an enduring culture that thrived as much during the day as it did during the night and their infrastructure both facilitated and hampered nocturnal practices and reinforced social inequalities. The duality of Mesoamerican philosophy pervaded the natural cycle of the Earth's rotation, lending distinct characteristics to daylight and darkness. Dark nights and dark doings characterized the Classic Maya realm, a world full of real and fantastical beasts that roamed the landscape after sunset, in urban and rural venues alike. The night was ideal for some activities, such as communing with the ancestors, while the darkness obscured and prevented others, such as safe travel. The creation of a unique nighttime atmosphere by country folk and city-dwellers was shared across social strata, binding together commoners and king. Disparities, however, were illuminated in the material, such as housing and lighting, and in the performance of nocturnal culture, such as how opulently one communed with the dead. Essential activities ensued during the night as it was simultaneously the domain of the servant and the served, each having unique contributions to society. Drudgery and duty prevailed as it did during daylight hours, with royalty performing their tasks to ensure the continuance of the polity with their many rituals and followers attending to mundane activities of cooking and agriculture. Nightly rhythms of nightwork and nightlife populated the Classic Maya cities with the sights, sounds, and smells unique to the dark that emerged from urban households. The murkiness of the night was cut through only by those

who could afford it, as lychnological studies reveal – the distribution of artifacts and features particular to lighting was not equitable from house to house. Inequality in the urban experience is one that extends far back in human history, and the Maya were no exception. This case study contributes to an archaeology and anthropology of the night, and broadens the study of urban nights through comparative social science, augmenting our knowledge of the human condition. The richness, styles, and deep meanings of Classic Maya nights arise from the archaeological record and interpretations are strengthened through judicious use of iconographic, epigraphic, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic data.

Resumen (ES)

La experiencia urbana es un fenómeno que los humanos creamos a partir de aproximadamente unos 5.000 años atrás, pero hemos enfrentado la noche durante eones. La arqueología es especialmente adecuada para responder preguntas a largo plazo sobre la adaptación urbana y, en particular, cómo los humanos se enfrentaron a las dimensiones nocturnas de la misma. Un caso de estudio que ilustra bien los desafíos y oportunidades de la noche, y cómo estos reflejan las desigualdades, es la cultura maya del ClásicoTardío (600-900 d.C.) de México y Centroamérica (Mesoamérica). En el neotrópico, los mayas construyeron grandes ciudades que incorporaban en su interior: templos altísimos, residencias palaciegas, grandes plazas abiertas, carreteras y áreas residenciales que podríamos denominar como suburbios. Los mayas crearon una cultura duradera que prosperó tanto durante el día como la noche y su infraestructura facilitó y/u obstaculizó las prácticas nocturnas y con ello reforzó las desigualdades sociales. La dualidad de la filosofía mesoamericana, permeada del ciclo natural de la rotación de la Tierra, la cual le otorgaba características diferenciadas a los conceptos de luz y oscuridad. Noches y hechos oscuros caracterizaron el reino maya clásico, un mundo lleno de bestias reales y fantásticas que vagaban por el paisaje después del atardecer, tanto en lugares urbanos como rurales. La noche era ideal para algunas actividades como la comunión con los antepasados pero impedía de otras como lo era viajar con seguridad. La creación de una atmósfera nocturna única por parte de la gente del campo y los habitantes de la ciudad se compartió entre los estratos sociales, uniendo a los plebeyos y al rey. Sin embargo, las disparidades se reflejaban en los materiales como la vivienda y la iluminación, y en el funcionamiento de la cultura nocturna, siendo un ejemplo la opulencia con que se comulgaba con los muertos. Las actividades esenciales siguieron durante la noche ya que era simultáneamente el dominio del sirviente y el servido, cada uno con contribuciones únicas a la sociedad. La monotonía y el deber prevalecieron tanto de noche como de día, con los grupos privilegiados realizando sus tareas para asegurar la continuidad de la política a través de sus numerosos rituales y sus seguidores que atendían las actividades mundanas de la cocina y la agricultura. Los ritmos del trabajo y la vida nocturna poblaron las

ciudades mayas clásicas con las vistas, los sonidos y los olores únicos de la oscuridad que emergía de hogares urbanos. La oscuridad de la noche fue superada solo por aquellos que podían permitírselo, como revelan los estudios psicológicos: la distribución de artefactos y características particulares de la iluminación no era equitativa de una casa a otra. La desigualdad en la experiencia urbana es una que se remonta a la historia de la humanidad y los mayas no fueron la excepción. Este caso de estudio contribuye a una arqueología y antropología de la noche, y amplía el estudio de las noches urbanas a través de las ciencias sociales comparadas, aumentando nuestro conocimiento sobre la condición humana. La riqueza, los estilos y los significados profundos de las noches mayas del Periodo Clásico surgen del registro arqueológico y las interpretaciones se fortalecen mediante el uso juicioso de datos iconográficos, epigráficos, etnohistóricos y etnográficos.

Palabras clave (ES): Clásico Tardío Maya; arqueología; paisaje nocturno; desigualdad; urbanismo

Introduction

We humans did not always live in crowded, congested conditions that we so favor today. More of us live in cities now than any other type of community for the very first time in our history. The urban experience is a phenomenon that humans created beginning about 5,000 years ago, but we have faced the night for eons. The night forms part of our evolutionary heritage as a species and has shaped us in inescapable ways, and we have shaped the night creating distinct "styles" (Galinier et al., 2010, 823). As diurnal creatures, humans take the night for granted, just as we take cities for granted. Individuals and groups conquered and molded the night, as they conquered and molded cities. Through our creativity and through time, we modified the nocturnal urban environment and these changes have left their mark in the archaeological record.

As an anthropological archaeologist, I see patterns of behavior that emerge from comparative studies, showing how similar and yet unique each urban adaptation is or has been, and how the night has shaped city living (Nowell and Gonlin 2020). Studies of the urban environment have a long history in the social sciences (e.g., Adams 1960; Childe 1950; Creekmore and Fisher 2014; Pirenne 1925[1969]; M.L. Smith 2010). How to define cities (Wirth 1940) is still a process undertaken by modern researchers, some of whom now distinguish between "low-density" and "high-density" urbanism (e.g., M.E. Smith 2011). The very mention of the word "city" evokes numerous sensorial experiences. The sights, sounds, smells, feel, and taste of urban life dominate the senses. A city in the dark, at night, arouses its own sensations and creates a unique nocturnal landscape, or urban nightscape. Envision

urban life without electricity and we can begin to sense what it was like to live in an ancient city after sunset.

Anthropologist Jacques Galinier and his colleagues (2010) and Burkhard Schnepel and Eyal Ben-Ari (2005; Schnepel 2006) are some of the anthropologists who have been at the forefront for encouraging the incorporation of the night as an essential component of anthropological research. I have taken this call seriously, with the publication of three co-edited volumes on the topic of the archaeology of the night (Gonlin and Nowell 2018a; Gonlin and Reed 2021; Gonlin and Strong 2022). In general, night and darkness have been seriously undertheorized in anthropology, and in particular, in American archaeology, though efforts are increasing (Dowd and Hensey 2016; Moyes 2012). Remains of houses, under the purview of household archaeology, are ideal for investigating the night. Most people spend most nights at home, and one's abode is full of remains of "nightways" (Reed and Gonlin, 2021, 5). Elsewhere, I have proposed the perspective of a "nighttime household archaeology" (Gonlin and Nowell 2018b, 11; Gonlin 2020, 398-399) for highlighting the explicit consideration of practices that took place at home from sunset to sunrise.

Case Study of the Late Classic Maya

To illustrate major points, I present material from a well-known ancient civilization of the Americas, the Late Classic Maya of Mexico and Central America (Houston and Inomata 2009), who flourished in the neotropics from 600-900 CE, known as the Late Classic period (Figure 1). The richness, style, and deep meanings of Classic Maya nights arise from robust archaeological data that are strengthened through judicious use of other sources (Gonlin and Dixon 2018). Humans created systems of writing about 5,000 years ago and literacy was at a low rate in early civilizations, a skill that predominantly favored the upper echelons of society. So unlike historians and their reliance upon the written record, it is necessary and common for archaeologists to supplement material evidence with insights from art history, iconography, cultural astronomy, ethnohistory, ethnography, and mythology when interpreting the past, especially for segments of society that did not have access to learning the written word, and to consult epigraphy with the caveat that reliance upon it informs us of only certain perspectives of ancient peoples. While major forces of colonialism and racism have altered lifeways, the Maya peoples of today, some six million strong, show resilience and persistence. Some practices have transcended time. The Maya created an enduring culture that thrived as much during the day as it did during the night.

Figure 1: Topographic map of Mesoamerica showing the area of the Maya Lowlands in the Yucatan Peninsula, southern states of Mexico, Guatemala, western Honduras, and part of El Salvador. Approximate locations of some Classic Maya cities are noted, as well as the Maya farming community of Cerén, and the Postclassic Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan in central Mexico. Modified by N. Gonlin from © Sémhur / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-3.0, or Free Art License.

The ancient Maya who inhabited southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador formed part of an area that archaeologists refer to as Mesoamerica (Evans 2013). This culture area encompassed many other urban peoples whose ancestors have been extensively studied, such as the Central Mexican Aztecs and the capital they built at Tenochtitlan. The Lowland Classic Maya (250-900 CE) are the focus of this study – they are the peoples who formed independent kingdoms in the low-lying tropical areas of Mexico and Central America. From over two thousand years ago, Mayas constructed grand cities of sky-high temples, palatial residences, grand open plazas, roads, reservoirs, and residential areas we would call suburbs (Houk 2015). The decipherment of Mayan hieroglyphs (Houston et al. 2001) and informed interpretations of iconography (e.g., Coltman 2018; Taube 2005) mean that the Maya themselves can tell us about their lifeway, or at least how the rich and famous lived and governed their domains (Martin 2020). I have conducted research at the kingdom of Copan in western Honduras which exemplifies the southernmost expression of elite Late Classic (600-900 CE) Maya culture (Webster et al. 2000). As many as 20,000 people lived along the Rio Copan and its tributaries in the 700s CE (Webster 2014, 352 (Figure 2). Sixteen kings in dynastic succession ruled the Copan polity for nearly 400 years, from 426-822 CE. This ancient city provides a robust case study since archaeological work has taken place in its environs for over one hundred years; and since 1980, it has been classified as a UNESCO World Heritage site (https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/129).
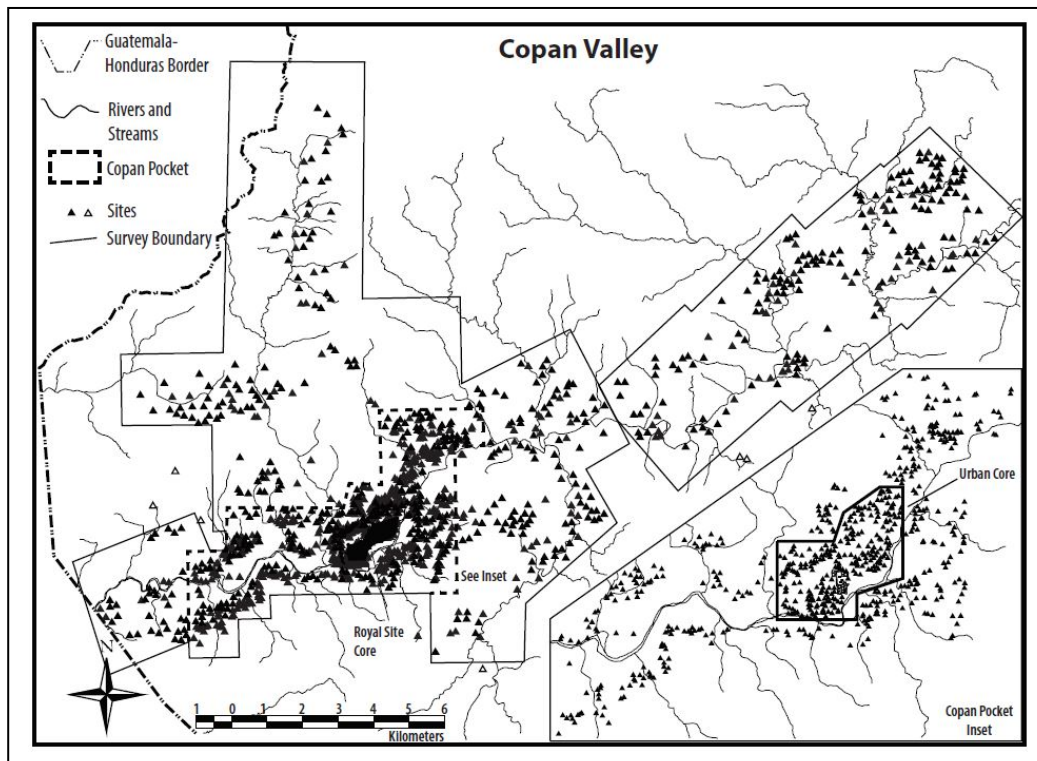
Figure 2: Map of the distribution of sites along the Río Copan, Honduras. The Maya built the core of the ancient city of Copan in the area of best alluvial land, called the Copan Pocket. In this location, the urban core (inset) contained the monumental remains and urban neighborhoods of Las Sepulturas and El Bosque. Map courtesy of and with permission from David M. Reed.

Mesoamerican Philosophy, Night, and Darkness

Numerous ancient Mesoamerican cultures conceived of darkness as the ominous time before creation, full of uncertainty, awe, and apprehension (Freidel et al. 1993). The duality of Mesoamerican philosophy pervaded the natural cycle of the Earth's rotation, lending distinct characteristics to daylight and darkness (Figure 3). Dark nights and dark doings characterized the Classic Maya realm, a world occupied with real and fantastical beings that roamed the landscape after sunset, in city and country alike. When darkness returned on a nightly basis, it was populated by dangerous beings, some of whom brought disease while others prowled for prey. Classic Mayan glyphs assist us in further understanding this duality. The concept of *tz'ak* represents an abstraction that connotes a single whole, as in day and night completing a diurnal cycle (Houston 2016, 201; Houston 2018, 42; Stuart 2003). One part, night, inevitably comes before the other, but only when the two are joined is order achieved, completeness is reached, and the world is whole. Night, or darkness, has always existed and signifies a primordial state of being.

Figure 3: Classic Maya plate that illustrates the duality of day (top) and night (bottom) with the Vision Serpent. Photo by Justin Kerr, K5877. Image in the public domain.

The Classic Maya City: A Nocturnal Perspective

While it is likely that aspects of Classic Maya cities tied in with cosmology (Ashmore and Sabloff 2002; Houk 2015; cf. Smith 2003, 2005), how urban areas were used at night has not been considered in-depth. First, a list of some basic features of Classic Maya cities is provided and then how these elements may have been used at night is contemplated. While there is wide variability in the layout of Classic Maya cities, planners and builders included most of these architectural and infrastructural types (Smith 2007, 25): E-groups (Freidel et al. 2017), temples, ancestor shrines, plazas, roads, royal palaces, residential areas, dance platforms, observatories, ball courts, workshops, schools or training facilities, monoliths, council houses, and other government buildings. While each Maya city had its own unique layout, a consideration of the common features from a nocturnal perspective informs us about Classic Maya nightways. As a performative space, the city stamped its shape on nocturnal events.

A knowledge of astronomy comprised part of the select education of elites. The earliest widespread public architecture among the Lowland Maya was the E-group (Figure 4A), a configuration of structures that dates to at least 1000 BCE. (Chase et al. 2017, 3). Typically, "a raised eastern platform that supported three structures and faced one western pyramid across a public plaza" (ibid.) was built to mark the solstices and zenith passages, but E-groups were also connected to the birthplace of the sun and the moon (Chinchilla Mazariegos et al. 2015). E-groups served as observatories for naked-eye astronomy. Ceremonies carried out here were for agriculture, astronomy, and ancestors. One such E-group is located in Caracol, Belize (Figure 4B). The dark side of the E-Group offerings linked to the Nine Lords of the Night (Chase and Chase 2017), who ruled the Maya underworld, Xibalba.
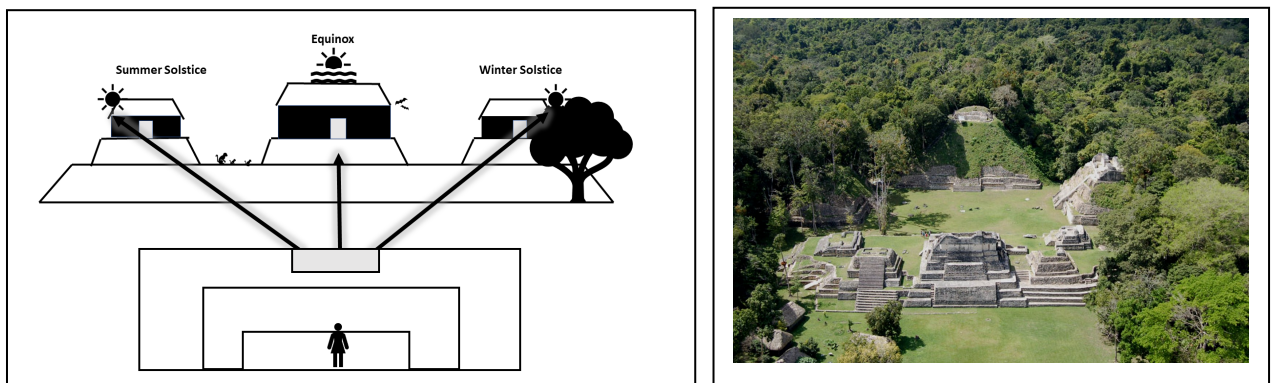
Figure 4: A) Diagram of a typical E-group showing the orientation of the central western pyramid and its line-up with the eastern pyramid with three structures. Architectural elements align with the summer solstice, equinox, and winter solstice. Drawing by N. Gonlin after original by Anthony Aveni, with permission. B) The E-group at Caracol, Belize. Note the three eastern structures (A-6) in the fore of the photograph and the large single western pyramid (A-2) across the courtyard. Photo courtesy of and with permission from Arlen and Diane Chase.

Apart from shrines included as part of E-groups, numerous other temples were constructed in Maya cities, and one of the most famous was the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque, Mexico (Figure 5). Here one of the longest-lived rulers, Ajaw K'inich Janaab II, known as King Pakal, was laid to rest in 683 CE after his initial ascent to the throne in 615 CE at the age of twelve (Greene Robertson 2001). This strong, powerful ruler, even after his death, held sway in his kingdom. Nighttime was the ideal time to contact ancestors, so we can easily surmise that priests performed the appropriate rituals to appease the dead, honor the dynasty, and comfort the living. The perpetual darkness of interment was an eternal night.

Figure 5: Temple of the Inscriptions, Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico. King Pakal was laid to rest deep inside this pyramid in an elaborate tomb after his death in 683 CE. Photo by N. Gonlin.

One way to accomplish these goals was through bloodletting, a practice which pervaded society. It is graphically portrayed in this lintel from the Mexican city of Yaxchilan (Figure 6). Lady Xoc passed a thorn-lined rope through her tongue as dripping blood was caught on paper that was burned as an offering. Her husband, King Shield Jaguar, gripped a large torch to illuminate her in this sacrifice (Miller and Martin 2004; Schele and Miller 1986). The year is 709 CE, and on Sunday, October 24th, the waxing gibbous moon may have provided additional lighting to this nocturnal sacrament. Evidence for bloodletting has been found on obsidian blades recovered from household contexts in the ancient farming community of Joya de Cerén, El Salvador (Brown and Gerstle 2002), reinforcing that this society-wide ceremony was integral to all.

Figure 6: Lintel 24, on Structure 23 set above the left (southeast) doorway, at the Classic Maya city of Yaxchilan, Chiapas, Mexico. On October 24, 709 CE, Lady Xoc performed a blood-letting ceremony to honor the ancestors.

Her husband King Shield Jaguar illuminates the darkness with a large torch. Photo by Justin Kerr, K2887. Image in the public domain.

Part of the infrastructure of a Maya city consisted of formal roads or *sacbeob* ("white ways") that connected major urban areas (Loya Gonzalez and Stanton 2013). Transportation and processions at night were made easier: its raised white surface enabled pedestrians to navigate in the night without losing one's way and safe passage was ensured by staying on the path, in practice and metaphorically (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Close-up of a Classic Maya sacbe ("white way") or road at the ancient city of Uci, Yucatan, Mexico. This road is not reconstructed. Nighttime travelers could literally stay on the path to navigate safely in the dark. Courtesy of and with permission from Scott Hutson.

Palaces (Evans and Pillsbury 2004) were scenes of daily and nightly life. Apart from the obvious activity of sleep, numerous events ensued during the dark hours. A throne room constructed within the royal house was a proper place for entertaining and governing. Rulers received tribute as vassals perched before them. Such activities were recorded in clay, and on this particular vase (Figure 8), "It is nighttime, as cued by torches; a palace marked by swag curtains sets the scene" (Houston 2017, 80).
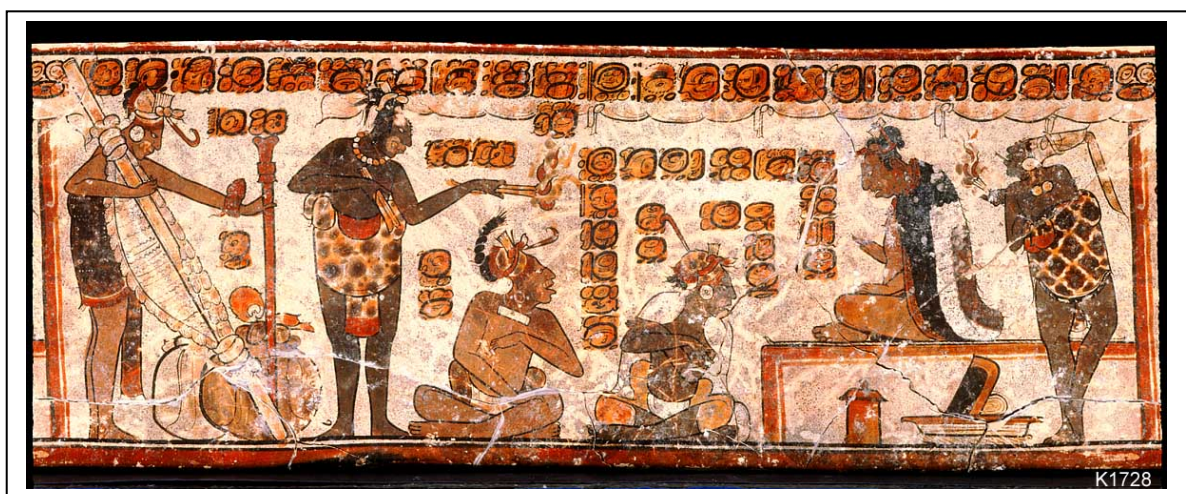

Figure 8: On this Classic Maya vase (which is a "roll out" photograph), the ruler sits on a throne and receives vassals bearing tribute. The two attendants bearing torches set the mood for this nocturnal palace scene. Photo by Justin Kerr, K1728. Image in the public domain.

Politics involved warring city-states whose battles, victories, and losses were famously etched in stone and painted on walls. Kings effectively utilized the element of surprise by staging some warfare at night, under cover of darkness. A battle is vividly pictured in murals that have survived since the 700s CE at the small Maya city of Bonampak in Chiapas, Mexico (Figure 9). Lead by King Chan Muwaan, he and his sons (Houston 2018, 153) emerge victorious with enemy captives. The inky dark background symbolizes the night.

Figure 9: Mural paintings of a battle where King Chan Muwaan of Bonampak is victorious. In this scene, the king and his sons take a captive. A succession of murals was painted in Structure 1. This scene is in Room 2 on the east wall. Photo by Justin Kerr, K7595bb. Image in the public domain.

Dance platforms have been identified at several cities, some of which were open terraces for public performances and others which were smaller areas for private viewing (Looper 2009, 80-81). Rulership was intimately linked with dance as Classic Maya kings and queens danced "to be like gods" (Looper 2009) and dancing was part of elite duties and identity, often with "a ritual dance to end the day" (Jackson 2013, 74). It is clear that some of these performances took place at night (Looper 2009). A carved panel from the city of Piedras Negras records its king performing a Descending Macaw dance for which viewers were rewarded with a feast afterward, where hot, inebriating cacao beverages were served (Looper 2009, 20; Tokovinine 2016, 16). Nighttime dancing was ingrained into the Maya way of being, so much so that during colonial times, the eradication of it was futile by church and government officials (Looper 2009, 190) with nocturnal performances continuing to this day.

Ancient Inequality

Essential activities persisted through the night as it was simultaneously the domain of the servant and the served, each making unique contributions to society. Drudgery and duty prevailed as it did during daylight hours, with royalty performing their tasks to ensure the perpetuation of the polity with their many rituals, and followers attending to indispensable activities of cooking, cleaning, childcare, and cultivation. Nocturnal rhythms of nightwork and nightlife populated the Classic Maya cities with the sights, sounds, and smells unique to the dark that emerged from their houses. The creation of unique nighttime styles by country folk and city-dwellers shared elements across social strata through common beliefs and practices that bound together commoners and king.

Disparities, however, were illuminated in the material, such as housing and lighting, and in the performance of nocturnal culture, such as how opulently one communed with the dead. A small household altar of perishable materials functioned equally well as a grand stone temple for honoring one's ancestors, but the prominence of the royals was unmistakable. Spending the night in a dark, dank stone palace (Figure 10A) in the city created a very different sensory experience than a night in a house with mud-brick or pole walls and a thatched roof built on the outskirts of the center (Figure 10B). While one conveyed high status and consumption, the other represented a sustainable lifestyle that outlasted the royal routine. In some cities, such as Chunchucmil in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico, residents of varied status bonded in the formation of neighborhoods that helped them cope with crowding by working and worshiping together (Hutson and Welch 2019). They built walls that functioned as "technologies of privacy" that were strategies for "crowding, anomie, health problems" (Hutson 2016, 51), concerns so familiar to urbanites today.

The murkiness of the night was cut through by only those who could afford it, as lychnological studies reveal – the distribution of artifacts and features particular to lighting was not equitable from house to house. Inequality in the urban experience is one that extends far back in human history, and the Late Classic Maya were no exception. Paying attention to the types of illumination and their locations reveals much about city dwellers. It was not until the 1800s that cities throughout the world were lit with any regularity, with the richest neighborhoods the first to have their nights lit up. Numerous depictions of torches tell us how palaces were lit (Figure 8). Pine was greatly favored for lighting devices (Morehart, Lentz, and Prufer 2005), whether for everyday events or rare rituals. The three-stone hearth, so well-known in Maya myth and ethnography, was the center of activity in large and small dwellings alike. The warmth and light generated from it produced a welcoming comfort, yet only those who could afford to keep it alight all night benefited from this luxury (Gonlin and Dixon 2021).
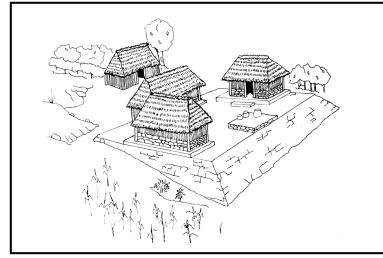
Figure 10: A) The palace complex at Palenque, Mexico. This beautiful stone-built residence served numerous families of Maya royalty. B) Reconstruction drawing of a houses built with materials, such as thatched roofs and walls made of mud-brick, poles, or cobbles. Photo courtesy of and with permission of Jon Lohse (original in Lohse 2007, Figure 1.4).

Conclusions

This case study contributes to an archaeology and anthropology of the night, and broadens the study of urban nights through comparative social science, augmenting our knowledge of the human condition. The contrasts between the city-life of commoners and king are illuminating and reflective of inequalities that exist today in urban situations. Socio-economic parameters of the night pervaded all aspects of culture. The analysis of material remains informs us about diversity in the experiences of the night.

The overabundance of night lighting is robbing us modern humans of the sanctity of the darkness. What is considered normal for the night has changed radically through time and most archaeologists may not consider what it was like to experience an ancient city at night, in the dark. Just as the darkness and solemnity of modern nights are disappearing, so, too, is the archaeological evidence for ancient nights. Looting remains the primary cause of the loss of information about ancient lifeways. As we strive to restore darkness in the night, we should strive to save the past for our future so that we may understand how people thrived during the day and the night.

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Public lighting and participatory democracy, the contribution of public transport drivers in Nantes Métropole to the evaluation of nocturnal urban ambiances

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Abstract (EN)

The proposal falls within the urban regeneration practices associated with the night and nightlife themes. It presents L'Observatoire de la nuit, a participatory evaluation and design method regarding nocturnal urban ambiances based on dematerialised questionnaires, with digitally mapped-out contributions. The evaluations deal with the conditions of use and temporality of the nocturnal public space. They produce precise knowledge regarding the real activities unfolding. It aims to accompany political and technical decisions made by local authorities. The case study presented here is that of Nantes Métropole, whose Public Lighting Coherence Scheme illustrates the methodology.

Keywords (EN): nocturnal urbanism; participatory democracy; interaction model; public lighting

Abstract (FR)

La proposition s'inscrit dans le cadre des pratiques de régénération urbaine associées aux thèmes de la nuit et de la vie nocturne. Elle présente L'Observatoire de la nuit, une méthode participative d'évaluation et de conception d'ambiances urbaines nocturnes basée sur des questionnaires dématérialisés, avec des contributions cartographiées numériquement. Les évaluations portent sur les conditions d'utilisation spatiales et temporelles de l'espace public nocturne. Elles permettent d'obtenir des connaissances précises sur les activités réelles des territoires la nuit.

Elles visent à accompagner les décisions politiques et techniques prises par les autorités locales. L'étude de cas présentée ici est celle de Nantes Métropole, dont le Schéma de Cohérence d'Aménagement Lumière (SCAL) illustre la méthodologie.

Nantes Métropole and the Public Lighting Coherence Scheme

In France, the governance of public lighting enjoys a standardised and legal environment that frames its practice. Voluntary standards[1] and ministerial decrees[2] provide physical indicators to apply, whose respect is guaranteed by political expertise, i.e. the elected representatives in cities and communities, in order to maintain the *safety of property and people* in the nocturnal public space. In France, this mission falls within the *police duty of the mayor[3]*. Political orientations are implemented by the departments managing public lighting in the communities – some are handled in-house, while others are delegated to energy authorities or groups of private companies. Regardless of the configuration, the administrators of any lighting system aim to guarantee its proper functioning and its evolution, both geographic[4], technical and economic[5].

Our case study is located in Nantes, France. The management of public lighting has been carried out on the metropolitan scale since the establishment of Nantes Métropole in 2001. It is composed of 24 municipalities, with Nantes in the centre. Public lighting is managed into seven divisions, allocated geographically (Fig. 1). Half of the lighting park is covered by contracts with private managers, while the other half is managed by the public authorities.

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[1] Here, we refer to European standards, French version EN NF 13 201, which presents the physical recommendations in public lighting.

[2] Here, we refer to the Decree of 27 December 2018 regarding the reduction of light pollution from public and private artificial lighting on the French territory.

[3] "*Le maire est l'autorité de police administrative au nom de la commune. Il possède des pouvoirs de police générale lui permettant de mener des missions de sécurité, tranquillité et salubrité publiques*" [URL] https://www.collectivites-locales.gouv.fr/pouvoirs-police-et-securite-des-services-publics-locaux#:~:text=Le%20maire%20est%20l'autorit%C3%A9,le%20contr%C3%B4le%20administratif%20du%20pr%C3%A9fet.

[4] Challéat, S. & Lapostolle, D. (2014). (Ré)concilier éclairage urbain et environnement nocturne : les enjeux d'une controverse sociotechnique. *Natures Sciences Sociétés*, vol. 22(4), 317-328. doi:10.1051/nss/2014045.

[5] The key numbers regarding lighting, in terms of costs and quantity, are presented online by the Association Française de l'Éclairage (AFE). [URL] http://www.afe-eclairage.fr/afe/l-eclairage-en-chiffres-26.html

Figure 6 – The city of Nantes and the seven local divisions. They locally manage the territories, including public lighting.

The lighting park of the community includes close to 100,000 light points, with an energy cost estimated at 5.6 million euros per year. Since the implementation of the metropolitan administration, the technical lighting experts, composing the EPICE department (*Éclairage Public et Infrastructures de Communications Électroniques)*, cover the management of the park with tools that are, for some, obsolete. To manage the 24 municipalities, they only have two lighting development master schemes. One was done in 1993 for the city of Nantes, by the light design studio Concepto, and the other for the city of Rezé in 1999, by Vincent Laganier, an architect-expert in lighting working on behalf of Philips. In both cases, the master scheme guided the practices towards a functional outcome and the promotion of the nocturnal built and landscape environment. For example, Vincent Laganier's expertise in lighting was qualified as City Beautification[6].

In 2015, the energy and ecological considerations[7] regarding the substantial practice of public lighting led actors from the EPICE department to develop the SCAL: The Public Lighting Coherence Scheme (*Schéma de Cohérence d'Aménagement Lumière*). It was initiated by a diagnostic of the physical state of the lighting park. Simultaneously, the agents in charge of the SCAL produced a first form of sensitive evaluation, measured according to the perceptions that they have of the ambiances experienced in the nocturnal public space. The SCAL was developed entirely internally, with our support in the input in terms of methodological and scientific structure. It aims to *produce quality nocturnal ambiances while maintaining energy and light sobriety*. However, it faced arbitration difficulties that confronted security, aesthetic and functional stakes with issues regarding the reduction in the ecological impacts[8] of lighting on the local ecosystems. The technical expertises conflicted and delayed, even cancelled, the evolution potentialities of artificial lighting on the territory. Under such circumstances, the search for lighting sobriety was met with both normative barriers, considered as refuges, and ideological ones, in particular regarding the importance of the connection between lighting and security, whose

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[6] Lighting Development Master Scheme of the city of Rezé, April 1999, p. 2
[7] Falchi F. & al (2016). The new world atlas of artificial night sky brightness, *Science Advances* 2(6):e1600377-e1600377 doi: 10.1126/sciadv.1600377.
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rationale is still to be discovered[9]. To address this, the project was conducted towards interaction models[10] dedicated to environmental public policies. It proposes the concept of *users' expertise[11]*, complementing current technical and political expertises.

In Nantes, participatory policies fall within Major Debates (*Grands Débats*), in particular regarding energy transition[12] or the reappropriation of the banks of the Loire River[13]. On the scale of the city of Nantes, a Committee of the Night[14] carries out consultation actions regarding the policies, stakes and ambiances of the Nantes nocturnal life. In terms of lighting and new technologies, the EPICE department makes available real environments to experiment, which enables the collection of physical and sensitive indicators under conditions of everyday practices[15]. This environment, which is open to consultations and experiments, and considering the arbitration difficulties met in the choices of nocturnal territories to illuminate or not, encourages us to development a consultation methodology at the metropolitan level that is dedicated to nocturnal urban ambiances. In view of the scope of the territory[16] to examine and of the common survey methods affiliated with nocturnal landscapes[17], we directed our consultation methods towards crowdsourcing[18] and digital environments[19].

Digital tools to support a metropolitan survey

Professional users' expertise required in the development of the SCAL

The actors of the city's public transportation are part of the recurring counterparts in the development of the Public Lighting Coherence Scheme. They represent SEMITAN, a semi-public public transportation company in the Nantes agglomeration. This company, known under the commercial

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[12] The city of Nantes organised a large survey with its citizens to identify possible local actions in the implementation of energy transition. [URL] https://dialoguecitoyen.metropole.nantes.fr/project/grand-debat-sur-la-transition-energetique/step/resultat-de-la-demarche - Accessed 06/09/20.

[13] The city of Nantes organised a second consultation called "Nantes, la Loire et nous", whose aim was to "*encourage the expression of the city by citizens and by the actors interested in the Loire, a River that involves a large number of activities and representations, but which is also disregarded and abandoned.*" [URL] https://dialoguecitoyen.metropole.nantes.fr/project/grand-debat-nantes-la-loire-et-nous/presentation/30-engagements-une-ambition-pour-la-loire - Accessed 06/09/20.

[14] The Nantes Committee of the Night carried out surveys regarding the accessibility, precariousness and security of the nocturnal public space. [URL] : https://metropole.nantes.fr/territoire-institutions/nantes/competences-municipales/nantes-ville-la-nuit/conseil-nantais-de-la-nuit - Accessed 06/09/20.

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[18] Renault S., Boutigny E. (2014). "*Crowdsourcing* citoyen : définition et enjeux pour les villes", *Politiques et management public*, Vol 31/2 | 2014, 215-237.

[19] de Feraudy T., Saujot M. (2017). Une ville plus contributive et durable : crowdsourcing urbain et participation citoyenne numérique, Institut du développement durable et des relations internationales.

name TAN, covers the entire transportation network of tramways and Busways (buses with a dedicated lane), as well as a large share of the bus lines. The importance of this transportation network and its crucial use in the movements of many users in the agglomeration makes it a key actor in the technical and sensitive input that is necessary for the development of the SCAL. Therefore, we wanted to add them to the network of contributors in the political and technical determination of lighting practices to associate to the lanes and stops for public transportation. We discussed both the lighting propositions regarding the equipment already implemented, but also the ways to illuminate future equipment, a tramway project connecting the future University Hospital (delivery in 2023 on the Île de Nantes) to the existing network. The public transportation network covers the whole city and operates during a part of the night. We saw here the opportunity to carry out a geographically expanded survey, with a sample of actors relatively limited. The potentiality of a small quantity of data was offset by the quality of the drivers' observations: their comments were free of any aesthetic appreciation and focused exclusively on visual comfort under professional conditions. The survey framework was weighted by the activity: the contributors were banned from doing anything but driving. In order to facilitate their individual restitution at the end of their shift, we developed a digital interface that enabled the geo-tracking, timestamping and argued appreciation of their observations.

Development of a tool dedicated to the consultation of SEMITAN drivers

The project consisted in developing a digital survey interface available in an Internet browser and operated intuitively. This interface has two juxtaposed windows: on the left, the questionnaire, and on the right, the interactive map (Fig. 2). The questionnaire was introduced by a short explanation summing up the exercise, the aim being to situate the participant into a dynamic position that encouraged him to finish his contribution.

Semitan, evaluation of visual conditions for nocturnal driving
This questionnaire aims to collect information regarding the nocturnal driving conditions on the transportation network, thanks to the contribution of transport professionals:

1. Select the line you drove on,
2. Slide the blue marker on the observation area,
3. Write the date of the observation,
4. Write the time of the observation,
5. On a scale from 1 to 5, mark your nocturnal visual comfort,
6. Explain your mark with a short sentence.

Figure 2 – Interface of the sensitive indicator collection tool for the nocturnal drivers at SEMITAN. We have a window for the questionnaire on the left, and the interactive map on the right. The green lines follow the TAN lines, the white polygons represent the buildings on display at this zoom level, the (T) icons show the stops, and the blue marker represents the reference position at the start of the interface. The latter can be moved by the participants in order to single out the specific area of their observation. © Nicolas Houel

We aimed to get precise answers from the drivers, and we made sure to facilitate the filling out of the questionnaire. Therefore, the selection of the line can be done via a drop-down menu, and the selection of the date can be done with a clickable timetable (Fig. 3).

Figure **3** – Interface of the sensitive indicator collection tool for the nocturnal drivers at SEMITAN. At the top, we can see the drop-down menu to select the transportation lines. At the bottom, a timetable facilitates the selection of the day of the observation. © Nicolas Houel

Development of an interactive element to localise the observation area

We also wanted to take advantage of the potentiality of the map interactivity to accurately determine the position of the location observed. The participants were invited to move a blue marker on the map to indicate their position at the time of the observation. The motion of the pointer instantly updated the *Latitude* and *Longitude* fields of the questionnaire on the left. It also allowed the map to focus on the area indicated. The movement of the map facilitated the definitive position of the marker. Likewise, the automatic filling in of the GPS coordinates helps us to position exactly the contribution of the driver on a map dedicated to results (Fig. 4).
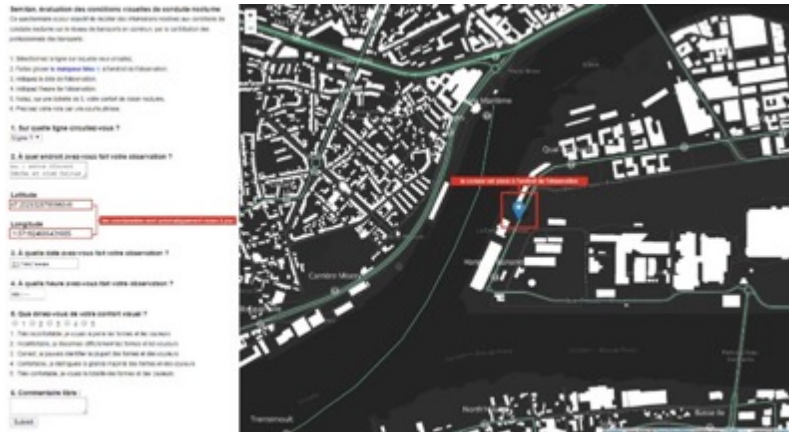
Figure **4** – The positioning of the blue marker at the location of the observation allows the map to focus and to automatically fill in the coordinates. © Nicolas Houel

Lastly, the participants reached the two questions regarding the sensitive indicators. The first one was formatted like a Likert scale, from 1 to 5 (1 being the lowest value and 5 the highest) about their visual comfort at the location of the observation. To answer it, the drivers ticked a box according to their appreciation. To guide their choice, we captioned each value:

> *1: Very uncomfortable, I could barely distinguish the forms and colours*
> *2: Uncomfortable, I had trouble seeing the forms and colours*
> *3: Correct, I could identify most of the forms and colours*
> *4: Comfortable, I could see the majority of the forms and colours*
> *5: Very comfortable, I could see every form and colour*

Here, we focused on the task carried out by the users, i.e. nocturnal driving. Their evaluation of the nocturnal environment dealt only with their visual perceptions. However, we tried to stay vague regarding the question of lighting. It was purposely omitted from the questionnaire, as the point was to focus on the *visual conditions for nocturnal driving* (in the title) and the *nocturnal visual comfort* (introduction and question 5). In this manner, we tried to assess the share that artificial lighting represents in the individual appreciation of nocturnal driving comfort. We anticipate that the results will also provide information on other themes, such as affluence, traffic, weather conditions, activities or the presence of darkness.

The last step was a *free comment.* In this spot, the participants could briefly explain the mark given in the previous question. We hoped here to collect a balanced quantity of contributions between *negative* (limited comfort) and *positive* (significant comfort) observations. Lastly, the *submit* button enabled the validation of the questionnaire and the redirection to the results page.

Development of a page dedicated to results

The completion of the questionnaire led directly to the results interface (Fig. 5). While half of the observations were done in the centre of the agglomeration, the other half was scattered relatively homogeneously across the periphery. The interface to check the results showed a visual contrast with the map used for the questionnaire. The pastel tone of the background and the green colour of the markers aimed to create a neutral effect, where the positioning and content of the contributions were the priority. Here, the participants could access information given by their colleagues. They could take note of its content with a click on the marker (Fig. 6) and get more information on their contribution. Lastly, the *Make another contribution* button, at the top of the map, allow them, if needed, to fill in the questionnaire another time.

Figure **5** – The completion of the questionnaire directly opens the results interface, which are geo-tagged at the location given by the participant – results on 15 February 2020, 64 contributions were recorded. © Nicolas Houel

Figure **6** – Clicking on the marker displays the elements filled in the questionnaire: line used, date and time, location, mark for the visual comfort, detail on the mark. The results vary depending on the environments and lines. On the left, the drive marked his visual comfort at 2/5, highlighting a discomfort from the headlights of the cars going out of the tunnel close to the tram line. On the right, the drive gave the highest mark (5/5) and proposes to use the lighting in this stop as a reference. © Nicolas Houel

Discussion of results

In a month, 65 contributions were recorded. To avoid any disruption in their activity, the drivers, who are forbidden from using their phone while in service, were allowed to use a notebook to take notes of areas, times, perceptions and comments regarding the environments they considered comfortable or not. They then gave their notebooks to their team leader, who filled in the questionnaire with the information given by the driver. This process enabled the collection of sensitive indicators from professional users without affecting their tasks too much. It also gave the drivers the opportunity to share their work environment while involving them in a renewed observation of the nocturnal urban landscapes that they see every day. We started the analysis of their contributions with the recurrence of lines used (Fig. 7) and with the synthesis of comfort marks (Fig. 8).
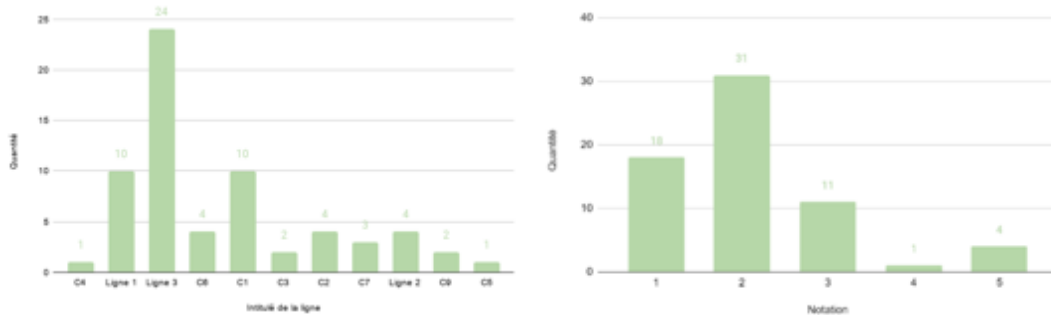
Figure **7** – On the left, synthesis of recurrences of lines. The tramway line 3 is largely mentioned. Then, the line 1 and the C1 Chronobus line are commented on. On the right, synthesis of the visual comfort marks, out of 5. 18 marks were 1/5, 31 were 3/5, one was 4/5 and 4 were 5/5. 75,4% of the marks are thus below average.

Lastly, we examined the comments. While four fields were left blank, the remaining 61 were largely referring to the question of lighting. We established a value scale to sum up the content of the comments (Fig. 9):

1. *Lighting lacking,*
2. *Poor lighting,*
3. *Lighting badly distributed,*
4. *Good lighting,*
5. *Very good to perfect lighting, to use as a reference,*
6. *Glaring lighting.*
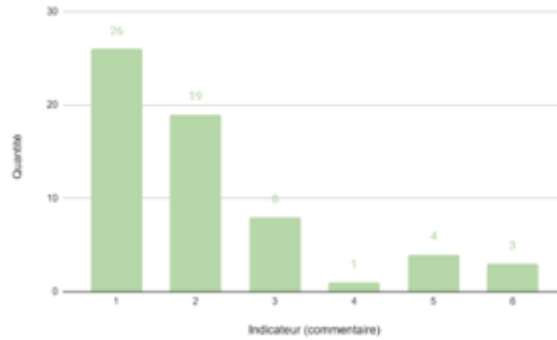
Figure 9 – Synthesis of the comments. Indicator 1 corresponds to *a lack of lighting,* 2 to *poor lighting,* 3 to *badly distributed lighting*, 4 to *good lighting,* 5 to *perfect lighting,* and 6 to *glaring lighting.* The distribution of indicators underlines the strong lack of lighting, particularly highlighted by the drivers.

In the case of Indicators 1, 2 and 3, we recorded the following terms: *lack of luminosity; no lighting; dark area; no light on this line; station turned off; complete lack of lighting, etc.* Amongst the explanations, a driver reported an *unsafe area for the users (editor's note: of TAN)* while another indicated *not enough light at the terminus, which is dangerous because many young people go there (close to school) in the evening.* As for these last two cases, we noticed that the drivers' comfort also involved the safety of the people using the space around the lines used. The drivers tried to anticipate any incident with other users of the public space. While lighting seemed to be an expected answer, it could also be troublesome. On that topic, three contributions noted external sources to public lighting, identified in the rank 6 (Fig. 9):

- *Left traffic lights too bright, blind us,*
- *Billboards too bright,*
- *No lighting at the pedestrian crossing, and the cars coming from the tunnel blind us with their lights.*

These observations, all associated with a blinding sensation, targeted static or moving light elements in the public space. Did the traffic lights blind the drivers because they were at a certain height, or was it because they have a more powerful lighting technology than others? Do we consider billboards as part of public or private lighting? What were the contractual terms that allowed the operator of such furniture during the night, possibly at a luminance level that blinded the drivers? Lastly, the spatial configuration of the tunnel (with an upward configuration) oriented the front of the cars towards a higher level. During the day, the headlights are off, and this configuration does not affect the drivers coming on the other side. At nightfall, when the headlights are on, the light beams of the cars go directly into the driver's cabin, blinding him as it has been reported in the sensitive diagnostic. The construction of the public space was here questioned, at least the level of the street, which included the outline of the lanes and the infrastructures of light signalling. The coexistence of different modes of transportation (cars, pedestrians, cyclists, public transportation), often operated with a series of juxtaposed lanes, seemed to reach one of its limits when night fell, in particular when it came to the discomfort created by nocturnal contacts and the risks of perpendicular crossings, when they remained in the dark.

We completed the statistical analysis with a comparison between the rating levels and the six explanation levels (Fig. 10). We learned that the absence, the lack or the bad distribution of lighting determined, in our case, the levels of comfort from 1 to 3. The marks from 4 to 5/5 were given from the moment when the drivers assessed the lighting as very good or perfect. The glaring effects were confirmed as visual discomfort, and the marks associated with their identification went from 1 to 2/5.

Figure 10 – Comparative graph between the sensations of comfort experienced by the users and the indicators that they gave. The blue curve represents the indicators, the green one the levels of visual comfort. We can see that the level of comfort varies between 1 and 3 when lighting was lacking, insufficient, badly distributed and good. The concept of comfort gets marks from 4 to 5 only when the lighting is seen as good or perfect. Lastly, the glaring phenomena lead to a comfort that is between 1 and 2 out of 5.

The expertise of use as a lever for the improvement of nocturnal urban ambiances in Nantes

The pooling of the physical (street, built environment and landscape, protected natural area) and sensitive (Fig. 11) indicators allowed us to identify five potential improvements for the nocturnal ambiances of Nantes, considering the opinions of the nocturnal drivers:

- *Extended outages,*
- *External sources of discomfort,*
- *Difficulties to identify other users,*
- *Nocturnal ambiances to use as examples,*
- *Lighting regimes adaptable to nocturnal uses and environments.*

Figure 11 – Cartographic representation of the sensitive indicators. On the left, the SEMITAN contributions alone are displayed. On the right, we layered the contributions, the types of streets, the natural spaces, the buildings and the light points.

Identification of extended outages

Around 10% of the comments highlighted out-of-power or dysfunctioning equipment:

1. *Streetlights out of service over the whole section,*
2. *The five lamps on the building of the AUCHAN parking lot that goes along Line 3 have been out of service for over a year. Starting at 10pm, we can't see anything,*
3. *HLP ÉCLAIRAGE path is out of service on the Croisy roundabout,*
4. *Two streetlamps out of service, little discomfort,*
5. *One streetlamp out of service + 1 BLINKING STREETLAMP,*
6. *The three lights of the park-and-ride facilities have been out of service close to the bus/tramway lines FOR 8 MONTHS (after the management change for the parking lots between SEMITAN and NGE),*
7. *Streetlamp out of service.*

These observations can be found on the digital map. We can see that two of them (2 and 6) were geographically very closer (Fig. 12). They created an environment marked at 1/5 in terms of comfort, which had been going on for at least 8 months (Comment 6), and possibly for over a year (Comment 2).

The change in management for the parking lots and the comment underlying that at 10pm the visual comfort dropped could make us think that it is potentially a timed shutdown to satisfy possible energy saving challenges, whose impact could have direct consequences on the professional environment of the nocturnal drivers.

Figure 12 – Cartographic representation of the sensitive indicators provided by the nocturnal drivers of public transportation. Opening the indicators informs us on a potential extended outage, which can be seen potentially as a choice of lighting regime to save energy, to the detriment of visual comfort. The two geo-tagged comments allow us to check the relevant of the tool for the collection of sensitive indicators

in the identification of potential improvements for the lighting park. Here, we can imagine adapting the lighting regime for the traffic lanes of public transportation, at least over their everyday service hours.

The external sources of discomfort

The drivers recounted the environments in which lighting, in contrast bright or coloured, became a source of discomfort. Amongst the comments, we could find:

1. *No lighting at the pedestrian crossing, and the cars coming from the tunnel blind us with their lights.*
2. *The billboard at the stop is much too bright,*
3. *The billboard blinds us,*
4. *The left traffic lights are too bright and blind us,*
5. *The white light of the Beauséjour parking lot contrasts with the yellow lights of the street,*
6. *Billboard is too bright.*

Out of six comments, half of them dealt with the lighting of billboards. This information supports the actions carried out by the Résistance à l'Agression Publicitaire collective[20] for a better consideration of the regulations in terms of lighting. The concepts associated with the planning of public space (traffic lights, pedestrian crossings and entrances of tunnels) are elements that highlight the importance of both a diurnal and nocturnal reflection around public space and its development. Lastly, the contrast in colour temperatures identified by Comment 5 confirmed the discomfort experienced by the drivers in that kind of nocturnal ambiances, which thus could be the subject of a standardization to improve the drivers' visual comfort and thus the quality of the service and the safe of its users and of the users of the nocturnal public space.

Difficulties to identify other users

The drivers indicated, in certain environments, that they experienced difficulties to identify users of the nocturnal public space that were close to the lanes and stops of public transportation. Amongst the comments, we found:

1. *Lighting only towards the city centre, the road is well lit, but the pavements in particular towards the outskirts are in the dark, which represents the risk of a pedestrian coming out from between parked vehicles,*
2. *No lighting, hard to see the cyclists,*
3. *The clients waiting at this stop are not very visible (Line 11, no reference),*
4. *No lighting on this whole portion, which makes the visualization of bikes and pedestrians difficult,*
5. *The presence of trees creates shade, which hinders the vision when there are pedestrians or cyclists,*
6. *No lighting in the turnaround area, which is completely dark, we can't see if people are walking to the bus stops (currently under construction).*

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[20] The Résistance à l'Agression Publicitaire collective carries out concrete actions of awareness to illegal and polluting forms of advertisement, in particular lighting ones. [URL] http://nantes.antipub.org/

This sample of comments allowed us to understand the importance that the drivers give to a good visibility of other users of the nocturnal public space, in particular those using soft mobility. Pedestrians and cyclists were largely identified, as the drivers must show, at night, even more caution in the identification of moving objects in their vicinity, in order to anticipate any accident. Here, could we imagine that the absence of lighting, or its presence in bad conditions, represented an additional mental load in the practice by the professionals at night? Identifying bikes and pedestrians on the road also allowed them to anticipate any potential collision, while the need to see their clients waiting at the stops could stem from a stronger desire at night to note before the stop whether the passengers were drunk. Identifying the people moving or waiting could be considered, in the case of the drivers in Nantes, as a need to secure the infrastructures and the people, both outside and inside the means of transportation.

Nocturnal ambiances to use as reference

Although it was rarer, the drivers also noted some nocturnal ambiances that were resolutely comfortable (Fig. 13). Their comments were more concise:

1. *Very good lighting, to use as reference,*
2. *Lighting of that stop to use as reference,*
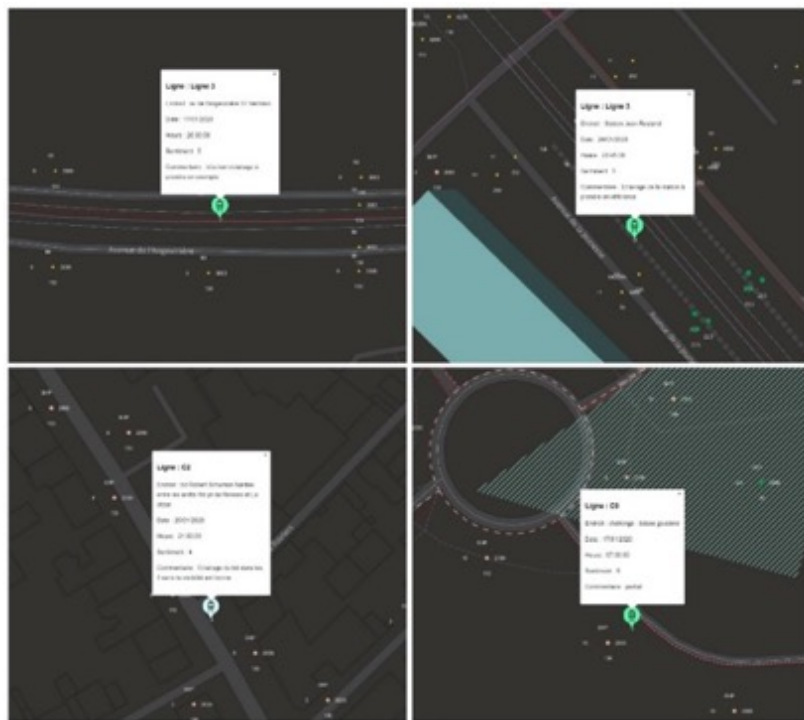3. *Lighting of the boulevard in both direction, great visibility,*
4. *Perfect.*

Figure **13** – Cartographic representation of sensitive indicators. A sample of four comments enables the identification of situations deemed very comfortable.

With these comments, we identified in the drivers an ability to provide positive feedback, unlike the negative one collected during the previous steps. For the latter, causes of discomfort were identified. In the comfortable situations, the comments remained vague and the absence of details prevented us from truly understanding the drivers' perceptions in such environments: was the visual comfort experienced associated with the lighting intensity, the colour temperature, the uniformity of the lighting, or regarding the affluence of users in the public space in this place and time?

These comments were shared in very different lighting environments. As indicated on the map (Fig. 13), three types of light sources were found:

- Metal halides: 150 W; 3000°K; installation at 9 metres in height (1),
- Metal halides: 70 W and 250 W; 4200°K; installation at 11 metres in height and LED: 22,5 W (only data available) (2),
- High pressure sodium: 150 W; 2000°K; installation at 8 and 10 metres in height (3 and 4).

The power, colour temperature and construction height are decisive in the production of light ambiances. LED, which represents around 10% of the lighting park in the city, remained significantly absent from the diagnostic, and it prevented us from determining situations of comfort and discomfort as part of this research. However, the positive indicators, coupled with further examination of the physical ones (built and vegetated environment, influence of the street and of the parking space, mobilities met on site, etc.) could allow us to consider a form of predictive approach regarding lighting ambiances towards nocturnal drivers and users of public transportation, with the partial or complete reproduction of the comfortable environment in future infrastructures, as with the tramway lanes that are planned on the Île de Nantes in the coming years[21].

Lighting regimes adaptable to nocturnal uses and environments

Lastly, the drivers allowed us to identify certain potentialities in terms of transversality in the practices of public lighting and nocturnal public space (Fig. 14). For example, the highly contrasted rankings for the same environments, at two different times. The first, observed on 17 January 2020 at 7.55pm, indicated a *"very good lighting"* with a 5/5 feeling of comfort. The second, at the same place, several days later and at 1.07am, indicated a 1/5 feeling of comfort, justified as follows: *"complete shutdown of public lighting on this area of the Couëts at the late hour"*.

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[21] By 2026, the city of Nantes should be fitted with new public transportation lines, in particular new tramway lines to the University Hospital, under construction on the Île de Nantes. [URL] : https://www.20minutes.fr/nantes/2535691-20190607-nantes-lignes-tram-6-7-8-busway-prolonge-nouveau-reseau-transports-commun-devoile – last accessed on 1 July 2020.
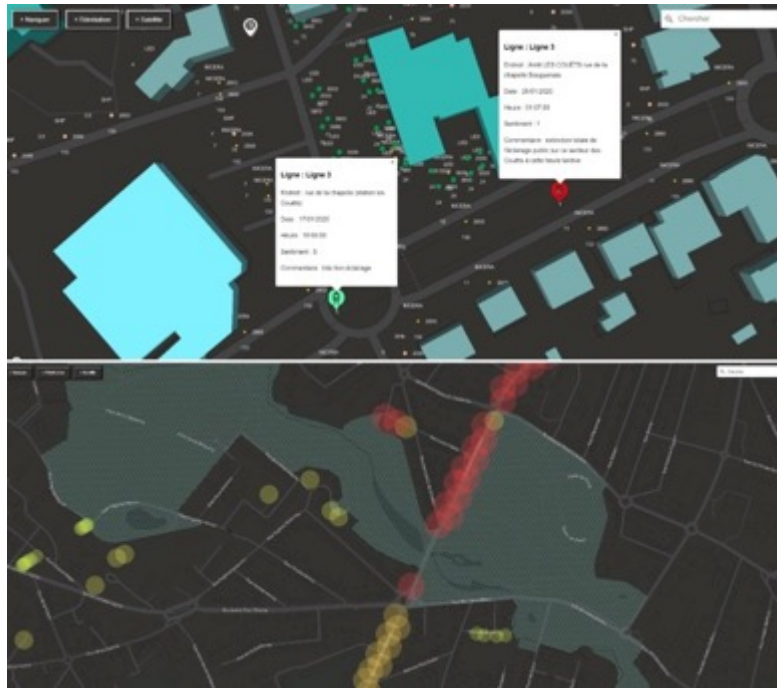
Figure **14** – Cartographic representation of the potentialities regarding the transversality of the uses of the nocturnal public space. At the top, the drivers indicate limited visual comfort because of the shutdown policy by the municipality in the middle of the night. This feedback can help us argue towards a better consideration of nocturnal uses in the practice of public lighting and open reflections on the transversality of the management of the nocturnal public space. This approach is confirmed by the crossing of physical indicators, such as lighting and natural environment, at the bottom, which underlines an artificial lighting installation with potentially damaging effects on a protected natural area. From these two illustrations, we can outline potentialities of light sobrieties localized on the territory, one by the uses of the public space, and the other by the presence of a natural environment to be respected.

Shutting down this area seems to be incidental to the shutdown policy by the municipality of Bouguenais in the middle of the night, apparently in order to reduce the energy consumption. The municipality has been shutting down the lights at midnight and turning them back on at 5.30am every day since 2011[22]. Estimated by ADEME[23] at around 37% of the total electricity bill, public lighting represents a source of economy easily accessible with the sole shutdown of the infrastructures. Is this energy and economic ambition, represented by the shutdown of public lighting, enough to justify the reduction of visual capacities of the professional and individual users of the nocturnal public space? The planned shutdown, at this place, represents a unilateral solution. The information given by the drivers highlighted the potentiality of transversality accessible through the expertise of use, that digital tools can get independently and over a large territory.

The information given by the drivers allowed us to consider nuances in the shutdown policies: would it be possible to adapt the public lighting operating hours more finely, by focusing, for example,

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[22] The online cartographic interface *Nuitfrance* allows us to access lighting and shutdown information in French cities. [URL] : https://www.nuitfrance.fr/?page=extinctions – last accessed on 6 September 2020.

[23] ADEME presents an article called « Éclairage public, un gisement d'économies d'énergie », in which key numbers regarding the energy consumption of territories are presented. [URL] : https://www.ademe.fr/collectivites-secteur-public/patrimoine-communes-comment-passer-a-laction/eclairage-public-gisement-deconomies-denergie – last accessed on 6 September 2020.

on a specific area of the territory where the uses continue later in the night? Beyond the continuation of the working of the transportation service, the transversal management of the public lighting policies could also apply to security in the nocturnal public space. A more precise observation of the map (Fig. 14, at the top) shows the icon of a drinking place, in the north. This is a place where parties take place in the evening or at night. Shutting down the nearby lights could create a potential danger for the clientele, which finds itself in an urban environment that is limited in terms of visual landmarks late at night. This configuration can also generate risks for other users of public space, e.g. car drivers, whose anticipation of obstacles can be altered due to the lack of lighting[24].

Lastly, we would like to stress that the concept of *users of the nocturnal public space* encompasses living species beyond the sole human beings. The fauna and flora of natural environments, shown with the green hatched area on the map (Fig. 14, at the bottom) are part of protected areas of the territory. The challenge of light sobriety carried out by the SCAL, in addition to the preventive measures already implemented by the departments of the city, aims to protect them. The impact assessment of artificial lighting on such areas, here featured with a circle, which represents the average radiance of the light source towards its periphery, highlights once again the potentialities for light sobriety. This time, it involves greater respect for natural environments, like ZNIEFF[25]. The red circles, representing fluorescent mercury lamps, have been prohibited since 2015. For example, their replacing could be accompanied by the localized management of photometric criteria of future lighting equipment: the colour temperature, light intensity and construction height could be adapted to the local context to provide the users with an appropriate lighting service and meet the needs in terms of respect of fauna and flora ecosystems.

Conclusion

The research presented in this article introduced a methodology for the collection of sensitive indicators on the metropolitan scale, with a limited number of participants and in condition of professional activity in the nocturnal public space. The exclusive destination of the protocol towards professionals of public transportation allowed us to frame the questionnaire and to facilitate its handling. Purposely, we eliminated the aesthetic considerations of lighting to focus on the functional and visual aspects encountered by the drivers. On the surface, our survey protocol seemed to address questions of nocturnal mobilities. However, it focused more on the concept of safety of property and more importantly of people, who are both in and out of the public transportation vehicles. The results gathered showed the relevance of a digital and professional evaluation protocol of the lighting park: the survey perimeter was broadened to the entire metropolitan territory, and only weighed by the drivers' trajectories. The questionnaire was limited to considerations regarding the visual comfort of a professional practice, whose contributions are situated in space and time. They allowed to establish a

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[24] Jackett M., Frith W. (2013). Quantifying the impact of road lighting on road safety — A New Zealand Study. *IATSS Research,* pages 139-145, ISSN 0386-1112, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.iatssr.2012.09.001.
[25] *Zones naturelles d'intérêt faunistique et floristique.* (Natural zones of ecological, faunal and floral interest)

localized overview of illuminated environments, whose general cartographic representation signals global actions, both in the renewal of uncomfortable areas and in the production of the nocturnal ambiances of future stations on the territory, thanks to the observation of positive environments in terms of visual comfort, potentially replicable in the future. However, the rankings and comments from the expertise of uses underlined a majority of uncomfortable situations in the professional practice of the public space illuminated by the city of Nantes. Is it a sensitive and shared representation of the physical state of the lighting park, a stronger ability of participants to identify uncomfortable environments, or a balance between the two? The positive environments, identified with the 4/5 and 5/5 marks, were rare. Their presence remained significant: public lighting can provide comfortable environments, and they were recognisable by the participants surveyed. Thanks to their relevant contributions, the participants showed the ease they experienced to handle the survey tool, as well as their ability to observe, appreciate and comment on the nocturnal environments they faced.

Moreover, we have also strengthened the theory that artificial lighting represents an indispensable value in the representations of nocturnal public space. Our approach purposely omitted any term regarding the concept of light, asking the drivers to assess only their nocturnal visual comfort. Every time, the answers were weighted by the forms of lighting in place, regardless of their origins (public lighting, illuminated signs, billboards, tram station lighting, vehicle headlights). Two statements emerged from the results: the first is psychological, that the representations of nocturnal visual comfort in urban environments are deeply determined by the presence of artificial lighting. The second is physical, which situates the participant in an environment where space is, at all times and in all places, illuminate, which prevents their evaluation of visual comfort in a dark milieu. Lastly, the spatial representation of physical indicators allowed us to identify environments conducive to light sobriety. The example of the respect for natural areas was a very precise representation of the possibilities offered by a dynamic cartographic tool supplied with transversal information: the physical indicators allowed, as a preliminary step, to identify areas considered *potential for light sobriety.* With the collection of sensitive indicators, these areas were then confirmed or rebutted according to the expertise of uses encountered.

According to us, this is a complementary approach to the current forms of public lighting practices, here understood as shutdown policies and technological modulation innovations that allow, among other goals, to adjust the light flux and the colour temperature. The digital cartography represents the mediating and pedagogical element. With the transversality of the physical and sensitive indicators of the targeted territories, the mapping enabled a fine analysis and an objective arbitration of nocturnal landscapes and their uses. It also materialised the challenge of light sobriety with programmes and projects of nocturnal urban ambiances that are precisely adjusted, and adjustable, to their environments.

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More-than-human Nights.

Intersecting lived experience and diurnal rhythms in the nocturnal city

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Abstract

The contemporary nocturnal city is typically characterised by the interplay of luminosity and darkness, a chiaroscuro tableau inhabited by a myriad of flora and fauna—including, of course, humans. What patterns, rhythms, and indeed disturbances can be detected in this patchwork, i.e. how do humans, non-humans, and wider natural cycles and rhythms co-produce the nocturnal urban environment? How is this coexistence of light and darkness inhabited by these multiple species? In short, how is the night moved through, and how does it move through us and our non-human companions?

This paper is sited at the intersection of two perspectives on the urban night—first, lived experience and the affective dimension of the nocturnal city; and second, the wider rhythms of the city and the sky above that inscribe themselves into both humans and our non-human companions. It asks what methods we, as researchers, can develop to be attentive to the urban night so as to bring these two perspectives together. To do this, we discuss two methods that we have used to inhabit and describe the urban night—one a perambulatory autoethnography of urban edgelands described through text and photography, the other an ethnography of urban temporality using photographic and sound field recording techniques.

When brought together, our approaches pay close attention to both the human and non-human dimensions of the environment. This enables us to examine the diversity of nocturnal atmospheres, ambiances, and soundscapes to better understand their meanings and uses. We do this in a way

that is attentive to the various spatial and temporal scales of darkness and light—from the palpable immediacy of lived experience to the daily tides of rush hour traffic, the changing phases of the moon, or the activities of migrating birds and foraging bats. By bringing these methods together, we aim is to develop a toolkit for situated fieldwork (Rendell, 2010) that can be used to create a rich description of the nocturnal urban environment—particularly one that includes but does not privilege the human. Furthermore, we seek to make such descriptions legible and accessible within and beyond academia.

Keywords: more-than-human; ecology; autoethnography; night walking; photography; sound

Introduction

As design researchers working in an urban context, we are interested in developing real world solutions to urban design problems. One such problem is what is often referred to as urban light pollution, which is increasingly being recognised as a global challenge (Davies & Smith, 2018). This problem is not straightforward—it has intersecting social, cultural, environmental, and technological dimensions that cannot be separated. As a place, as with all places, the night occupies both time and space (Melbin, 1978) and affects humans and non-humans alike at numerous spatial and temporal scales. The study of light at night thus requires a multi- and interdisciplinary approach that acknowledges the many dimensions of the nocturnal environment (Kyba et al., 2020) at various spatial and temporal scales. This paper seeks to address a methodological question posed by this—how can we create a thick description of the nocturnal environment from a more-than-human (Whatmore, 2002) perspective? We respond to this question by bringing together several methods that we have been developing and using independently of one another. In addition to this methodological question, we ask a second question—how can we communicate this description in a meaningful way? As light at night is an issue with multiple dimensions and affects, it is necessary to find a language or languages that can speak to a diverse range of people and interests, from scientists to sociologists, from astronomers to the general public (Le Gallic & Pritchard, 2019). We propose that art and design practices are valuable here, as they offer a means for turning data into accessible stories that give the underlying concepts, ideas, and observations mobility. Furthermore, as disciplines that are premised on their multi- and interdisciplinarity, art and design also offer methodological insights into how we study the night. This point is further supported by the tendency of art and design disciplines to foreground sensory experience and encourage people to inhabit imaginary realms. The latter is valuable when considering a more-than-human perspective that cannot be directly experienced but can be inhabited imaginatively and may require us to fundamentally reconsider our relationship to places and the non-humans we share them with (Morton, 2016). Art and design are able to capture and communicate the excess of the world, offering creative and critical methods that can represent entangled histories, situated narratives,

and thick descriptions (Tsing et al., 2017). This paper thus argues for a nocturnal praxis of mixed methods that can make legible certain characteristics of the environment while enabling that description to transparently spill out beyond the use of data for instrumental purposes.

Nocturnal Praxis

The urban night is a vitally important space and time within our environment. This is the case for humans and non-humans alike. Yet, as an area of research, it tends to have been confined to disciplinary silos addressing specific issues. The night as an ecology co-produced by both humans and non-humans has largely been neglected. One step towards addressing this is to make the nocturnal urban environment meaningfully legible as a more-than-human ecology. To do this, we are experimenting with methods for describing the urban night that we hope will be able to speak across disciplines and to groups outside of the academy. Crucially, we intend for such descriptions to bring to attention the polyphony of voices that are present in nocturnal urban environments, many of which are underrepresented or drowned out by human perspectives (Bennett, 2010). We believe that bringing creatively inflected practices, such as photography, sonography, night walking, and prose, into conversation with more traditional fieldwork practices is a valuable strategy for doing this. Such an approach offers a means for tuning observations and recordings into accessible narratives that have social and cultural mobility.

This section will describe the methods and practices that we have independently employed and put specific examples of these practices into conversation with one another—this is achieved through a series of vignettes that oscillate between two rubrics—*dusk* (Griffiths) and *night* (Dunn). The former employs photographic and sound field recording techniques to create durational descriptions of the nocturnal biome. The emphasis here is on bringing out the multiple temporal rhythms and scales of the environment. The latter brings together autoethnography, night walking, photography, and prose. It includes free-form texts that describe practices and observations during these night walks (Dunn, 2016). Together, we are using these methods to ask several questions. First, how can we create a thick description of the nocturnal environment from a more-than-human perspective? Second, how do we make this description meaningfully legible to a wide audience? And third, how can we use such methods to then inform and develop urban design interventions? This article is concerned with the first two questions.

The following series of paired vignettes start at the falling edge of the day and then move slowly into the night. The section opens with simultaneous light and sound recordings that document the transition from daytime through civil, nautical, and astronomical twilight into night—a period of just under three hours. This is followed by an autoethnographic description of a walk that paced out the night hours until dawn. Under the rubrics of dusk and night are descriptions of locations in Lancaster, UK and Manchester, UK, respectively, which were developed independently. These are not thus intended to

speak directly to one another as a way of understanding a specific time and place. Rather, they present a speculative framework for developing future collaborative methods and approaches that do just that.

Dusk as Cyclic Luminosity

The diurnal rhythm of light and darkness is an important biological cue that drives the behaviours of humans and non-humans alike. The photographic example in Figure 1 shows a particular threshold in this daily cycle—that of dusk. This composite image was captured at a marina near the River Lune estuary in the North West of England in mid-April 2020. Reading clockwise, the disk shows the changing ambient light between roughly 8 and 11 pm, a period spanning sunset and civil, nautical, and astronomical twilight. The sky only begins to become truly dark almost two hours after sunset. Around this time, an umber hue emerges through the deepening violet tone, and this is then slowly shaded by the encroaching darkness, although it persists through the night. The umber captures the skyglow created by light from various anthropogenic sources, including Glasson Dock, the City of Lancaster, Heysham nuclear power station, and the marina itself. The moon was below the horizon while the recording was in progress. Pontoons jut into the marina and are lit by translucent glass spheres a metre or so above the water. Spiders build their webs around these lights, which become heavily laden as they attract the midges that swarm above the water. The same technique can be applied to longer periods—Figure 2 shows a similar experiment carried out over a 24-hour period on the spring equinox in Beijing in 2019. Such light recordings alongside the sound field recording techniques described later demonstrate the interwoven nature of light and behaviour.
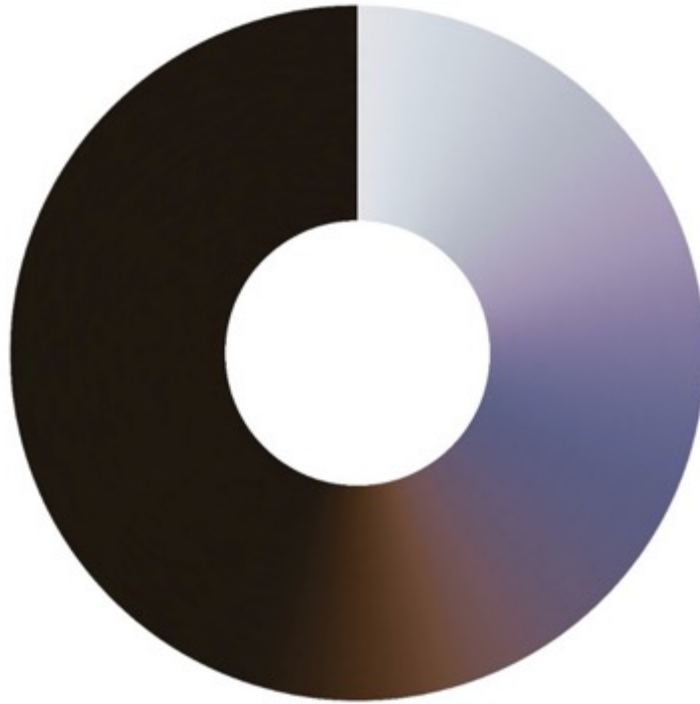
Figure 7. Changing luminosity and colour of ambient light from 8 pm to 11 pm to include sunset, civil and nautical twilight, and into astronomical twilight, Glasson Dock, Lancaster, UK, 15 April 2020. © Rupert Griffiths.

Figure 8. Changing luminosity and colour of ambient light over a 24-hour period, Xisi, Beijing, People's Republic of China, 20 March 2019. © Rupert Griffiths.

Night as Rhythms of Kin

Night walking is an 'inscriptive practice, its rhythms are incantations, finding the fissures of urban space and loosening them up, bringing forth seizures of place' (Dunn, 2016, p. 11). Critically, as a spatial practice, it provides encounters and experiences that reinforce an understanding of the night as being anything but a simple linear period of time:

> [T]he ebb and flow of the diurnal pattern not only changes how and why we might access the nighttime but also the duration of the outing. Not for everyone a long, cold, perhaps even wet, nightwalk. Nor need it be. The wonderful atmosphere may be explored within different timeframes, variable distances and across a range of thresholds between dusk and dawn. (Ibid., p. 86)

Night walking engages the body in multiple enmeshed temporalities: momentary experience, diurnal and circadian rhythms, circa lunar rhythms, and the thresholds between night and day. Organisms, including humans—identified as *nocturnal kin*—occupy not only spatial but also temporal niches (Figure 3). Bats, for example, occupy the same space and time as nocturnal insects to increase encounter with their prospective supper. 'Nocturnal kin' is proposed as a term that refers to the human and non-human presences in places after dark that co-constitute the character of the location, whether visible, audible, olfactory, or a combination of these. Being attentive to these kin and their multiple spatio-temporalities is crucial if we are to develop a more-than-human description of the nocturnal biome. Night walking is one means of becoming more attentive to this.

Figure 9. Nocturnal kin—cat, crows, horses, and sleeping HGV drivers, Banky Lane, Carrington, Manchester, UK, 4 April 2018. © Nick Dunn.

Dusk as Sonosphere

Sound is a measure of environmental activity. Energetic biological, meteorological, technological, and occasionally geological events all cause disturbances in the air. Acoustic ecologists use sonograms—visualisations of sound that show frequency as a function of time—to evaluate landscapes according to biophony (biological sounds), geophony (non-biological, non-human sounds), and anthropophony (sounds produced by human activity) (Truax, 1978). When viewed over seconds, they can be used to identify individual events—the calls of particular birds or insects or the broadband noise of a passing vehicle. When viewed over hours, individual events disappear, replaced by the accumulation of activities and their rise and fall according to the various processes that guide them. The radial sonogram in Figure 4 shows the same four-hour period as the earlier light recording. It shows frequencies between 3 Hz in the central ring and 96 KHz at the outer edges. This range extends well beyond human hearing into infrasound and ultrasound. This allows us to see infrasonic bat calls— visible in Figure 4 as a band of light starting around the 1 o'clock position. Here, dusk begins to fall, and this insectivorous bat species (*Nyctalus noctula*) comes to feed on mating swarms of midges that appear above the water around this time. The various bands relate to social calls, echolocation, foraging

calls, and feeding buzz. The bright ring in the centre is low frequency noise associated with human activity in and around the marina.
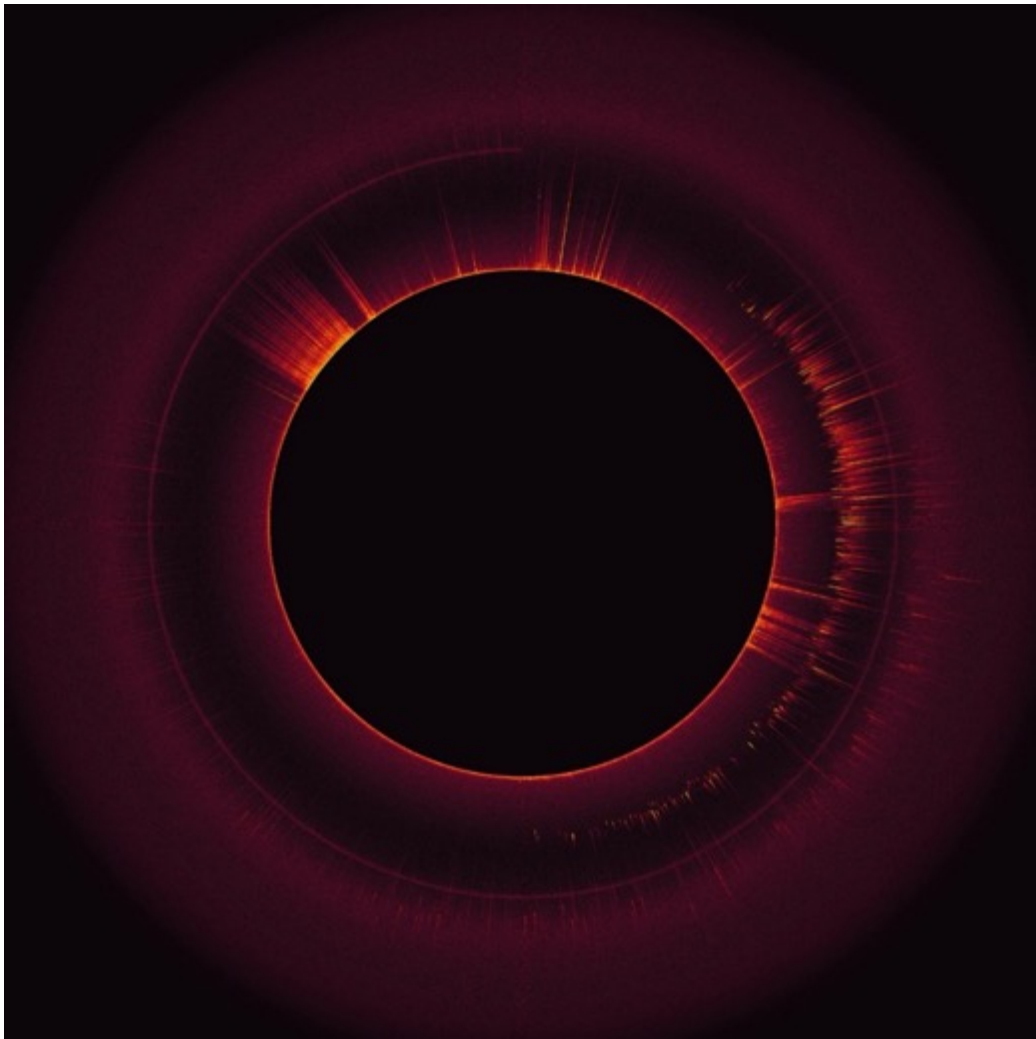
Figure 10. Radial sonogram showing the same location and four-hour period as the light recording in Figure 1 and showing frequencies between 3 Hz (the bright central ring) and 96 KHz at the outer edges. © Rupert Griffiths.

Night as Diversity

An important, yet still often overlooked, aspect of night concerns the diversity and non-uniformity of nightscapes and how we encounter them. In reference to night walking, '[e]ach episode is remarkable for its uniqueness, but cumulatively the experience builds into quite a different composite' (Dunn, 2016, p. 86). This is a salient point for two reasons. First, from an embodied perspective, the nocturnal environment, akin to the daytime, is full of unique moments—events that are inscribed in memory, that give each day its unique character. These episodic memories represent points of intersection between lived experience and other human and non-human processes. Second, when

considered over longer durations, the multiplicity of events and behaviours that make up these processes accumulate according to the processes that drive them. The accumulation of events in a given place and time is the result of an ecosystem driven by biological, geological, meteorological, and cosmological processes, as well as the social and economic infrastructures that guide our behaviour. These accumulations give us a description of that ecosystem—for example, repeat visits to a peri-urban lake at night facilitate an appreciation of the most noticeable non-humans sharing this place (Figure 5).

Figure 11. Nocturnal kin—coots, foxes, mallard ducks, and moorhens, Sale Water Park, Manchester, UK, 4 April 2018. © Nick Dunn.

Dusk as Orchestra

Technology has often been discussed as uncanny—the conflation of the eye with the camera, the human with the automaton. Technological images such as the sonogram shown in Figure 6 translate a familiar sense (in this case hearing) into an unfamiliar register (in this case vision). Like photographs, these images can superficially appear as simple indices, while, as uncanny doubles, they make strange our familiar experiences of time and memory.

To encourage such ambivalent readings, the sonograms in this article have been presented in a radial format without grids, scales, or labels. Using a radial rather than the usual linear format emphasises the rhythmic nature of environmental events and processes. The absence of grids and labels emphasises the topological over the topographic, that the biome is not a collection of discrete agents in proximity but rather an orchestra of interrelations. Figure 6 shows the same period and location as Figure 4 but narrows the upper frequency range to that of our own auditory range.
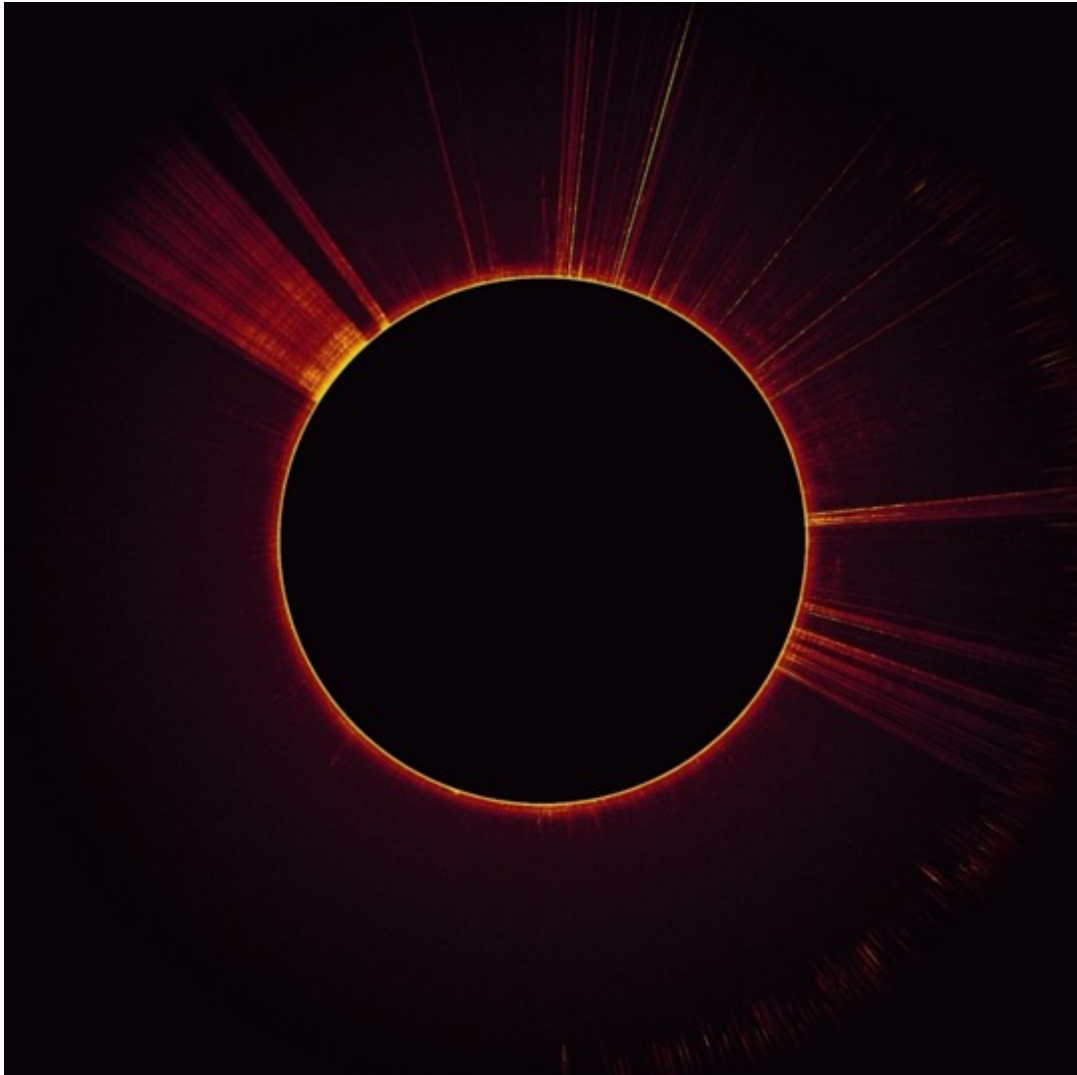
Figure 12. Radial sonogram limited to upper frequencies audible to humans (approximately 20 KHz) at the same location and over the same four-hour period shown in Figures 1 and 4. © Rupert Griffiths.

The recording is marked by the sounds of human dwelling—the sounds of food preparation, movement, and washing. Clues to the numerous bird species that inhabit the area are also visible— these include swans, coots, ducks, geese, swallows, wagtails, and herons. This recording misses their most active periods, but, if one looks closely, there is a band that varies in intensity and finally vanishes as dusk fades into night. This corresponds to several species of bird. Another fainter band can also be

seen, which corresponds to another species that remains active into the night. These images capture the crepuscular dwelling together of multiple species, ourselves included.

Night as Uncanny

The night can be an uncanny place—a time and space where the familiar and unfamiliar can quietly slip into the same liminal mould:

Familiarity is estranged, even in those locations and traces closest in proximity to everyday routine. For here, the habitus is disrupted. Gentle fingers fettle their way into the urban tissue, drawing the body into the night. Snout out, ears pricked back, the ecosystem welcomes another creature in the form of the nightwalker, an ambulatory, urban shadow roving across the landscape. (Dunn, 2016, pp. 86–87)

Considered in this way, a question emerges—how we can feel our way into an ecosystem, a more-than-human world, through our human sensorium? Perhaps through tropes of the uncanny, we might gain a glimpse of a more-than-human subjectivity—one that imagines ourselves hybrid but acknowledges that empathy does not give us access to such subjectivities (Figure 7). The uncanny, as a literary or artistic device, and the feeling evoked by such devices, acknowledges that we perceive through human eyes but that our perceptions sit on a threshold and can be othered. It gives us the momentary and unsettling experience of perceiving ourselves being perceived by a radical otherness—of perceiving ourselves as other.

Figure 13. Nocturnal kin—lichen, moths, rats, and sex workers, Chapelfield Road, Manchester, UK, 27 February 2020. © Nick Dunn.

Dusk as Hidden Polyphony

The final sonogram in the series (Figure 8) takes us into a predominantly human world of low frequency noise and vibrations associated with machines and infrastructures. The bright inner ring from the earlier sonograms now fills the entire frame.
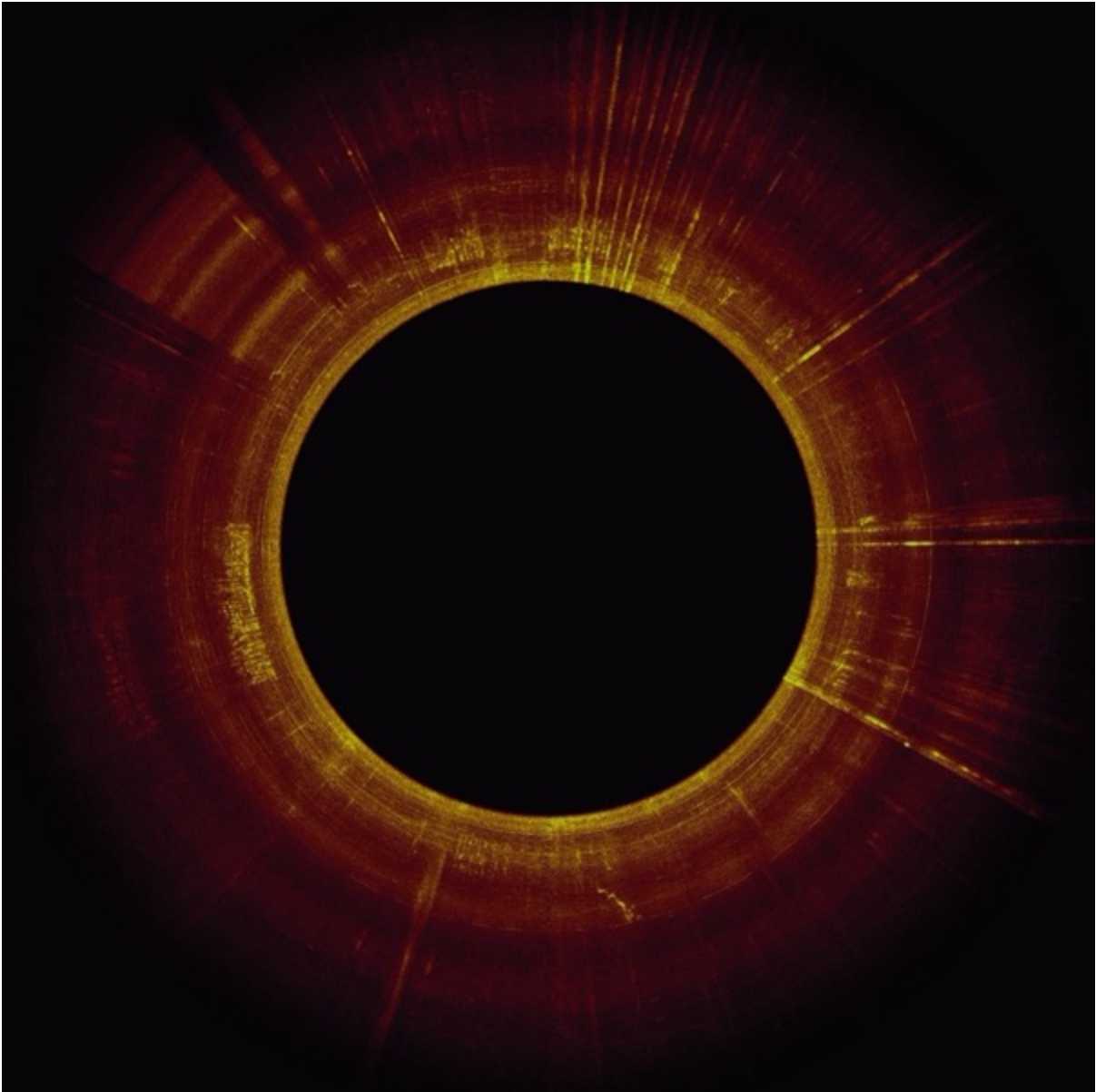
Figure 14. Radial sonogram showing low frequency sounds (from 3 to 300 Hz) at the same location and over the same four-hour period as Figures 1, 4, and 6. © Rupert Griffiths.

The sonogram shows various marks, ticks, and traces from the external environment. Like the indecipherable messages alluded to in the previous vignette, the source and meaning of these sounds are difficult to identify. Low frequency sounds are physically difficult to locate—this is why bats use very high frequency sound for echo location. Like ghosts, low frequencies tend to permeate space with a sense that they are both everywhere and nowhere. Many of the sounds in this recording are in fact inaudible, being below the threshold of human hearing, although we may be able to feel them or be affected by them through physical vibration. It becomes clear that we cannot sense much of our own presence in the environment. This comes as no surprise, but it is perhaps surprising just how much activity is hidden in plain sight.

Night as Porous Lost Future

We often think of the urban environment and the infrastructures and machines that inhabit it as residing firmly in the material realm. Yet, at night, the sensation of time can become foggy and elastic depending on the weather, lunar phase, and the layered histories of a location, such that 'the opacity of the city's infrastructure loses its gravity and melds toward the neon and sodium Morse code above. Indecipherable messages, these ghost texts to unknown gods and spirits hang in the air like stolen thoughts from another time' (Dunn, 2016, p. 16).

Figure 15. Nocturnal kin—Canada geese, dog walker, security guard, and swans, New Islington, Manchester, UK, 27 February 2020. © Nick Dunn.

This quote alludes to a barely visible subtext, an historical trajectory that arrives in the present but whose source cannot be identified. Many urban landscapes are the product of successive and piecemeal development and are rarely fully coherent. As a result, the 'lost future' (Fisher, 2014) of a place—i.e. how it could have become—is entangled within a deeper mesh of architectural and urban signs, styles, and remnants. The materiality of these architectural manifestations represents the hard facts of the built environment during daylit hours, but at night, these boundaries and materialities can appear porous and indeterminate (Figure 9). When night walking, this porosity opens up a place of co-

existence and exchange between the human and non-human, kindred and alien, bodies and landscape, past and future, time and place.

Discussion

Although the two projects described here were initiated before we began working together, our approaches share certain underlying concerns: a strong interest in spatial and temporal edges and margins; photographic and textual approaches to documenting the urban night; the embodied experience of the environment; and a desire to foreground process and a more-than-human perspective. We also both draw, to greater or lesser extents, from non-representational theories, new materialism, and the affective atmospheres literatures. Perhaps the most fundamental territory that we share is our interest in margins and edges in the built (and unbuilt) environment. These might be incidental pockets of land around infrastructures, they might be fallow land awaiting development, or they might be land that has fallen out of use and into dereliction. Equally, they might be temporal edges, such as dusk or the depths of night. Such regions, as understood here, are perhaps most strongly characterised by hybridity. In each case, the landscape has been and continues to be shaped by both human and non-human forces. The human element is often occasional or intermittent, thus allowing the non-anthropogenic rhythms of flora and fauna to emerge more strongly than in more managed and maintained environments. This hybridity manifests as what has been described variously as *urban nature* (Gandy, 2013), *wasteland* (Ibid.), *terrain vague* (Solà-Morales, 1995), *drosscape* (Berger, 2006), and *edgelands* (Farley & Symmons Roberts, 2011). Such landscapes are not designed for everyday use and are often 'rougher' and less accommodating than those places that are frequented by humans. As such, they engage the visitor in an embodied, sensually rich, and affective landscape. Through this strong material dimension, such landscapes can also powerfully draw us into an imaginary dimension (Griffiths, 2015; Dunn, 2020). This is itself often related to another set of margins—those of psychology or identity, exemplified by notions such as the uncanny or the technological sublime indicated earlier in this article. This descriptions discussed in this article are thus a first step towards a thick more-than-human description—one that acknowledges the real and imaginary dimensions of the environment, allowing us to transgress the limits of our (human) situatedness into those of flora, fauna, and inanimate matter. This is also important when considering who such descriptions are able to speak to. These methods aim to contribute to academic discourse regarding the nocturnal urban environment, but equally, they aim to create intellectual and imaginative engagement with the night among audiences beyond academia.

Over time, we aim to develop a toolbox of methods for describing the urban night that operates at the nexus of urban design research, cultural geography, prose, contemporary art, and design artefacts. We anticipate that together these methods will be able to speak to both users and urban designers to facilitate an increased awareness of the night as a place created by a multitude of human and non-human actors. Ultimately, the aim is to use such methods to inform urban design that acknowledges the importance of the night as an ecology rather than merely an economy. This latter

point is critical since not only does it dominate the debate surrounding the urban night, especially with regard to practices of consumption and policing of behaviours, but it also narrows the definition of value regarding the urban night into financial terms alone. Future work will also extend the sensorium to which it responds so as further acknowledge the more-than-human dimension of the night—for example, this pilot recorded visible light, whereas future iterations will consider variations in ultraviolet and infrared light and the polarisation of moonlight. These phenomena cannot be detected directly by humans but are nonetheless affected by human activity, in particular anthropogenic light and airborne particulate matter, and these phenomena can have profound effects on the navigation of nocturnal organisms (Kyba, et al., 2011). Furthermore, future iterations will make continuous field recordings accessible through small design artefacts—what might be thought of as both astronomical instruments and ecological clocks that help us navigate an awareness of the night. These will enable us to bring the rhythms and disturbances of the night over periods of days, months, and years into schools, universities, offices, and homes.

Coda

This article started with three questions: how can we create a thick description of the nocturnal environment from a more-than-human perspective; how do we make this description meaningfully legible to a wide audience; and how can methods developed to address these questions then inform urban design interventions? Returning to these questions, we would like to say a few final words about what the methods described in this article bring to studies of the urban night and how we might go forward with this. Bringing these methods into conversation with one another has been an experiment in creating a thick description of the nocturnal biome at multiple spatial and temporal scales. By bringing together embodied fieldwork practices and practices that collect data about changes in the environment, our aim is to make the nocturnal environment meaningfully legible and accessible as a more-than-human ecology—a fundamental question here though is 'meaningful for whom?'. In answer to this, we take what is noticed as a proxy for meaning—i.e. those things that matter to particular organisms. This is why we use methods that include and extend beyond the human sensorium, allowing us reappraise what should be considered when designing for the urban night. Going forward, we aim to develop a toolkit of methods for recording, interpreting, and communicating the urban night, while developing an understanding of what a healthy more-than-human nocturnal urban ecology might look like. This process will allow us to address the third question and begin designing responsibly for the urban night.

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Consenting to darkness, surviving the dark. Entering the night of the night in Nantes

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Abstract

This article deals with the deconstruction of the fear of darkness in public space. Space has become the main resource for security. The belief that light and safety go hand in hand is firmly anchored in the collective imagination. Yet, contrary to a widely held idea, no police statistics show that night is more criminogenic than the day. The challenge is to reach a consent to urban darkness: it guarantees frameless spaces that leave room for all the expressions of the night. Thus, deconstructing the fears of darkness allows an empowering and alternative experience of the city.

Keywords: city, night, darkness, public space, fear.

Résumé

Cet article traite de la déconstruction de la peur de l'obscurité dans l'espace public. L'espace est la ressource principale de la sécurité. La conviction que lumière et sécurité vont de pair s'est ancrée dans l'imaginaire collectif. Pourtant, aucune statistique policière ne montre que la nuit est plus criminogène que le jour. L'enjeu est d'atteindre une forme de consentement à l'obscurité urbaine : elle garantit des espaces sans cadres qui laissent place à toutes les expressions de la nuit. Ainsi, déconstruire les peurs de l'obscurité permet une expérience empouvoirante et alternative de la ville.

Mots-clefs : ville, nuit, obscurité, espace public, peur.

Introduction

The nocturnal centralities are connected in rhizomes by invisible spaces. These spaces, invisible because they are obscure, are precisely the ones I explore as part of my doctoral research. If the nocturnal space-time is no longer an interstice of research in geography, my research is oriented

towards what remains of nocturnal urban interstices. The interstices of the city are what street lighting tells us to ignore: the urban obscurities. Ghosts may also reside in the interstices, that is "these abandoned spaces are condensed traces and marks that oscillate between invisible and visible and challenge our modalities of perception of space" (Barthe Deloizy, Bonte, Fournier, Tadié 2018, 4)1. My work in the dark is digging into a kind of wasteland of time and space that can bring a lot to geography.

At night, mental geographies are marked by fear, it is more the space-time of walking than of perambulating (Oloukoi 2016). The fear of physical and/or verbal aggression remains a structural element that frames practices (Blidon 2008). Public safety is a pretext for the authorities to exercise surveillance. The feeling of security is not necessarily guaranteed by a strong luminous intensity and even, darkness gives meaning to space. Safety, one of many reasons for artificial lighting, should be reconsidered and analysed. It is based on the persistent illusion that night is more criminogenic than day. But when you avoid a dark empty street, you get the impression that something dangerous is going to happen. The fear of the dark is a fear of danger. But what is this danger? How to understand and deconstruct the feeling of insecurity in the dark? This research aims to explore fear and the feeling of vulnerability permeable to urban darkness This article about dark nights, the quintessential space-time of insecurity, aims to contribute to understand, analyse and deconstruct the fears of the dark in the city as a way to empower one's night.

1 - Darkness exacerbates feelings of insecurity

1.1 – Building social construct : understanding the legacy of the Western view of dark nights.

In this first part, I first wonder on how fear of the night is culturally produced and then focus on the fear that is associated with the night in the city. When I talk about my thesis, I usually get worried reactions. People worry about me wandering at night, and even worry about me studying such a gloomy subject. In fact, we have learned to fear the night, and even more the dark night. Darkness generally refers to the lack of light, but also to the lack of visibility. Being in the dark means having no or troubled knowledge. Education and cultural references have taught us that night is to be feared. Indeed, the etymology of the term derives from several origins depending on the sources. The word "night" can come from the Sanskrit root *naç* which designates death, the withering of the day, destruction. On the contrary, the day *dies* qualifies the light, the sky. The collective culture of the night stems from mythologies. Bucephalus, the great black horse that only Alexander the Great managed to train, fears only one thing: his own shadow. Alexander only tames him by placing him facing the sun. Light is the remedy for the night, the antidote to darkness. Survival must therefore be on the bright side. Furthermore, almost every tale narrates stories of characters that have bad encounters at night: nothing good can come out of it. As Luc Bureau said in *La géographie de la nuit*, night draws "*a diagnosis of*

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1 All translation by S. Vincent 2020 « *Ces espaces délaissés constituent des condensés de trace et de marques qui oscillent entre invisible et visible et remettent en question nos modalités de perception de l'espace* »1.

culture" (Bureau 1997, 100). Western history indeed claims that the main inventions are part of the light, while the incoherent, the backward and the futile are part of the shadows (Bureau, 1997). If the night is described as dreadful, perverse, deep, deceptive, blind, evil, mysterious, darkness is the reservoir of absence, emptiness, abyss, chaos, it is even the colour of mourning, therefore of death. Tales also advise maintaining a certain aversion to the dark. Cinderella, tells us that we must be careful not to venture out at night: midnight marks the passage to a shady and dangerous night that decorum orders to flee. The story of the Bogeyman is that of an imaginary and frightening monster who comes to devour children at night. This entirely oral tale does not have a precise image of the bogeyman: it makes the imagination make up its most frightening creature. Flaubert's *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* sums up the moral burden that weighs on the night by this definition at the entry "midnight": "*Midnight: limit of happiness and honest pleasures, everything that we do beyond is immoral*" (p. 438)[2]. Darkness implies a heavier emotional charge.

Moreover, night is so scary that pathological disorders exist and are being studied. The nyctophobia designates the morbid fear of the night. (Nyctophobia is an ancient reality: in France, the fires of Saint-Jean lit the countryside during the summer festivals and the candles of Saint Lucia were lit at the winter solstice). Scotophobia is the fear of the dark; lygophobia is etymologically "fear of twilight" from ancient Greek, achluophobia is the unreasonable and uncontrollable fear of the dark. It is a common psychological disorder in children. In many ways, fear of the dark invades our brains since we're 2 years old; between 2 and 6 years old, children do not yet differentiate reality and imagination. For a kid, a drop shadow is a creature. Culturally speaking, we must learn to speak about darkness differently from early childhood on, and understand it as an ally, especially in the urban space and places. "*Every strange phenomenon takes on a disproportionate dimension in this substratum of darkness and gives the imagination material to navigate*" (Challéat 2020, 49)[3].

In the twilight, the imagination summons the senses, reaches a certain sensorial intensity because its landscape mixes small and large, the detail and the whole, takes into account the diversity of rhythms. The subjective dimension of the perception of space brings out invisible objects and challenges ways of apprehending reality (Barthe-Deloizy 2018). Fear acts on representations and practices at night, because fear of the night is fear of risk. Fear is the withdrawal of the very near future and the past into the experience of the present: fear of loneliness and fear of meeting at the same time, because it is potentially a threat. A continuum of so-called harmless daily violence occurs on a daily basis, during a regular use of public space. These attacks are not always considered as violence, yet they participate in a permanent state of insecurity.

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[2] « *Minuit : limite du bonheur et des plaisirs honnêtes, tout ce qu'on fait au-delà est immoral* » (p.438, Flaubert, G. (1913). *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, Editions Conard, Paris, 452p.)
[3] « *Tout phénomène étrange revêt dans ce substrat qu'est l'obscurité une dimension démesurée et donne à l'imagination matière à naviguer* » (Challéat 2020, 49).

1.2 – Darkness makes mental geographies work around fear

Public spaces are places of interaction where one becomes aware of the existence of others. A city like Nantes embodies a super-diverse city of anonymity that increases the possibilities of encounter with otherness. More and more fragmented and fenced, public spaces tend to convey a security ideology in which the city serves as a venue for fear and violence. Especially since the feeling of insecurity persists at night: the spaces perceived as accessible are fewer. Darkness prevents the objects from being described, either because they are difficult to discern or because they are invisible. Obscurity challenges the reason and the practice of the geographer, it creates retreats in the public space. The night has a paroxysmal function: it exposes and amplifies the emotions generated by the city. It partly explains the worried and upset reactions I get when I speak about my work. The collective anxiety awakened by darkness can be related to the fear of insecurity to which it is very close: the illusion that the dark is dangerous is also based on the built-in illusion that insecurity increases. In fact, night is conducive to anxiety, which grows inversely proportional to the light. At night, the lack of visual indications produces another city. The law of the dark is to prevent the immediate recognition of objects and situations. The slightest sensitive alteration becomes an emotional alteration when the survival of the body might be engaged. The need for vigilance becomes shifting since none of the senses seem absolutely trustworthy. At night, mental geographies are ruled by fear: fear of an assault, of an encounter, of harassment. Especially when in a situation of insecurity, the first accused is often the sensitive character of public space: we point out for example the insufficiency of the lighting, the lack of readability of the signs, or some urban obstacles.

Thus, urban nights crystallize fears; insecurity empties urban space. According to an ONDRP[4] study published in September 2018, nearly 4 out of 10 women say they avoid going out alone at night. Especially in an unsafe situation, the first accused is often the sensitive nature of the space rather than a face: for example, one points out the insufficient lighting, the lack of legibility of the signage, or certain urban obstacles. Nantes, as a Western metropolis, is a city where night, and even more darkness, is associated with danger. The petition "Stop critical insecurity at the Hangar in Nantes"[5] has collected more than 17,000 signatures since 2017. Moreover, fear of crime can lower the quality of life as much as crime: an empty street increases fear, when it is precisely empty. The feeling of insecurity empties the city: one can imagine why others are not there. Thus, the imagination creates fear, rumour is more frightening than the perception of reality: a place only exists to the extent that something subtly invisible overflows what is externally visible (Bureau 1997, 188). In addition, fear, intimately linked to the night, is a tool of domination of power that uses lighting, police and CCTV to control. The night seems especially to frighten the authorities who increase their desire for surveillance once the night falls.

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[4] The National Observatory for Delinquency and Penal Responses
[5] https://www.mesopinions.com/petition/social/stop-insecurite-critique-hangar-nantes/35371

2– The production of a security ideology

2.1 – Monitoring the night, lighting up the dark.

The belief that lighting and safety go hand in hand has gradually become firmly anchored in the collective imagination and representations. 91% of French people say that public lighting is a major safety issue. According to ADEME, in France in 10 years, the number of light spots has increased by 30%. For capitalism, light represents a powerful symbol in terms of communication, it radiates and shines, in every sense of the word. It is used as advertising, for urban marketing, especially for backlit billboards with LEDs. An attractive city is available 24 hours a day. This light makes us forget about the sunset, which makes us forget the need to slow down or interrupt the work. Michael Foessel (2017) refers to "white light", unlike other artificial sources of light such as flashlights, projectors, candles for example, which all cause a break in the dark. These lights (including halos of streetlights, halos of windows, halos of lighters) are not necessarily incompatible with the night, they are not the enemies of the experiences of the night. Conversely, "white light" refers to the light that emanates from neon lights in shopping centres and open spaces, lit 24 hours a day in elevators, in underground car parks, in airports, in fast food chains. White light dazzles and annihilates gleams: the flame of a lighter is no longer perceptible under the whiteness of this light. Likewise, dawn and dusk go unnoticed: it consecrates an artificial space without variations. It acts as a judge on nocturnal wanderings. It prevents the perception of darkness as an experience. This form of artificial light does more than illuminate, it monitors. It exposes the bodies to full visibility. It creates a space where everything is visible at first glance: the arrangement of objects, the movements of bodies. It creates a space where shadow no longer exists, where the unexpected is impossible.

This light is often associated with CCTV cameras, which are not obstructed by shadows, which do not need to use flashes and can therefore remain discreet. In fact, public security serves as a pretext for the authorities to monitor. In 1949, a US company marketed the first video surveillance system. London set up its first security infrastructure in the early 1990s, following the Irish Republican Army bombing. The facility is justified by "if you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear". Between 2012 and 2015, the number of cameras increased by 72%: London is home to 1/3 of the UK's cameras. In Manhattan, 20,000 cameras were installed after 9/11. Paris had 1,100 cameras in 2017, Marseille 1,500 and Nice 1,250, making it the most video-monitored city in France. However, this surveillance did not prevent the attacks of July 14, 2016, which left 86 dead; but Nice City Council has since added 600 cameras. (However, the video surveillance made it possible to identify the perpetrators of the London Underground attacks in 2005 and those of the Boston Marathon in 2013.) Cities that have never suffered from any attacks, cities which have a low crime rate are also equipped. Indeed, according to the Association of Cities of France, in 2016, 80% of medium-sized cities had already installed video surveillance infrastructure, with 50 cameras on average, i.e. twice as many as in 2010. The French President Emmanuel Macron, in a speech on security on October 18, 2017, called to turn off the pedestrian cameras worn by police officers. Individual surveillance systems are still proliferating though

(on-board cameras, on-board cameras, facial recognition). The sky is filled with drones: 2.5 million drones were sold in 2016 in the United States, 1 million in France, not to mention 1,700 satellites. It's a real market. Kansas University sociologist William Staples talks about a state of permanent visibility. Both projectors and cameras want to gather information that allows reconstructing the identity of night owls. Infrared cameras help build spaces where it is never dark for anyone. "*This multiplication of machinic witnesses is part of a moralizing reorientation of gazes, of which nocturnal freedom is the main victim*" (Foessel 2017, 154)[6]. In *Lux, le magazine de l'éclairage*, I found an advertisement for this corner light, integrated camera and "suitable for indoor and outdoor environments subject to medium to high vandalism" (Lux n°299, nov-dec 2018).[7]

Integrated videoprotection
High resistance corner lamp, Titan Video LED, by Securlite (…). Independent accomodation on the side that allows to integrate a video protection camera (not included). (…) Suitable for indoor and outdoor environments subject to a medium to important level of vandalism. Origin France guaranteed.

Illustration 1: Presentation of a camera-integrated luminaire. *Lux n°299, nov-dec 2018*

In Nantes, the joint meeting of the Night Council and the Gender Equality Council held in November 2018 announced the highlighting of the path from Commerce to the Hangar à Bananes. Dany Joly, Head of Public Lighting at Nantes Métropole, explains the recent development of so-called intelligent lighting system which guides on a single path to facilitate surveillance, with the marking of arrows on the ground for orientation and reinforced lighting in shadow areas. Also 97 cameras operate 24/24 hours and 7/7 days. The Mayor of Nantes, Johanna Rolland, boasts this secure, lighted and video-protected route as part of the Night Security Plan. 18 agents are mobilized including 15 video operators. The equipment has been connected to an urban supervision centre (CSU) since October 2018. In total, 1.4 million euros are spent on these 97 cameras. During the 2020 municipal campaign preceding her re-election, she promises more than 130 cameras scattered throughout the town. During this campaign, she also claims more than 4 million euros invested in equipment, 38 agents recruited and soon 130 cameras deployed. The city also initiates a security contract and hires a hundred additional municipal police officers, including a metropolitan transport police. "More security is obviously

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[6] « *Cette multiplication des témoins machiniques participe d'une réorientation moralisante des regards dont la liberté nocturne est la principale victime* ». (Foessel 2017, 154).

[7] «*… qui convient aux environnements intérieurs et extérieurs soumis à un vandalisme moyen à élevé* »

more police officers" she said during a speech in January 2020. This policy closely articulates the elements of the security triptych: police, light, cameras. These components of the triptych seem porous, almost interdependent: the police need light otherwise they cannot see the images recorded by the cameras (because infrared cameras are still few in number and do not always allow clear and distinct images). Here, the political discourse is based on words that display a rather preventive approach with the choice of words like "public tranquillity" rather than "public security", or like "video protection" rather than "video surveillance".

2.2 - Producing a discourse of fear

The use of the word « video protection » or the word « video surveillance » is a discursive choice which attests to a form of balance of power that constructs the object at the same time as it defines it: a discourse has a performative dimension : "*the legitimacy of the speakers to denominate, to categorize, participates in the construction of the object*" (Foucault 1982, 120)[8]. Public policy instruments therefore have a performative dimension. It is enough for a territory to say that it is implementing a Trame Noire[9] for it to be considered as existing, realized, defined (Challéat 2020). Thus, the feeling of insecurity seems exacerbated, perhaps even created, by some discourses that are based on a form of collective fear. Fear is reinforced daily by media reports which continuously relay the presence of crime and police crime prevention which tend to exaggerate violence and conveys very limited tales of defence and protection that are often reduced to the avoidance of danger. Samuel Challéat (2011) speaks of the night of distorted perceptions where an entire dramaturgy is created based on innocuous events observed through the lens of news media that competes with television series and make the night the actress of the worst crimes.

In fact, over the long term, crime has decreased, but spread of information has fuelled feelings of insecurity. The collective impression is that delinquency and crime rates are increasing and threatening. However, according to historian Alain Croix (2020), delinquency and crime are relative and evolutionary notions. He takes the example of the French knight François de la Barre, tortured and executed in 1766 by the Parliament of Paris for "blasphemy and sacrilege": a ground of condemnation that no longer exists in France. So there is a kind of paradox of the reality of a decrease in violence and the feeling of the opposite. Alain Croix explains that, socially, extreme poverty is receding and at the same time, culturally, violence has been increasingly accepted since the 17th century. The historian describes an important media shift: the circulation of information is transformed in the 19th century: it goes from the scale of the village to a wider scale with the erection of the press and news stories as a national culture. A kind of cognitive bias also stems from the fact that the archives consulted by historians are largely made up of complaints, interrogations and police reports. This leads to a reading of the danger of the acts and conducts of night owls. This helps to shape a stereotypical and caricatured

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[8] « *La légitimité des locuteurs à dénommer, à catégoriser, participent à la construction de leur objet* » (Foucault 1982, 120)

[9] The Trame Noire refers to all of the ecological corridors characterized by a certain obscurity and used by nocturnal species.

reading of the night as the place of either excessive partying or crime. This tendency is accentuated during political campaigns. During the 2020 municipal campaign, the word "insecurity" is placed at the center of the electoral campaign, it is everywhere, every day, in all media. Candidates for the 2020 municipal elections in Nantes contribute to propagating a form of over-visibility of the feeling of insecurity by placing this theme as the sole motive of their leaflets and programs, received by all inhabitants in their mailboxes.
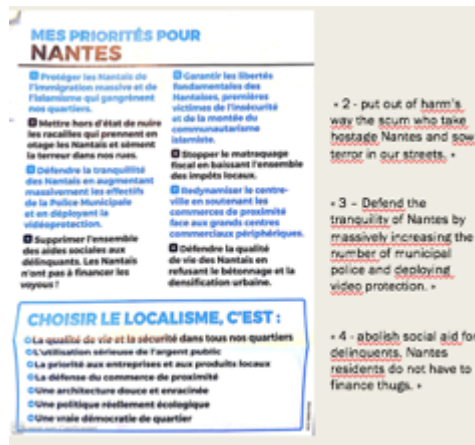
Illustration 2: Campaign flyers, 2020 municipal elections.

Illustration 3: Front page of the local newspaper Béziers n°88, 01/02/19. Twitter Ville de Béziers

To alleviate the impression of danger, improved lighting is a common suggestion in election promises and political speeches; as a bandage, a way to reduce insecurity and crime (Mosser 2007). For Johanna Rolland, current mayor of Nantes, and in the majority of the campaigns, police is brought as a response, or even the solution to insecurity. (These political speeches are often made by people who have never felt threatened by a police or military presence. The feelings of people who feel neither

comfortable nor protected by police presence or video surveillance are misunderstood and denied and a form of symbolic violence is normalized.)

It is this narrative, understood as an alarmist discourse, that I wish to put to the test. We know that private spaces are more dangerous for women than public spaces. Yet it is the outside that is prophesied as dangerous (Blache and Lapalud 2019). We know that night is less criminogenic than day. Yet, it is the night-time that is prophesied as dangerous. It is crucial to question, and even demystify, the collective fear reflected by the nocturnal urban public space.

3 – Opening up to darkness in a bright city

3.1 – First steps towards deconstruction, towards an overcoming of the fear of the dark.

The various studies carried out on the theme of lighting and security date back mainly to the 1980s and challenge the idea that artificial lighting has an influence on the rate of crimes and offenses committed in the streets:

> "*In the case of the USA, when we look at the graphs giving the frequencies of violent crimes according to the time of day, the weight of social factors (such as school hours and the preponderance of day and night work) appears to be more important than that of lighting levels. In the case of France, the journal Urbanisme n° 243 noted in 1991, based on the case of Val-de-Marne, that two-thirds of burglaries are indeed committed during the day (between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. when residents are out), while warehouses and factories are rather robbed at night (80% of these burglaries occur after 9 p.m.). Almost two thirds of thefts with violence are perpetrated during the day, very often in public transport; at night, when the bus and metro are no longer running, this type of attack occurs more inside parking lots. Finally, three quarters of armed robberies occur between 6 and 9 p.m., when traders close, and often for theft of their day's proceeds*" (Mosser 2007, 81) [10].

Although discussions in civil society on the merits of receding the light remain a minority, it is increasingly recognized that the night contains an environmental stake: rethinking the role of darkness, preserving and safeguarding dark areas, managing their links and crossings. If the concept of light pollution appeared in the 1980s, with notions of excess and the impact of a too high brightness, the subject of light pollution has been increasingly discussed for 10 years. A right to darkness is defined, that guarantees access to a starry sky and helps protect the ecosystem. In fact, in 2017 in Europe, 60% of inhabitants can no longer see the Milky Way. Travel agencies in Singapore, where light pollution is the most intense, offer to discover for the first time the splendour of the starry sky. In France, residents of cities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants are in favour of reducing the light intensity emitted by their

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[10] « *Dans le cas des USA, lorsqu'on observe les graphiques donnant les fréquences de crimes violents en fonction de l'heure de la journée, le poids des facteurs sociaux (comme les heures de cours scolaires et la prépondérance du travail en journée et du loisir de nuit) apparaît plus important que celui des niveaux d'éclairage. Dans le cas de la France, la revue Urbanisme (n° 243) notait en 1991, à partir du cas du Val-de-Marne, que les deux tiers des cambriolages sont en effet commis de jour (entre 6 h et 18 h, lorsque les habitants sont sortis), tandis que les entrepôts et usines sont plutôt dévalisés de nuit (80% de ces cambriolages s'effectuent après 21 h). Près des deux tiers des vols avec violence sont perpétrés de jour, très souvent dans les transports en communs; la nuit, quand bus et métro ne circulent plus, ce type d'agression se produit plutôt à l'intérieur des parkings. Enfin, les trois quarts des vols à main armée se produisent entre 18 et 21h, à l'heure où les commerçants ferment, et souvent pour le vol de leur recette de la journée »* (Mosser 2007, 81)

municipalities. Some turn off the light spots completely between 1 and 5 a.m. and display this decision at the entrance to the town.

Illustration 4: Road signs at the entrance of the communes. Salomé Vincent, 2020

These photographs were taken in the municipalities of Talence, near Bordeaux, Nouvelle-Aquitaine and Vassieux en Vercors, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes. More than 12,000 municipalities in France partially or completely turn off public lighting. However, in fact, the rise of public lighting did not provide more security. It even seems that light promotes crime in a way, when it is thought of as a solution to crime. Indeed, it allows: "b*etter visibility of potential victims and their surroundings, allows the perpetrator to better estimate the valuables that a person carries. Increased lighting could also facilitate drug deals"* (Mosser 2007, 59). When Roger Narboni, during a lighting experience in Nantes, only illuminates the right sidewalk, every woman decides to start walking on the left sidewalk, in the dark, justifying that they can better see the danger. Plus, we tend to think of fear as a mathematical result of violence. However, it is mainly the result of memories and experiences in an urban environment that has a strong power of evocation. Then, it also seems crucial to remember that assaults don't necessarily take place in dark places. According to Marylène Lieber (2008), most of the assaults take place in day light: 90% of the rapes are happening in bright spaces. Furthermore, Hille Koskela (1999) has taught us that Finnish women make no difference between summer and winter nights in terms of danger. In Helsinki, where the summer knows little darkness and winter very long nights, Finnish women are always afraid of going out at times identified as night-time, even though the light is still here. If not dark, summer nights are also feared there. It proves that more than light, it is the social behaviour at night that is feared. "*It is not the lack of light that inspires women to remain alert, but the social dimension of the night"* (Condon, Lieber, Maillochon 2005, 268). In the end, what counts is not the level of brightness but the social dimension of the night. Moreover, in the article *Fear of crime and affective ambiguities in the night-time economy*, Brands, Schwanen and Van Aalst (2015) explain that fear of crime is a far greater obstacle to participation in the night-time economy than crime itself. The article suggests that lighting and police presence are the main factors governing the perception of safety. Police presence does not necessarily improve the perception of safety: it can both reduce or intensify the fear of crime for night owls. In addition, while police presence in public space can, under certain conditions, reassure co-present people, it can also simultaneously, and in these same people, draw their attention to the fact

that the danger is imminent. If I've learned anything during the past years is that, despite the worried reactions I get when I talk about my thesis, my body walking around the nights of Nantes is not so much a danger as a perception of risk: a first system of self-limitation. Contrary to a widespread idea, no police statistics show that the night is more criminogenic than the day. This whole process of reflection leads us to understand that the feeling of insecurity is wrongly considered as the result of actual crime (Mosser 2007) but it rather comes from mental, political and social constructs that are far from statistics and from a concrete, quantified reality of danger.

3.2 – Towards a consent to darkness.

The nocturnal history of humans largely consists in tracking down night owls, nocturnal animals, humans and non-humans. Migratory birds that are guided by the stars are disoriented by artificial lighting. The French Ministry of Ecological and Solidarity Transition speaks of "light nuisances" to evoke the disappearance of the inhabitants of the night. Environmental psychology talks about a loss of reference syndrome: the norm is a fully lit environment, darkness is something with which we have lost contact, and therefore that tends to discomfit us. The spotlights casted in places of consumption serving the 24/7 city extend the reign of economy and production to the night; neon lights eat up the dark, urban rhythms make capitalism penetrate into all cycles, all times, all minds, all places. So, besides a transgression of the frames of the diurnal experience, the experience of the dark night looks like an anti-capitalist exploration. Night is an inhabited space, space for everyone, especially those who have no space during the day.

It seems important to bring a form of consent to the dark. As a matter of fact, there are many reasons for consent to the dark. "*Consenting to the night means accepting to comply to the singular experiences that it makes possible. Good or bad, intimate and sensitive, it opens a space where we can finally live without witnesses*" *(*Foessel 2017, 15*)[11]*. One can consent to the dark because it eradicates any prosecution witness. One can consent to the dark for the sake of energy saving or because obscurity allows to see the stars. Darkness can also play a role in helping to reduce urban stress. It is a resource for the living: all terrestrial animals need darkness (80% of butterflies are moths). One can also consent to darkness because it can be a refuge, an ally: it allows hiding in positions that make it possible to see without being seen. It can be a guarantee of security. Also, consenting to the obscure like Jun'ichiro Tanizaki who, in *In Praise of the Shadow* (2015) written in 1933, promotes an aesthetic of the penumbra in reaction to the Western aesthetic which illuminates everything:

> "*The aesthetic evoked by Jun'chiro Tanizaki shows us that there are other ways of thinking at night than trying to suppress it. We therefore need to get out of the frame imposed by our culture, and look elsewhere to rediscover this taste for shade, and see that blackness*

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[11] « *Consentir à la nuit signifie accepter de se soumettre aux expériences singulières qu'elle seule rend possible. Bonne ou mauvaise, intime et sensible, elle ouvre un espace où l'on peut, enfin, vivre sans témoin* » *(*Foessel 2017, 15*)*.

enhances the light, the shards of materials and brings the reliefs into play." (André, Kiritzé-Topor 2017, 91)[12].

For him, Japanese culture is not a culture of light, too dazzling, but that of shadow, of twilight. His work initiates a deconstruction of the Western cultural heritage of darkness that upholds a cult of light. Darkness is also related to wisdom: the great majority of Greek cosmogony elevate darkness to the rank of original power that would give birth to the day. (Plato sends wisdom down into the darkness of the Cave, while truth, the result of judgment, comes from an outer light. In the Cave, a fire creates the make-believe of reality in the shadows.)

Eventually, it seems safe to say that entering an obscure night is agreeing to initiate a deconstruction. Deconstruct what we think we know, deconstruct the usual pace of everyday life, deconstruct what we think we are afraid of. It is confronting one's fear, it is turning to the interstices, it is accepting to lose some control. Thus, deconstructing fears related to darkness allows an alternative and empowering experience of the city. Plus, let's not forget that the night is already full of night owls who are not afraid of the dark. The sensitive night walk protocol, initiated by the Reclaim The Night movement in Leeds in 1977, already tackles fear as a social, sociological, historical construct and as an instrument of domination.
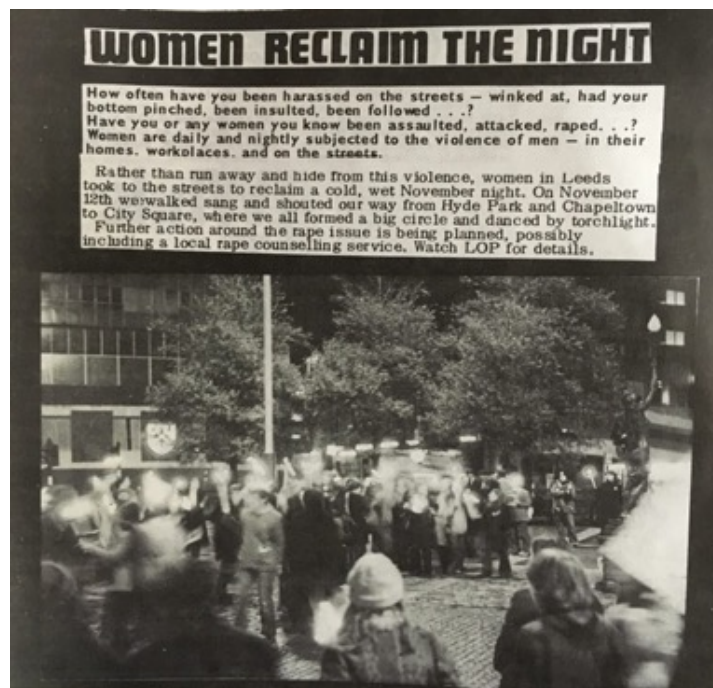
Illustration 5: Excerpt from the Leeds Other Paper, novembre 1977. From secretlibraryleeds.net

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[12]*« L'esthétique évoquée par Jun'chiro Tanizaki nous montre qu'il existe d'autres manières de penser la nuit que celle de chercher à la supprimer. Il nous faut donc sortir du cadre imposé par notre culture, et poser le regard ailleurs, pour retrouver ce goût de l'ombre, et voir que le noir met en valeur la lumière, les éclats des matériaux, qu'elle fait jouer les reliefs » (André, Kiritzé-Topor 2017, 91).*

In order not to live in a paralyzing fear and unwilling to boost self-esteem and well-being and in order to fight against fear and violence, caring on oneself and on the city must become an ethical and political issue; so that forms of cooperation can be organized to face the feeling of insecurity. The challenge for the city seems to me to lie in the redefinition of common spaces: leaving breaches that leave room for improvisation, so that all the expressions of the night remain possible. Graffiti is an example of an activity that is only possible in the dark. Ypope, a tagger from Nantes, explains in *Place Publique n° 44* (2014, 41): "*It's more discreet, there is less risk of being seen. There is almost no one in the streets, and less noise. We hear the cars coming in the distance. Statistically there is a better chance that it is the police going on rounds. We have time to anticipate*"[13]. The conservation of hollow teeth of the city also makes possible a form of soft resistance to grid, standardized and trivialized cities. What if the stake of the night was not so much the tranquillity but the progress of freedoms? Fear and feelings of insecurity are socially differentiated constructs, they are a consequence of crime but also provide insight into the system of power that shapes public space and behaviour.

Conclusion

Finally, the night seems like a conglomerate of social constructs that results from a balance of power bound to evolve over time. If, as we've seen, an anthropological fear of the dark and in the dark persists, no police statistics confirm that darkness promises danger. Surveillance/security wills are intended to obstruct the flow of what is seen as unwanted elements and to receive money. The privatization and generalization of surveillance/security as well as the criminalization of poverty have undermined the political function of public space (Margier 2016). Even, the light seems, in some cases, to increase the risk. More than light, it is the social behaviour at night that is feared. Thus, the feeling of insecurity does not result from the application of policies, but rather seems to be the fruit of many social constructions that are spatially translated: it is generated by social injunctions.

My research field in dark places of Nantes requires to jump off the beaten track, in an interloper night that is in isolated, narrow, scarce places. Emotions - like fear - do not represent biases but are what makes it possible to understand a situation. So the geography of emotions, a sensitive approach of the night, as well as a form of care for the city and for oneself passes for what can make it possible to cross academic and intimate borders in order to truly enter the night of the night of Nantes. It allows to escape the values of the day to introduce sensitive, in-between, far from binary responses binaires (Gwiazdzinski 2019). Like the researcher, the city must enter into an apprenticeship at night. Develop new night vision, mentally and psychologically readjust to wanderings in the dark night.

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[13] « *C'est plus discret, on risque moins d'être vu. Il n'y a presque personne dans les rues, et moins de bruit. On entend les voitures arriver au loin. Statistiquement il y a plus de chance que ce soit la police qui tourne. On a le temps d'anticiper"* (Ypope, Place Publique n°44, 2014, 41.

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Night Moves - Considering Mundane Depictions of the Urban Night

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Abstract

During the late 1980s in Southern Ontario, the region directly surrounding the Canadian city of Toronto, a local television station programmed three half-hour late night steady-cam walks and drives around the city. Entitled *Night Moves*, *Night Walk*, or *Night Drive* the television program portrayed voyeuristic strolls through quiet city streets, and night drives through long stretches of local highways, set to original jazz music compositions. These half hour programs signified the pending SMPTE colour bars, the test pattern for NTSC video, and the official station sign off. *Night moves* remains an iconic local program that reinforced an image of Canadian cities as banal and empty spaces. Mid-1980s Toronto was a typical sprawling North American city — emptying out of commuters, uniquely lit up by the urban touchstones of Chinatown and the neon signs of local record stores. *Night Moves* acts as a time capsule for Toronto's urban nightscape. Over the last 15 years the city has seen a rapid restructuring, become a lightning rod for international real estate capital, density increase, and urban inequality. The streets are vaguely recognizable, having changed to accommodate a wider range of leisure, employment, living situations, and population expansion. This paper will seek to analyze the first-person perspective of *Night Moves* through an interdisciplinary lens that considers the subject of experiencing space through cultural geography and choreography, while reflecting on major urban issues underlying the aesthetic nostalgia embedded in this depiction of Toronto.

Keywords: Steadicam, Night Moves, Toronto, Mundane Cinema, Choreography

During the period of the mid-1980s to mid-1990s in Toronto, Canada, a local television network screened a late-night program entitled *Night Moves*. A half-hour program, *Night Moves* was scheduled

as the television station's sign off, running just before the SMPTE colour bars that signalled the end of daily programming in the deepest moments of the night. Original jazz music compositions were a feature of the show, accompanying depictions of slow city walks or drives through the Toronto nightscape (with the alternate titles of *Night Walk* or *Night Drive*) which lulled the viewer into a deserted city. The smooth and graceful video sequences were the product of editor Bill Elliot and the pioneering steadicam work of cinematographer David Crone, which gave a feeling of floating through the buildings and street at night. Toronto was portrayed in these shows as an abandoned relic of the daytime, with neon lights reflecting on empty streets with rare pedestrians entering the frame, essentially showing mundane sequences of Toronto nightscapes absent of human drama. This paper will consider *Night Moves,* which has locally become repopularized with its presence on Youtube, as an iconic and kitschy representation of 1980s Toronto, a city that has seen rapid density increases and gentrification since the 1980s. Considering Toronto's history as a quiet and conservative North American city whose downtown core was typically deserted in the evenings, and the steadicam as a choreographic intervention in the nightscape, this paper will contrast the smooth and flowing quality of *Night Moves* with the current tensions of Toronto's millennial urbanism.

The three episodes of *Night Moves* can be viewed on Youtube, taking these dreamy yet kitschy shows out of their original viewing context of the dead of night and into the ondemand format of Youtube. For this paper, I will focus on a specific episode (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VFBKGpLNad0) which shows several sites that are architecturally unchanged from the period they were filmed. The first segment wanders through levels of the Metro Toronto Convention Centre (MTCC), a marvel of brutalist architecture that acts as a large scale events centre in Toronto, located directly beside the city's main landmark-- the CN tower. We witness the event space at what can be inferred as the closing hours as we are whisked by a small group of dressed up party goers departing for the night. We see the empty escalators, conference rooms, and lobbies, that look identical to the common spaces of the MTCC today. The interior scenes of the MTCC are punctuated by the neon artwork that lines the upper level hallway. These expressive works in multi-colour neon can still be easily accessed through the walking short cuts that connect the MTCC to Union Station, the main train station in Toronto. Toronto is a city that has a 'Percent for Public Art' program that requires construction projects to commit 1% of their budget for public art projects, and a number of high profile artworks exist on the MTCC site as a product of this rule. The neon works in particular act as a colourful contrast to the basic brutalist space designed to host large scale gatherings, events, and banquets. The steadicam work of this video segment takes us on a first person tour of the MTCC in off-peak hours, which gives a current clue to the unusual openness of this space. Due to its connection to the underground pathways in the downtown core, including a connection to the main train station and the relatively new airport train, the doors of the MTCC still stay open to the general public passing through the downtown core.

The second segment takes the viewer on a walk through Dundas West Chinatown. Toronto has three Chinatowns -- Dundas West close to the downtown core, Dundas East on the eastern side of the Don Valley, and the suburban Chinatown of Agincourt. In this sequence we encounter empty streets,

long gazes at closed shop windows, and some timid looks into popular restaurants full of customers. The view of the television show offers a first person perspective, the camera's gaze steadied to slow the overview of the night's details: flickering lights, shadowy pedestrians, neon, car lights -- a city that appears to have emptied out at night. The spaces and streets that are emptied out, contrast the current marketing and public perception of Toronto -- a cosmopolitan city that repopulated its downtown core through the expansion of condominium properties in the centre of the city. A walk through Dundas West Chinatown before the lockdown measures of coronavirus, would find the streets full, shops open in the evening, and a plethora of restaurants open and packed with customers.

The camera work of *Night Moves* is one of its unique characteristics. The floating quality of its steadicam work gives a first person walk through Toronto in the 1980s that's slow and lackadaisical, distinct from typical depictions of urban scenes as rapidly moving places packed with people. This floating perspective of the streets and interior spaces remains an unusual vantage point, without a hurried gesture, or a fast corner, producing a certain quality of space. Henri Lefebvre in *The production of space* writes:

> Can the body, with its capacity for action, and its various energies, be said to create space? Assuredly, but not in the sense that occupation might be said to 'manufacture' spatiality; rather, there is an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between the body's deployment in space and its occupation of space. Before producing effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before producing itself by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before reproducing itself by generating other bodies, each living body is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space.' (Lefebvre,1974, p. 170)

The steadicam operator of *Night Moves* produces space, going to elaborate lengths to navigate buildings and city streets, illustrating a specific movement quality that slowly takes in the surroundings. The viewer takes the place of the camera man's body, drifting through the space between the invisible body entangled with the camera and the local architecture. Lefebvre's text points to the social factors that are part of the production of space, and *Night Moves* offers a space that embraces the quiet of the urban night. However, a night time stroll in 2020 either through the MTCC or Chinatown will reveal a different city, one whose density has changed, visible through the volume of people on the street and the traffic volume -- the material realities that show rapid urban densification. Toronto has led the trend in Canadian cities to increase condominium units in the downtown core, offering an intensification of living, working, and leisure conditions that find the city streets packed in the nights. 'The production of space' that exists through the eyes of the cameraman in 1980s Toronto is one that exists as nostalgia for the current inhabitant of Toronto, this former vision of a city that serves the suburban lifestyle surrounding the downtown core. In 2020, a skeleton of Toronto's downtown core is mapped out in *Night moves*-- the structure and artworks of the MTCC, but these buildings offer a touchstone for the transformational social scenarios currently happening in the city.

Considering Night Moves as a work beyond cinematography, moving into choreography requires an understanding of theories of choreography that see it as a separate act from dance. The movement and editing that comprise the shots have a decidedly methical quality, one that

simultaneously observes and moves through the space as it is recording. Prolific choreographer William Forsythe states: 'Historically choreography has been indivisible from the human body in action. The choreographic idea traditionally materializes in a chain of bodily action with the moments of its performance being the first, last and only instances of a particular interpretation.' (Forsythe, 2012, p. 203) I would argue that the auteur of *Night Moves* is acting as choreographer, translating the first person exploration of various nightscapes into a document of movement via the camera. As viewers of *Night Moves*, we inhabit the eye of the camera operator, placed inside the perspective of an invisible body, which gives a first-person stroll through the neon lit city. Points of interest are captured on video but there is also a strategic pondering of movement to calculate moving through doorways, having doors held open, avoiding staircases, essentially becoming the mobile voyeur as the video goes on. Movement is the defining element of choreography, and this smoothly moving voyeur enlivens the spaces he moves through, giving us the experience of being downtown in the mid-eighties, taking in the corners of the city that light up the night. This night choreography is inevitably linked to the light sources, details of the well lit-interior of the MTCC or neon signage on Dundas Street West catching the eye and initiating the movements of the camera person, who stands in for the viewer. The moving gaze of *Night Moves* is also intimately linked with its music, original jazz compositions for the program. This use of music amplifies the choreographic element, pairing the visuals with a sultry soundtrack that helps build an emotional impression of the night.

During the pandemic the city streets resemble the streets of night moves, more closely than the typical bustle of Toronto. We are now in a shifting reality in regards to how public urban space is used, but immediately before the period of Covid regulations the city centre of Toronto had become well populated and a destination for people that live in other areas of the city. The population of the metro Toronto area has increased from 3.4 million in 1986 to 6.2 million in 2019 (macrotrends.net). *Night Moves* reveals a relatively receptive space for the steadicam rig that was used in 1986. Toronto's downtown views have expanded from the stedicam flaneur to the surveillance mandate of the local police force, stationing cameras at downtown intersections prone to incidences of violence and debauchery of party-goers in the area immediately between the MTCC and Dundas Street West, as well as the ubiquitous personal video technology that most citizens can now hold in their hands.

The night in post-condominium Toronto includes many unique qualities and inequalities. The tension around housing is apparent on the streets in the night, as the downtown core is a place where many people create small encampments for themselves. The night is also populated by the hundreds of residents who live in the towers packed together in city blocks. There has been an expansion of leisure, shopping, entertainment, and restaurants to accommodate the changing city. Although the MTCC and Chinatown are recognizable locations, the short walk between the two yields a different cityscape, one that panders to the millennial downtown worker. We experience a turning of the surveillance from the stedicam operator, to the smartphone users on the city streets, a kind of self-surveillance. What's absent is the aimless discovery that *Night Moves* asserts. A wander and an

exploration into the night as a calming place, emptied out of the daytime aspirations, a compilation of spaces without any climax in action.

As *Night Moves* viewers we can sit back and experience the details of the city nights. The lighting, both interior and exterior of the common urban spaces in Toronto, highlight the mystique of the urban nightscape. The rarity of these images portray the city of Toronto as a mundane Canadian city, one whose corners show a quiet beauty of the night, a wandering sense of the evening flaneur caught on eighties video technology. The speed precedes the space, slowly crafting the video frame for a slow pan of the local details. The steadicam is never still, it wafts through the space without any jolts or jumbles. These shots continue to explore the city at night, a restless mover through the doorways and cruising the sidewalks of an emptied city. These deserted shots contrast the current perception of the city as a space for ruckus gatherings and night parties. The cruising camera man would struggle to trace their way through the current streets, in the main centres of Toronto nightlife, filled with shops and restaurants that cater to the night crowds. The MTCC continues to stand open for the curious explorer, as long as they move fast enough to not be detected by security. *Night Moves* was taped in 1986, just before the city formulated a plan to populate and intensify the urban density of Toronto. The sleepy downtown that we experience as viewers, is in fact a distant past of a city that has expanded its reach as a capitalist hub, whose nights are packed with the leisure, labour, and variety of a generic cosmopolitan city centre.

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Night-time as a strategic referent in making an intermediary city more attractive. The case of the Reims Grand Centre urban project (France)

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Abstract (EN)

This article analyses the nocturnal dimension to the Reims Grand Centre project. It brings out a shift in approach by those involved in urban design, with an increased sensitivity to nocturnal matters. This provides a way of improving user comfort and developing new evening and night-time usages. Nevertheless, this attention to the nocturnal dimension is incomplete, seeking to make places more attractive only to certain parts of the population, leading to various pre-existing usages being displaced or pushed out, thereby increasing social and behavioral normativity.

Keywords (EN): Urban projects; Night; Territorial attractiveness; Intermediary city

Abstract (other than En) : FR

Cet article analyse la dimension nocturne du projet urbain Reims Grand Centre. Il permet de souligner un changement d'approche des acteurs de la production urbaine, développant une sensibilité accrue aux caractéristiques urbaines nocturnes. Cela permet d'améliorer le confort des usagers et de développer de nouveaux usages le soir et la nuit. Néanmoins, cette attention à la dimension nocturne est incomplète, cherchant à rendre les lieux plus attractifs uniquement pour certaines parties de la population, conduisant à déplacer ou à expulser divers usages préexistants, augmentant ainsi la normativité sociale et comportementale.

Keywords (FR): Projets urbains; Nuit; Attractivité territoriale; Ville intermédiaire

Introduction

"*Reims Grand Centre sera une véritable locomotive pour l'attractivité du Grand Reims*" (Reims Grand Centre will be powering Grand Reims' attractiveness). These are the words emblazoned on the site hoarding in the heart of Reims for this development of key importance to Reims municipal council (2014-2020). This project feeds into a "territorial narrative" (Bouba-Olga, 2019), in which the night plays a role well worth examining. It is a component in a policy conducted over the past ten or so years to enhance the town center by rehabilitating the industrial inner suburbs. It also partakes in a larger movement to upgrade and embellish public spaces, stretching back to the 1970s in Europe. Many studies have shown that this trend, by encouraging commercial activities to the detriment of free forms of occupancy, has transformed how public space is used, and by whom (Séchet, 2009; Monnet, 2012; Fleury & Froment-Meurice, 2014). But the specifically nocturnal dimension of these projects has rarely been studied. It may however be supposed that such projects impact on the development of nightlife and nocturnal practices in cities.

The way a town is presented, particularly at night, is increasingly central to strategies to boost a territory's attractiveness and enhance its economic and cultural profile. This phenomenon raises questions about the role urban projects play in the treatment of central public spaces in how nightlife develops and functions. To what extent do urban projects transform the "territorial narrative" and nightlife of an intermediary city?

This paper addresses these questions by studying a specific project: the "Reims Grand Centre" project. This includes a redesign of a promenade, and building offices, housing, a concert hall, and a water leisure complex alongside the city center. This article explores an element that has been largely neglected in studying urban projects, the temporality namely night-time. Study of the Reims Grand Centre project brings out attempts to factor night-time into the equation, representing a major shift in approaches to produce the city. Equally, night-time is used as a way of making the city more attractive— one of the development strategy targets—leading to certain usages being displaced or driven out, and to heightened spatial and behavioral normativity. Enhancing night-time has become part of a "common reference framework for action" (Vivant, 2007) used by towns when drawing up their urban projects, though without necessarily taking the local context into account.

I – Night-time: a black box in research on what urban projects produce

1) Night-time, a subject mainly studied for its technical and festive aspects

The night is a topic of multidisciplinary investigation in both the natural sciences (biology and medicine) and the human and social sciences (geography, sociology, urban studies, literature, political science, etc.). It has only been taken up by the human sciences over the past forty or so years, in the wake of pioneering work by Anne Cauquelin (1977) and Murray Melbin (1978) seeking to throw light on

the "final frontier" in academic study of the city, emphasizing how night is "colonized" by daytime elements. Many studies have thus focused on specific technical aspects, such as security matters (Girardon, 1980), street lighting (Schivelbusch, 1993; Ibusza, 1972), and light pollution (Mizon, 1994; Challéat, 2010; Hölker, *et. al.*, 2010). There is now abundant scholarship on nocturnal activities looking at festive gatherings in public spaces, and particularly students' nights out (Moreau, 2010; Bonny, 2010; Desse, 2015; Moreau & Sauvage, 2006). A recurrent theme in these studies is the problem of deliberate or routine drunkenness (Nahoum-Grappe, 2010; Farnié, 2006; Amador et al*.,* 2005; Freyssinet-Dominjon & Wagner, 2003), and policies to manage it (Mallet, 2009) due to the resultant disturbances (Candela, 2015; Defrance, 2017; Walker, 2018). This has led these authors to study conflicts between residents complaining about noise, those running bars and restaurants defending the economic development of their businesses, users with various cognitive dispositions, and those working for institutions seeking to promote a city's nocturnal attractions to tourists.

This paper moves beyond this focus on revelry and nights out to examine local development. Lighting plans, transport management tools, the siting of activities, and urban programming provide ways for urban planners to act on various times of day. Nevertheless, these initiatives seek primarily to enhance and promote town centers and institutionalized urban culture to the detriment of other activities and nocturnal spaces which have been excluded from the picture (logistics, monitoring, outskirts, etc.). Such an approach entails examining the socio-urban rhythms resulting from the interactions between territoriality and temporality. It is thus a matter of understanding misalignments in how space is perceived, experienced, and conceived for nocturnal usages, as theorized by Lefebvre (1974). This involves analysis of the differing discourses about night-time by those producing urban space (real estate developers, institutional services, architects, urban planners, consultancies, local politicians, etc.). And these discourses are influenced by social representations of night-time and specific urban planning regulations, revealing the forms of domination at work in an urban project, which may conflict with usage value. Critical examination of the implementation of policies to make a territory more attractive throws light on how a town is produced locally, with its inhabitants and users.

2) Culture as a tool for territorial attractiveness

The phenomena of suburbanization and increased mobility have led cities to instigate urban development processes based on restoring districts with buildings of historic interest (under the 1962 Malraux law in France, for instance). The idea of reestablishing the function of town centers progressively emerged as these spaces were won back for pedestrians thanks to considered use of surface materials, planting, art works, and street furniture. The earliest policies to pedestrianize high streets date back to 1960s America and Europe, accompanied by the complete redevelopment of public spaces to make them more attractive. In France, the pedestrianization of old districts drove up property prices in town centers, with local shops consequently being replaced by bars and restaurants (Desse, 2015).

Municipal strategies then turned to attracting the "creative" classes to boost local economic development, in accordance with the correlation established by Florida (2002). In addition to classic policies such as tax incentives or measures to improve infrastructure and available office space, culture was often deployed as a component in these operations to promote a specific benefit associated with the local urban heritage (Vivant, 2009). Tourism was likewise seen as a resource for local economic development due to its capacity to generate non-relocatable jobs (Harvey, 1989). Most cities invested in infrastructure and amenities for cultural visits, events, festivals, the hospitality industry, and so on to boost their attractiveness. Thus festive events were encouraged by those producing urban space to the detriment of more routine nocturnal usages. The themes and timing of events recurring from one city to the next (Nuit Blanche, Nuit des musées, Fête de la musique, Fête des lumières, etc.) underscore the rivalry between them. Yet these events, together with high value-added strategic activities (such as higher education, research laboratories, or innovative industries), have been concentrated in a few urban spaces due to advances in communication technologies and improved mobility. This has thus led to central spaces being valued over other urban spaces (Vivant, 2009).

In the late twentieth century, after having long been the preserve of major capitals, nightlife became an important element in urban economies and a tool for making a city more attractive. Local governments were encouraged to develop emblematic projects and to adopt entrepreneurial policies to favorably position their town (Harvey, 1989). Night-time activities were thus developed in towns in Europe during the 1990s, with the night coming to be viewed by public actors as an economically and culturally productive opportunity (Bianchini, 1995; Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Roberts, 2004; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009). Certain cultural institutional amenities such as museums, galleries, performance halls, and theaters, for instance, were frequently central to plans to breathe new life into a city's dilapidated central and industrial spaces, backed up by extended evening opening hours (Heath, 1997) and numerous lighting policies (Mallet, 2009).

3) Urban projects as a privileged means to produce urban space

Local public actors thus started paying far greater attention to night-time, and within the space of a few years expanded their actions for this part of the day. On being confronted with changing lifestyles, local public actors—with expanded powers thanks to decentralization and increasing competition between towns—engaged with new issues. There is extensive scholarship on the regularization of nocturnal space, public lighting, the attractiveness of towns by night, and the night-time economy, analyzing the various associated instruments and measures. But these issues have not been viewed through the prism of an urban project.

Yet despite this, since the 1970s urban projects have been the privileged operational means of producing urban space. Though long synonymous with large-scale urban composition and architecture, in which the static figure of the plan predominated, urban projects have subsequently become a strategic urban planning instrument. Rather than just being a set of concrete realizations, urban projects are a process of exchanges, negotiations, and confrontations between various actors (Arab, 2018),

providing a more flexible model to the rigid imposition of an urban plan geared towards progress. An urban project focuses investment, and the intended impact exceeds the project perimeter to instead dynamize a whole territory (Novarina (ed.), 2003).

Public space is a major component in contemporary urban projects. A town is structured around public spaces, which organize its activities, frame perceptions of its spaces, and construct its image. Since the 1970s, the term "public space" has evoked a renewed appreciation of how a town's streets and shared spaces are essential components structuring city life. The trend for developing public spaces has been generalized, grounded in criticisms of the functionalist period which tended to downplay this type of space (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1974). Given the context of uncontrolled urban growth compounded by a social and urban crisis, urban fragmentation has been increasingly seen as a real threat. Against this backdrop, public space has come to be viewed as a way of knitting fragmented spaces together. Public space is thought of as having a capacity for hospitality, for encounters, for pacifying social relations and developing feelings of belonging to a town. Public space has become a referent for urban actors as part of a movement to revive city centers, improve the urban environment, and breathe new life into shops and services. It is also where many practices take place at night, especially as public space can lend itself to a convivial and festive culture (Jolé, 2006). These changes are linked to general transformation in lifestyles, but also to new ways of apprehending and managing public spaces at night. That is why an urban project can provide a useful prism to study night-time changes. The work involved in drawing up, designing, and implementing a project reveals collective choices to intervene, and sheds light on social representations of space.

II – "Reims Grand Centre", an urban project at the heart of a new urban strategy

1) A mixed program to extend the city center

Reims is an intermediary city in north-eastern France with a population of about 180,000 inhabitants (320,000 in the greater urban area as a whole). It lies about 100 miles east of Paris and acts as an intermediary in material and immaterial exchanges between the small- and medium-sized towns in the environs on the one hand, and metropolises such as Lille, Strasbourg, and Paris, to which it is linked by a high-speed railway service with the journey taking forty-five minutes on the other hand. Like most intermediary cities, Reims is also a student town, with students making up 17.5% of the population in the 15-64 age group. Yet it does not exert a strong pull, and has slightly negative net migration. The general trend is towards an ageing population, though there are still a fairly large number of under-45s. Household income tends towards the lower end of the spectrum, with 40% residing in social housing (nearly double the legally stipulated lower limit of provision) and an increased number of households beneath the tax threshold (up 9% between 2006 and 2014). Reims acts as focal point structuring the surrounding region, which is mainly agricultural, predominantly vineyards and arable and

sugar beet farms. To maintain its position between Paris and Strasbourg, the Grand Reims authorities pursue a policy to make the territory more attractive, notably via economic development projects (managed by the InvestInReims economic development agency) and by promoting tourism to increase the number of overnight stays. Green tourism is privileged, drawing on the local resources such as the Regional Natural Park of the Montagne de Reims and the UNESCO-listed Champagne vineyards.

Yet Reims is often viewed as a fairly quiet town, and its nightlife is often said to be underdeveloped. Historically nightlife has been concentrated in the heart of the city around Drouet d'Erlon square (figure 1). This large central square was pedestrianized in 1993, and is currently the site of most of the bars and restaurants for students and tourists. It is thus a lively place day and night, though with variations depending on the day and season, being busiest at the ends of the week and during the spring and summer months. Over the past decade nightlife has spread eastwards and northwards from the center, expanding around Forum square, the Halles-Boulingrin (a covered market), and the industrial district of Port Sec (figure 1). This was in the wake of initiatives by city actors to reconquer central public spaces. The first phase in this was the drawing up and implementation of the Reims 2020 project, guided by the purpose of rethinking the planning of the whole city. Major upgrades to public space were carried out after the tramway came into operation in 2011. Three main axes for redevelopment have been privileged within this overall strategy: the Forum square, the Halles-Boulingrin, and the banks of the River Vesle. Due to these redevelopments, night-time activities (bars, clubs, and restaurants) now extend over a greater geographical area, with more diverse ambiences.
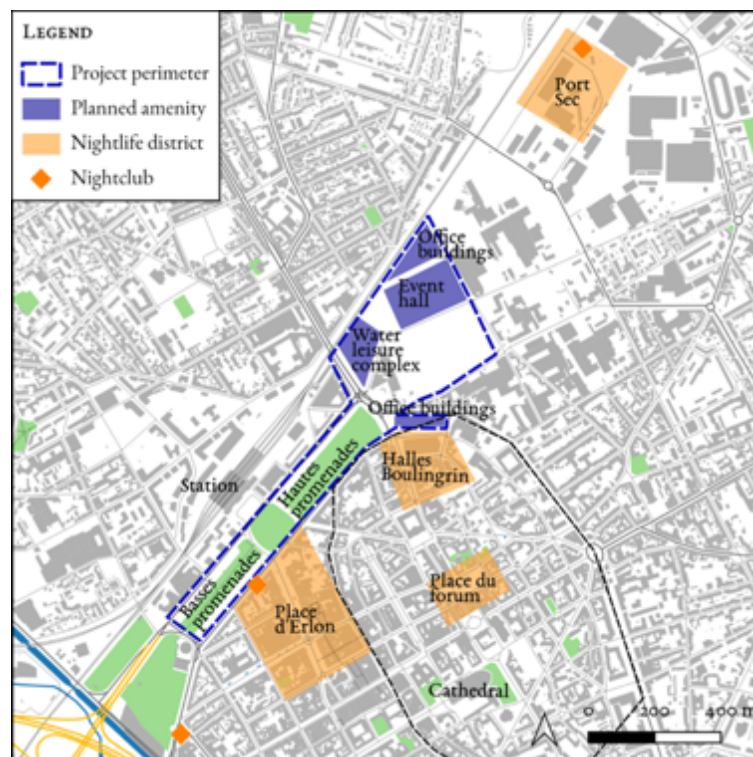
Figure 1: Main places for going out at night and the perimeter of the Reims Grand Centre project. Map generated using QGIS by Magali de Raphélis

The change in the composition of the municipal council in the wake of elections in 2014 led to a transformation in the urban strategy. Since then, the focus has shifted mostly to the Reims Grand Centre (2014-2022) project, to the detriment of the previous strategy embracing the town as a whole. This project is a mixed urban program to redevelop a brownfield site. It includes the creation of housing, offices, car parks, a hotel, and a Cité du Champagne, together with two major facilities driving the project: a water leisure center and an arena (a large events hall for culture and sports, where many evening events are held) (figure 2). The project also includes the creation of a transport hub around the central station and the redevelopment of the "Promenades" as a natural public space for relaxation and meeting people, the municipality's objective being to extend the city center.
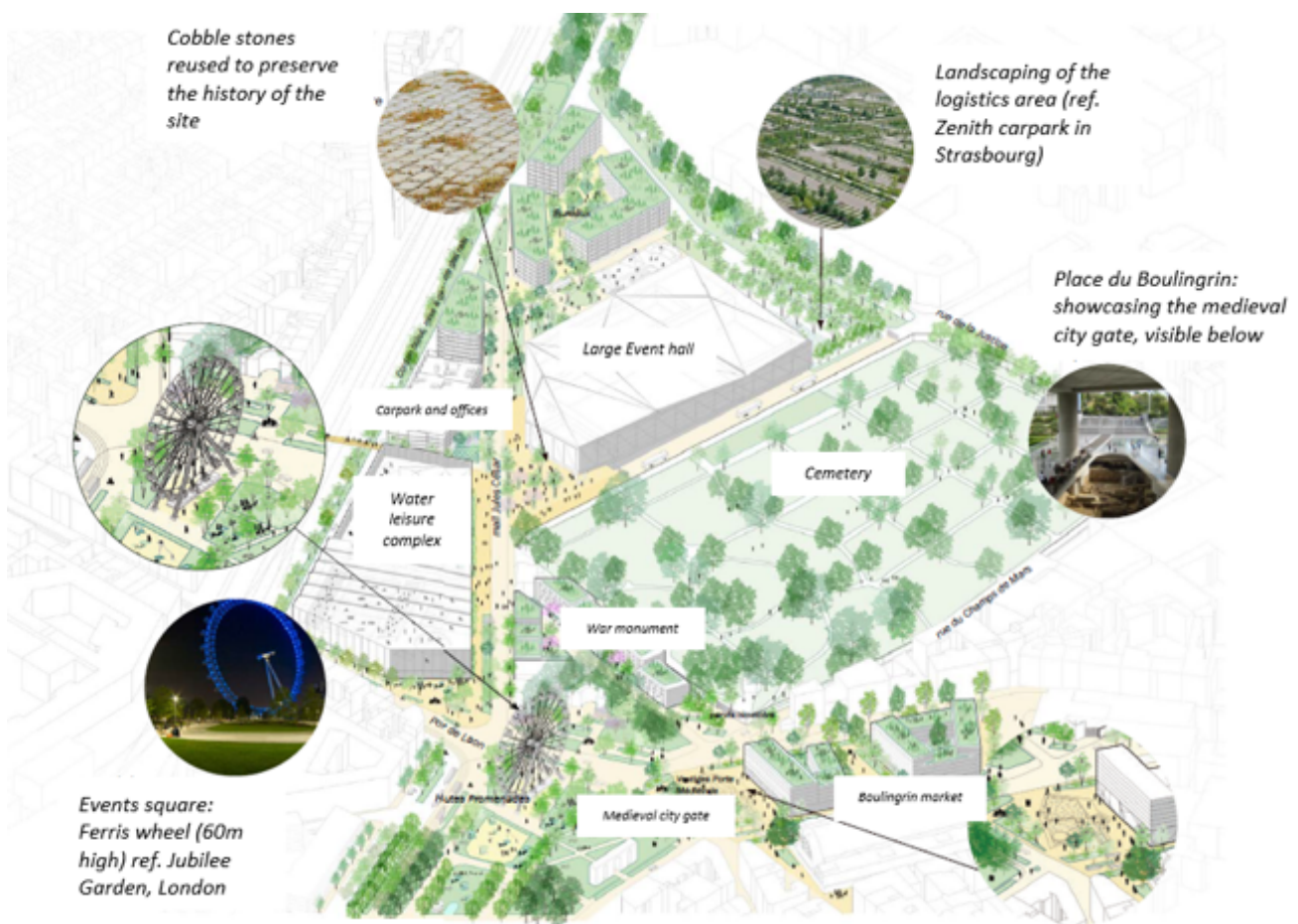
Figure 2: Overview of the ZAC SERNAM transformation project, Agence Leclercq Associés, City of Reims

2) The "Promenades": towards a new type of public space

The rest of this article focuses on the redevelopment of the "Hautes Promenades", completed in September 2019, unlike the rest of the project where work is still under way (figure 3). The "promenades" are a tree-lined avenue a little over half a mile long, initially laid out in 1731 to provide inhabitants with an area for relaxation and events alongside the city center. The promenades were

progressively forsaken over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as they became hemmed in by railway lines and then a motorway, before being partly turned into a car park in the 1980s. The purpose of the present project was thus to "return the promenades to their former usages and prestige", to recreate a space for "typical Reims-style living", and to "boost [Reims'] attractiveness". The project thus entailed removing the car park, transforming the planting, redesigning large lawns where people could walk, and the creation of a reflecting pool (figure 3). It also included the installation of sports and play equipment and places for gathering, such as picnic tables, hammocks, kiosks, and so on.

The project thus resembles many other current urban projects to create new public spaces for sports and leisure. For example, the "Promenade du Paillon" in Nice (figure 4), created in 2011 on the site of a former bus station, is an open green space with a reflecting pool and sports and play equipment. More recently, and on a smaller scale, the new "Promenade Jane et Paulette Nardal" in Paris, created in 2018, also has loungers, picnic tables, and sports and play equipment. The redevelopment of the Promenades in Reims is thus characteristic of a current trend in urban planning to stimulate recreational activities in public spaces. Studying this project throws light on this new type of public space. In what follows we adopt a mixed methodology, combining analysis of operational documents, communications material, and press articles, together with field observations at night, interviews with the main actors, and discourses of users.

Figure 3: Overview of the Promenades transformation project, Jacqueline Osty & Associés, City of Reims – Source: *L'Union*, 06/01/2020

Figure 4: Aerial view of the redeveloped Promenade du Paillon in Nice

III - An urban project partly taking into account night-time usages

1) Lighting designed to stimulate usages

The Promenades redevelopment project was not devised specifically for night-time. Priority went to day-time usages, as in the vast majority of urban projects. The main objective was to encourage inhabitants and passers-by to use this space during the day. Still, from the design phase onwards, particular attention was paid to night-time, showing a shift in urban planning practice.

The issue of night-time usage clearly appears in the design brief drawn up by the contracting authority (in this case; the municipality of Reims), with specific requirements for street lighting. The brief requests the developer to include in their design a "flexible, adaptive, original, and ambitious lighting plan for the public spaces"[1]. But it was in fact the presence of a consultancy specializing in lighting design in the group selected to redevelop the promenades which led to in-depth consideration of the nocturnal aspects of the project. In addition to different post heights and lighting levels, proposals included varying colors and patterns as a function of the various spaces along the promenades. Over and above the aesthetics and safety aspects emphasized by the contracting authority, the lighting proposed by the designer was intended to create ambiences and stimulate certain types of usage.

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[1] Direction des espaces verts de Reims (2016) 'Cahier des clauses techniques et particulières pour le réaménagement des Promenades'.

The lighting was initially designed to make it easier to read the space at night. The main walkway is lit by fifteen-meter-tall posts to be readily identifiable as the principal circulation corridor. The open spaces between the trees are lit by five-meter-tall posts to encourage people to rest on the benches (figure 5). The events square at one end has similar lighting to "unify the promenades as a whole", and its color may be adapted depending on the event to inject dynamism and transform the square into a "performance hall"[2].

Figure 5: Cold lighting for the walkway (on the right) and warm lighting for the play areas (on the left) - Photo by Magali de Raphélis on 29/07/2020

The lighting designer's presentation specifies that "large open spaces between the trees" have "soft lighting" to "enable usages". Moving light projections suggest presence and ward off feelings of solitude at night. For instance, each jet of water in the reflecting pool is lit up (figure 6) to signal its presence and "give an effect of movement"[3]. Equally, lighting patterns projected on the ground of the central walkway (figure 5) make the "promenades more attractive at night". The colors are also adapted to improve night-time comfort. For example, the playground areas are lit with amber lighting to suggest images of warmth, in contrast to the colder lighting used for the walkway (figure 7).

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[2] Tender submitted by Osty & associés.
[3] Interview with project landscape designer, January 09, 2020, during a professional workshop.

Figure 6: The jets of water are lit up to give an impression of movement and presence
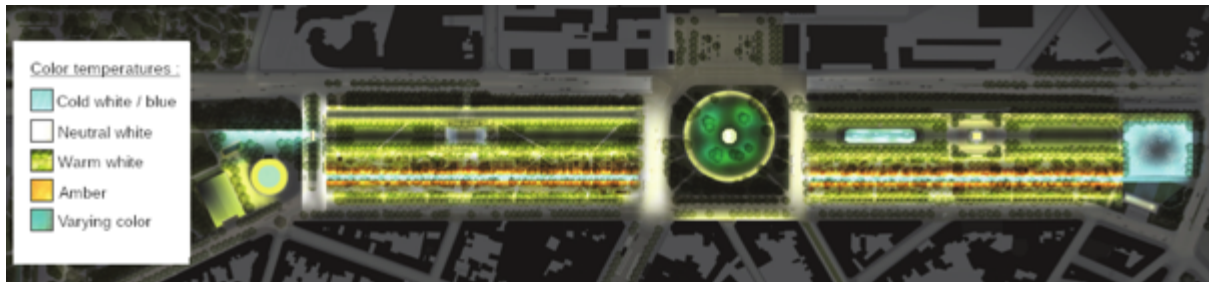
Figure 7: Ground plan of lighting on the Promenades: different color temperatures for different spaces – Source: Tender submitted by the Osty & associés group

These changes have considerably added use at night. Before redevelopment, the promenades looked empty, with no activity, and little light due to the abundant vegetation masking the streetlamps (figure 8). Lighting provides a way of making it easier to interpret the space at night, and of marking off certain spaces to provide them with an intimate ambience. It was thus designed to be adaptable to different usages. The color and intensity vary depending on the time and day of the week, and change over the course of the year to adapt to the seasons.

Figure 8: The pavement of the Boulevard des Promenades in Reims before redevelopment, the lighting was masked by the vegetation – Photo by Magali de Raphélis on 23/05/2019

2) Anticipating certain night-time usages

In addition to lighting, night-time usages were considered for their security aspects. Given that the promenades open onto the town, the police and municipal technical services raised the question in the initial phases of the project as to whether to leave them open or make it possible to close them as night, anticipating usages deemed undesirable. But the municipal authorities felt it important that it continue to be an open space, and that all the amenities be retained so as not to impact negatively on day-time usages. Other forms of regulation were thus introduced to limit certain night-time usages, particularly CCTV and regular police patrols. The inhabitants were also asked about nocturnal issues during the consultation phase, encouraging the municipal authorities to examine this aspect in greater detail. Certain participants emphasized that, to their minds, the project would only be a success if the promenades were busy by day and by night.

The nocturnal dimension was thus included in the project in a specific manner, and reworked by the group headed by Osty & associés, a landscape architecture practice. It should be noted that there is no legal obligation to include nocturnal issues in urban projects or in regulatory urban planning documents (such as local land-use plans and so on), other than for biodiversity. The promenades, which fall within the ecological corridors identified on the local land-use plan, have to comply with specifications relating to nocturnal darkness.

Several factors contributed to night-time being taken into account. First, the promenades lie on a thoroughfare linking up various nightlife hotspots in Reims (Drouet d'Erlon square, the Halles-Boulingrin, and the Port Sec district, see figure 1). Equally, this thoroughfare links the station and city center to the new district being built, which will include a major events hall. The attention paid to nocturnal ambiences is thus intended for spectators returning from the events hall on their way to the station or nightlife hotspots, mapping out new itineraries for pedestrians and cars. Lastly, improved lighting techniques were another factor in the integration of night-time, with recent developments in LED technology having lowered the cost of installing variable color and intensity lighting, something which would not have been feasible a few years ago.

3) Defining undesirable night-time usages

The project to revitalize the Promenades appears to be a planning success. Previously, users tended to avoid them at night due to feelings of insecurity. Since redevelopment, they are used intensively by night, and inhabitants speak more positively of them. The project no doubt contributed to the mayor's re-election in March 2020. However, certain usages by revelers were not anticipated or encouraged by the contracting authority and project designers. For example, students were never considered a target public, unlike children, with playground areas, adolescents, with sports equipment, and the elderly, with various places to sit. But the social heterogeneity characterizing day-time usage changes at night, when the promenades are taken over by students and young working adults. They sit around in large groups, drinking, eating, smoking, singing, and so on, despite access being forbidden to anyone under the influence of alcohol or drugs, and even though it is forbidden to consume alcohol, use the play areas between 10 PM and 8 AM, to play noisy or violent games, and to stand up or lie down on the benches. There is thus some tolerance regarding these prohibitions (which are standard for parks and gardens) within this green space opening onto the town.

But usages and behavior are nevertheless controlled more covertly. The lighting plan was for an uninterrupted pedestrian itinerary, with fewer users at night. The lighting is thus less bright after 10 PM on weekdays and midnight at weekends, whereas this avenue acts as a busy thoroughfare between the Drouet d'Erlon square in the center, where most of the bars are, and the nightclubs lying alongside the promenades. They are used by people out for the night after 2 AM, and then again after 4 AM when there are conflicts in usage between those returning from a night out (who are often drunk) and early workers (delivery workers, street sweepers, etc.) removing the traces of the night in readiness for the day ahead.

Various measures are used to regulate social space at night (charters, public lighting, etc.), but designing urban amenities for night usage is not a central preoccupation. These measures curb night-time occupancy of urban sites for usages deemed undesirable by those producing urban space, particularly targeting sex workers, drug dealers, unofficial street performers, and young working-class people, all of whom, in occupying public space, generate a poor image of the town. Policies to prevent and manage behavior result in repressive measures. There is thus very little latitude for transforming

urban components for users, and the police has extensive visibility of how the promenades are used thanks to CCTV and the open nature of the space.

It is thus those who are socially marginal who are pushed out from these valued redevelopments. Sex workers used to spend the night in the district, while drug dealers targeted young people going along the Promenades, and the homeless sought somewhere to rest. These groups are no longer seen there. The sex workers have moved to one of the undeveloped spots. The hammocks installed on the Promenades could have provided a fallback for the homeless, but they are to uncomfortable to be used for long periods, while the use of brighter lighting at certain places (such as the war monument) means it is impossible to settle down out of sight.

The steps taken by the public authorities thus produce forms of legitimacy in public space usage, regulated by urban planning or regulatory measures to "prevent situations", that is, acting on the spatial layout to prevent people from committing offences, rather than addressing the social conditions causing people to offend (Newman, 1972; Benbouzid, 2010). These methods lead to security being built into urban spaces, sometimes accompanied by repressive urban planning (Dreyfus, 1976). The municipal authorities regulate behavior deemed rowdy, but this reinforces unequal socio-spatial access to night-time entertainment and hospitality resources, with some of those excluded ending up on the Promenades.

IV – Night-time as a strategic component to make a territory attractive

While urban projects now place a positive value on nightlife, the latter is increasingly sanitized and controlled by urban authorities. In Reims, the successive municipal councils headed by Adeline Hazan (Parti Socialiste) in 2008, then Arnaud Robinet (Les Républicains) as of 2014, have encouraged expanding the nightlife on offer. This has consisted in supporting the development of cultural institutions (such as the Opéraims cinema, opened in 2020) and urban nightlife with, for example, the Reims Cathedral sound and light show (2011). Since the 2000s, the number of events held has grown steadily (figure 9). These events tend to run from the evening through to the middle of the night. With the development of associations such as Velours (2010), new cultural actors have become involved, in addition to major cultural institutions such as the Opera. Certain nocturnal events such as the Magnifique Society music festival and the Guinguette Rémoise have received extensive support from the municipal authorities, with temporary facilities, such as reserved parking spaces, being laid on. These nocturnal events culminate in the Christmas market, when over 140 chalets are installed at the foot of the cathedral, with illuminations in the city center and a Ferris wheel on the central Drouet d'Erlon square. To support the development of nightlife, urban services have been provided, such as extended running times for the tramway, the introduction of a night-bus service, and night patrols and CCTV to make urban spaces safer.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Jan.																				
Feb.																				
March																				
April																				
May																				
June																				
Jul.																				
August																				
Sept.																				
Oct.																				
Nov.																				
Dec.																				

Spectacle Son & Lumière Cathédrale (SL)
Magnifique Society (2017+) / Elektricity (MS/E)
Flâneries musicales (FM)
Guinguette rémoise (GR)
Fête nationale (FN)
Un Eté à Reims (Cinéma plein air, …) (ETE)
Marché de Noel & illuminations à Reims (MN)
Rally Monte Carlo (RMC)
Nuit européenne des musées (NEM)
Fête de la musique (M)
Fête Johannique (FJ)

Les Noces Félines (NF)
Nuit des Cathédrales (NC)
Jazz Festival / Concerts de Jazz / SunnySide Festival (2016+) - (JZ)
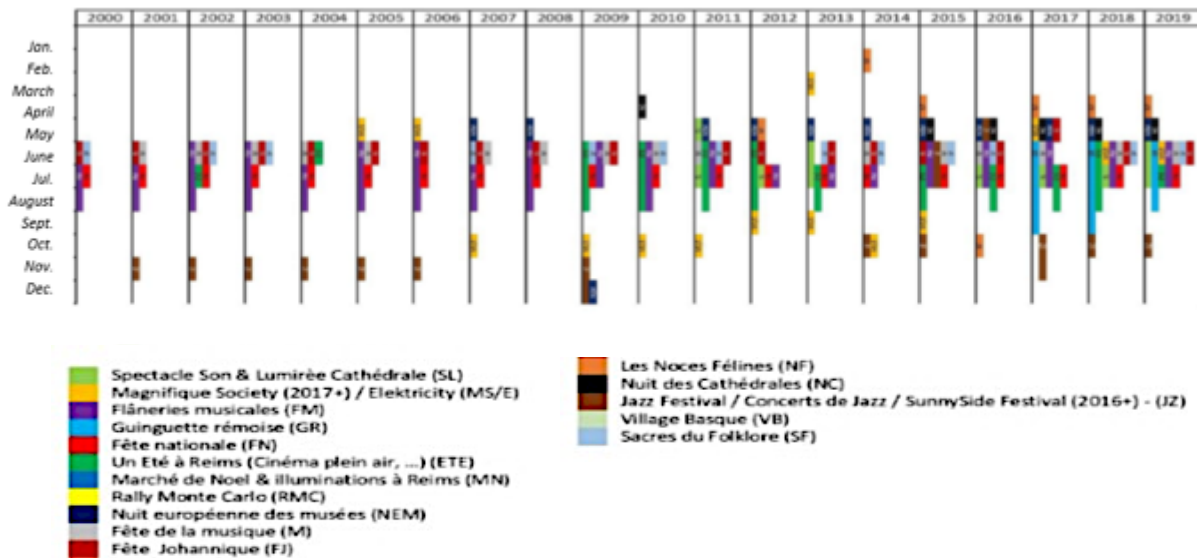Village Basque (VB)
Sacres du Folklore (SF)

Figure 9: Changes in night-time events staged in the city of Reims from 2000 to 2019

The city of Reims' strategic vision is influenced by territorial rivalry. In addition to tourism based on UNESCO-listed local resources (the Champagne Hillsides, Houses, and Cellars, and historic monuments such as the Abbey of Saint-Remi and the Palace of Tau), the municipality prioritizes events and culture to enhance its attractiveness. It wishes to become a destination for business tourism. Night-time is seen as a resource to attract tourists, Paris-based executives, and students from top-flight graduate schools. It is revealing that two of the three consultation workshops for the Reims Grand Centre project were conducted with economic actors and with people who commute between Paris and Reims.

However, "any operation exploiting space has impacts on social organization" (Semmoud, 2007). In other terms, transformations to the urban morphology modify the social morphology, hence occupancy and ways of identifying with space. According to an employee who has worked for four years in a real estate agency in Reims, property prices per square meter have increased significantly for the city as a whole (despite a slight overall drop in prices between 2010 and 2016), with the most sought-after places now being the areas around the Drouet d'Erlon square, the Forum square, and the Halles-Boulingrin. The city center property market is buoyant, especially for small properties which attract buy-to-let investors and larger properties drawing Paris-based executives (figure 10). While the median price per square meter in Reims currently stands at 2,040 euros (with only a slight difference between apartments and houses), this rises to 2,950 euros in the center (Erlon), up 18% in 5 years[4]. Prices have likewise increased in adjacent districts, though to a lesser extent, rising 14% in the Lundy district over

the same period (where the median price currently stands at 2,360€/m²) and 11% in the Lesage district (with a current median of 2,780€/m²).

Figure 10: Promotional poster for a new apartment block next to the Reims Grand Center project, BZR Invest

But property prices have not increased uniformly, with a socio-economic gradient running from the SERNAM-Boulingrin sector to the Basses Promenades. This is particularly apparent in shops and services. Along the Basses Promenades are a late-night grocery store, a pizzeria, student residences, a down-market hotel, and so on; conversely, along the Hautes Promenades, there are upmarket shops and services such as a solicitor's practice, a real estate agency, a four-star hotel, and several reputed restaurants. While this socio-spatial fragmentation should not be attributed solely to the Reims Grand Centre project, the redevelopment has reinforced this process by encouraging the concentration of investment in the city center. Thus, these urban strategies "neglect matters of fairness and social justice in favor of effectiveness, innovation, and increased real yields" (Harvey, 2010). This urban advantage along with these policies to upgrade spaces are thus undergone by margins of the population who draw no direct benefit from them.

Conclusion

When the Reims Grand Centre project was being drawn up, particular attention was paid to night-time, resulting in improved comfort for nocturnal users of these places. This article illustrates a shift in how urban designers go about their task, now being more alert to nocturnal issues, with certain consultancies even specializing in this domain. Hence the nocturnal activities have been increased and diversified, with a shift away from retail spaces and into public spaces. Nevertheless, this focus on night-time was only partial, apparently striving to make these places more attractive only for certain parts of

the population. This way of apprehending night-time in urban projects is reminiscent of what has occurred in Bordeaux (Mallet & Comelli, 2017) during redevelopment of the banks of the River Garonne, when "the municipality privileged a festive image it had created, and ignored more spontaneous practices to appropriate public spaces occurring along the banks of the river or in other districts". Equally, when the banks of the River Rhône were redeveloped in Lyon (Chausson, 2019), the municipality initially wished to stimulate nocturnal activities, before neglecting and then finally limiting them. Night-time would thus appear to be taken into account in similarly ambivalent manner in redesigning these new open public spaces halfway between a park and a thoroughfare.

This raises the question of the comfort of public thoroughfares. This entails examining how a space is perceived, which depends on urban ambiences relating to the urban composition and the presence of others, who may be acquaintances or strangers. Strangers are categorized depending on their self-presentation and the spatial order with which they are associated. These processes of identification and otherization result in the other being recognized to varying degrees, in accordance with minimal mastery of shared signifying codes in psycho-sociological territories (Lofland, 1973). To encourage certain occupancy behaviors, the public authorities implement measures to manage and control public spaces, emphasizing embellishment to the detriment of appropriation, amounting to a social segmentation in the nocturnal use of open spaces. It thus seems necessary when drawing up urban projects to focus on how to manage concurrent nocturnal usages, on designing urban spaces for these nocturnal practices, and on recognizing the varying usages and users, so as to guarantee equitable access to nocturnal public space.

However, strategies to make a territory more attractive are currently conducted by major actors in innovation. Culture and night-time are used in urban operations to enhance an original advantage. To generate and preserve "talent" (highly skilled workers and those working in creative industries), municipalities combine cultural with urban policy, with nightlife assuming a leading place. While high-added value strategic activities are concentrated in a few urban spaces, long-term investments in human capital may seem a more effective way of improving a city's image than investment in these so-called "talents". This is all the more relevant given that attractiveness policies target the better off, while neglecting urgent social situations. Questioning how night-time is governed by cities could throw light on how a certain type of territorial narrative is prioritized.

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Students' night life in a Siberian University city: top-down and bottom-up nocturnal activities

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Abstract

The paper provides the overview of the research conducted in two Siberian university cities, namely Tomsk and Novosibirsk. Analyzing the results of surveys conducted among students of both cities and digital traces of night life facilities the authors provide the in-depth analysis into the peculiarities and difficulties arising in both cities night life. In conclusion some practical advice is provided to make night life of Siberian university cities meet the demands of current students.

Keywords : student nocturnal activities, university cities, public space, university cultural strategy

Introduction

The nocturnal life of a large Russian city has transformed a lot within the last decades. It changed from Soviet kitchen get-together to impetuous, spontaneously created and limited by nightclubs public spaces of the 1990s combining commercial and criminal characteristics. Then it became more conventional and gradually new open formats of services, events and public spaces started appearing.

Most large Russian cities may be characterized by certain decriminalization of night economy, the increase in the quality variety of services and night life segmentation together with state universities

enlargement, appearance of non-state universities and the growth of students' relative density in general urban population. The authors believe that students have become a significant social group and due to their age, focus on their activities in both private and public sphere, inclination to social risks they must objectively influence the urban infrastructure and the characteristics of night life in the city by their mere existence, large-scale involvement and specific forms of participation. The university campuses, their scale, type and the location at the urban territory influence the degree of work and leisure structures and rhythms in urban area. In addition, university campuses influence the consumption spaces segmentation in night economy (Hollands, 2002).

Theoretical framework

Despite the students' presence as a statistically significant social group in almost every large city, studentship is underresearched as a specific subject of night life in the research papers into night economy. Studentship is mostly researched in the derivation context. Thus, British researchers analyzed alcohol and drug consumption in public places (Kuo et al., 2003; Gant, Terry, 2017). Studentship is also researched as a night life consumption group that need specific advertising and marketing policy conducted by alcohol producers (Tarrant et al., 2019). Researchers highlight that there are more university students than ever before and as a rule they drink more than the representatives of other social groups of the same age (Smith, Foxcroft, 2009).

Students in the context of urban night economy management are a less popular but also actual approach to the research into this group. It implies the research into their demographic characteristics and the rate in the general youth population, namely the night life consumers (Santani et al. 2016). The practical books on urban night life management underline youth and students inclusion in night life organization as precious experience, including the volunteering for providing security in the night city (Approaches to managing …, 2019).

It is also interesting to consider youth and students' cultural night life practices, especially via the concepts of identity, growing-up and youth transitions (Hollands. 1995, 2002, 2015). However, taking the latter two approaches students as a specific social group are rarely distinguished from youth environment. Therefore, they mostly prove students' participation in youth night life practices that are under the research.

While sociologists, culture experts, social geographers and doctors deal with mainly negative aspects of students participation in the night life as well as subculture practices, тight economy promoters rank university and university cities by their night life using the results of numerous opinion polls. The criteria they use for that include the night life variants (number and variety of relevant facilities), the price of a pint, taxi fare, the amount of take-away food and security index (The Student Nightlife Index, 2019; Top unis for nightlife, 2019). Night life is considered to be the natural and significant part of student life at the university, the general characteristics of its opportunities and

variants (clubs, pubs, bars, life music, and summer festivals) have become a part the advertising information that universities provide the school-leavers and freshmen.

It seems that such attention to this group of citizens, namely night economy consumers, apparently aimed at night activities participation, is caused by the difficulties in distinguishing student cultural night life practices from those typical for young people as the specific group of consumers. It is especially true talking about their behavioral characteristics. That was the problem our research group came across with. Therefore, we focused on research into university cities in order to raise the possibility of separating students as specific night life subjects.

We also moved the night life research framework focusing not only on traditional practices but also on those night life practices that are initiated by universities themselves while implementing their educational policies as well as formalized and non-formalized student groups and communities inside and outside the campus resulting into services commercialization.

It may be also useful to research into students as night life consumers by studying their current interests and needs. We analyze night life as a part of student lifestyle. In this case the night economy quality will also be evaluated by the degree it serves students' interests and their location in the city because students compose a large specific target group.

Therefore, the research questions posed by our research group include the following ones: in what way may the high student rate in urban population influence the night life and night economy characteristics of a Siberian university city? Which factors influence students' night life activities? Do campuses contribute to night economy growth and entertainment infrastructure transformation? If yes, then which types of campuses contribute to it most?

Methods and Research Object

Taking into account the research questions posed, various methods of empirical research were used including mass sociological survey, individual interviews with international and local students as well as with the organizers of evening events, group interviews (focus groups) supported by social mapping and digital traces analysis.

Group sketch mapping as a kind of social mapping is used because focus-group participants receive two types of information: the group narrative of mapping participants and the map they draw. The latter is a semantic space that reflects relatively stable beliefs in significant symbolic objects as well as social and spatial activity zones for its creators. The map is a common result of its creators work, thus, the important advantage of a map is being a certain zone of agreement among its creators on the problem discussed. Thereby the creation of a map makes the view of a territory more objective.

In addition, digital traces method was used to find the most popular night life places among students. A digital trace is a colloquial term defining various features of the user online activities

including cookie-files, geographical location data, comments and photos published. Today every action taken by any user leaves a trace, thus, the online activity is connected closely with real life. By gathering and analyzing these traces it is possible to form a distinct understanding of real-life actions avoiding the typical subjectivity mistakes accompanying interviews or even the opinion poll. Nowadays participation in night life leaves a lot of digital traces including the information on order information in Uber's API, geolocated photos and tags on Instagram, etc. Therefore, this information may help to understand the spatial location and the character of student night life. However, the traces are provided not by students themselves but by the organization they counteract with.

The research objects were two Russian cities in Siberia, namely Novosibirsk (general population is 1 602.9 thousand people, 15 universities and 109 thousand students) and Tomsk (general population is 594 thousand people, 6 universities, 58 thousand students). The share of students in the cities makes 7% of general population in Novosibirsk and 10% – in Tomsk. Only these two Russian cities together with Moscow and Saint-Petersburg have been included in QS Best Student Cities ranking since 2016. It needs to be mentioned that since 2017 the ranking criteria included the 'student view' index that considers both tolerance and inclusion, diversity, friendliness, ease of getting around, affordability, employment opportunities, arts & culture and nightlife.

Student Campus as the Place and Factor of Night Life Traditions Creation

There are some typical features and traditions of student life in Russian universities while getting higher education that are enumerated further. Thus, for instance, many university campuses were built in Soviet period and under comprehensive development at special territories they got the standard facilities, including the university buildings and dormitories, sport and cultural facilities that were available for student evening life. Despite the transformation many campuses have experienced most are them are demanded to have almost the same standard facilities today. Thus, the first peculiarity of Russian universities is the significant role of campus in students' life, including their night life. Most local campuses that consist of university buildings and dormitories concentrated in one place as well as isolated/ suburban campuses confirm this peculiarity.

The second peculiarity of life organization in Russian universities is the traditionally high involvement of the university in both public and private/ leisure time of students. It allows like many years ago to control students' participation in night life by university administration via limiting visitors' and sometimes students' access to the dormitories, banning alcohol and noise at night. University is also involved and responsible for organizing entertainment and night events. Although the university does not assume 'the right to night', high standards of security and control at the dormitories encourage the preservation of informal student night life practices in private spaces of campus dormitories. In the 1990s the first night clubs appeared in Siberian campuses, mostly in the dormitories basements.

However, new trends have appeared recently in the cities under research. While private students' life is being generally liberalized universities start symbolic competition with local entertainment facilities for the private night time of students. It is especially evident in Tomsk where university campuses and students are concentrated in the city center. Universities try to fill in student night life by providing round-the-clock work of libraries and by organizing night cultural events. Tomsk universities together with city museums and libraries participate in such events as the Night at the Museum and the Night at the Library. The topic of each year activities is the same for all Russian cultural organizations. However, each of the organizations also creates its own events – exhibitions, concerts, etc. Tomsk state university museums and Research library participate in the activities regularly. The special bus route was organized to move visitors from one Night at the Library location to another.

The City as the Student Night Life Space in Siberia: Common Features and the Peculiarities

The city plays as significant part in student life. Researchers have underlined for two decades that students compose an important but under-researched group creating urban structures (Russo, Tatjer, 2007:1160).

The research of student motivation in choosing the university conducted by the authors in 2018[1] highlighted that it is important to consider the city as one of the factors contributing to the school-leavers educational choice. The choice of the city turned out to be made before the choice of the university or the profession. Almost the half (46.6%) of Tomsk and Novosibirsk universities students indicated that they had chosen the university before moving to senior school. 40% had chosen the university after school final exams, others had chosen it either during the university entrance campaign that usually covers summer period (27.1%) or just before submitting the application (14.6%). Only 10.3% of them 'always knew' which university which university they would like to enter. However, 27.1% of the survey participants 'always knew' which city they would like to study at, 40.1% had decided which city to choose in senior school, 11.8% – during the university entrance campaign and 19.3% – just before submitting the application. Thus, the number of those who had chosen the city before moving to senior school is three times larger than the number of those who had chosen the university. The former also make s up to one third of the survey participants.

The quality of night life in Siberian university cities was evaluated very inconsistently by students due to the differences in their cultural needs as well as the size and quality of the city night life. The differences are especially contradictory among international students. Novosibirsk state university students pointed out that do not distinguish a lot night life in Novosibirsk and French university cities. However, international students originating from Latin America and studying in Tomsk underlined that

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[1] The survey was conducted in 2018 in three Tomsk universities and two Novosibirsk universities. Taking N = 165 400, the sample was equal to 1 284 students. The sample statistical error (n = 1 284) – 2. 7 % with 95% confidence probability.

local night life is quite different from the one they got used to and supposed that Tomsk night life could be more interesting by including more 'family' and cultural events, for instance, open-air concerts or cinemas. Nevertheless, all the respondents concurred that night life in large Russian cities tends to copy the Western ones.

The favorite student open-air format is problematic in Siberian cities, though. It is limited by the short summer period. In general, climate hinders the development of certain popular night life spheres. Open spaces and routes mainly cannot function in winter. Thus, mobility is determined by two factors: students' own zone (the comfort zone of intersecting universities campuses) and climate. The latter provides many opportunities in summer but limits them significantly in winter. Traditional summer evening walking routes of students, namely along central Lenina avenue (in Tomsk) and Red avenue or Marx avenue situated on the left bank (in Novosibirsk) are much less active in winter.

The other barrier to night life in Siberian university cities is the poor development of less regulated zones that are attractive for night activities without risks, especially in comparison to European cities. Such less regulated zones include well illuminated and open parks, embankments, third places near universities. One instance of successful reconstruction is the river promenade in Novosibirsk which turned recently into a round-the-clock safe public area, popular among Russian and international students. Security appears to be the main factor of night life for both Russian and international students in Siberian university cities.

Campus and Night Life Infrastructure: Traditions and Novelties

Due to historical peculiarities of university formation in the cities under research there are campuses of all three types that are possible. The dispersed ones that include university buildings and dormitories scattered around the city; the localized or isolated (suburban) ones that imply the university location at the outskirts of the city near or inside the research cluster; and mixed ones. Novosibirsk university campuses more or less meet the criteria mentioned above. In Tomsk most university historical buildings are situated in the city center along the main avenue. Student night life is concentrated there as well but it is partially far from the dormitories.

The research proved that the dispersed type of university campus is more penetrable by the locals. Therefore, it encourages less the in-campus student night life traditions formation and causes concern of international students whether it is safe because for them the sign of security is the high concentration of students.

Although we supposed that two other types of university campuses, namely the localized and isolated ones, as the concentration point for many students should be the points of attraction for night facilities like clubs, pubs, bars, etc. and in such a way influence on the spatial characteristics of night economy services infrastructure, this statement turned out to be true only partially. The research

highlighted that only some examples of such campuses in the cities under research attracted certain night life organizations. Thus, both international and Russian students underlined the popularity of cafés nearby, many of which work round-the-clock. They are popular among students due to low prices, working hours, the opportunity to meet in large groups. For international students the universal choice of goods is also important. The universal character of branches belonging to global chains provides one of the tools for international students' adaptation in new cities.

The most popular places for students in Tomsk are mostly situated in the city center and around the universities dormitories that are concentrated at Yuzhnaya bus station. Most students prefer fast-food cafes including those that present the worldwide popular chains like McDonalds, KFC, and Burger king. However, there are many authentic fast food cafes that are popular among students, for instance, Harat's Pub, Hall Bar, Make Love Pizza, Pizze-Rio. Stalls selling carry-out coffee are also very popular, for instance, local one called Endorphine. Most of such stalls are situated around universities within 100-200 meter distance.

As for the traditional night life places including clubs, bars, pubs, open public walking areas, the research has not proved any direct dependence between their location and the university campuses in two cities that were explored. The map of life and entertainment places in Novosibirsk created by international students of Novosibirsk universities confirms it.

Figure 1. The view of life in the city outside campus provided by international students living in localized university campus.

This sketch map by international students shows that the boundaries of their 'own' territory coincide with the localized campus boundaries but all the entertainment infrastructure is situated outside it.

In Tomsk there are mixed-type campuses where university buildings are situated in the city center while the dormitories for international students are situated a little apart but still not far from the city center. There the boundaries of students 'own' area are linked to the city center. At the sketch map below there are four sketches of the city (marked by red frames) that have very distinct city center boundaries (Figure 2).
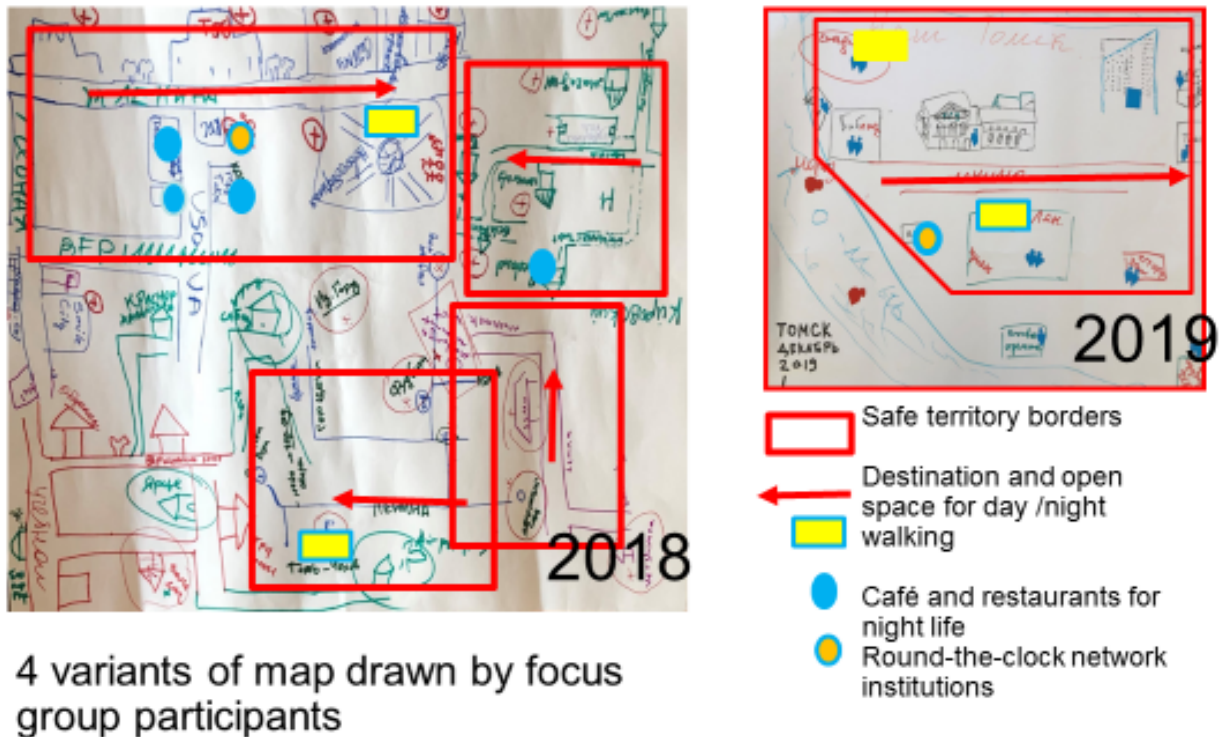

Figure 2. Maps 'my own Tomsk' created by international students

The maps provide the insight into Tomsk that international students consider to be theirs with certain fixed cultural and social patterns. The main barriers to move outside were reproduced by different students and showed the strictly identified "safe" perimeter. Thus, the entertainment infrastructure is situated inside 'their area' but it is used rarely by them due to the poor development of entertainment infrastructure that is available and interesting for them. The other barrier for revealing the 'other' Tomsk for them seems to be insufficient information awareness.

Despite the existence of some bars and night clubs near the university campuses that are popular among students (for instance, DOSKI night bars that are situated near university campuses in both Novosibirsk and Tomsk), as a rule, most night clubs and other night entertainment facilities are situated in central city quarters that do not border on student dormitories and universities. Going out there becomes an independent significant event for students. The need for open communication areas that do not depend on climate resulted into the popularity of quiet or hybrid night 'third places' formats among

students including hookah-rooms, bowling and bars. Other popular places among students include cinemas that are situated in shopping centers together with shops and cafés.

Traditionally in most Russian cities there are no bars and pubs that are historically identified as student ones. There were no night clubs and pubs as usual types of night facilities in Soviet period. The clubs that started appearing in the 1990s and 2000s and were at first identified as student ones did not manage to stay popular for more than 5 or 10 years. Nowadays students who participated in the survey as well as "Kulturträgers" identify the extinction of interest in traditional night club format among students. Although Siberian cities, unlike European ones, lack policy coordination among bar owners to attract students, those bars that still exist try to cooperate with universities in conducting student festivals and other events.

Low popularity of night facilities even those believed to be traditionally student ones was both admitted by survey participants and proved by digital traces analysis. For the latter purpose the authors created a small database with the information on Novosibirsk and Tomsk places that were considered the student ones and identified by survey participants. The places were then marked to meet certain categories, including the type of the entertainment provided, location and distance to university campuses, number of followers and the content of its page in VKontakte – the largest Russian social network. The followers of each place were divided into three age groups: students (aged 18–24), graduates (25–30) and adults (31+). In criteria used included also the number of followers and the content of the place page in Instagram.

These data were used to evaluate the 'student' nature of night life in those places. It confirmed one of the key points of interview data: students were hesitant to name 'students places', pointing out that they didn't know any that would be exclusively of that type. Eventually, most of them named places which were located within the city respective centers with very little actual connection to university campuses. Additionally, young people of student age usually account for barely 20% of their online followers. Social media accounts tied to these places also seem to be targeted not only at students but larger social groups.

The Specific Needs of International Students Participating in Siberian University Cities Night Life

The specific research subject is foreign students' participation in nocturnal activities. According to the focus groups held in Tomsk in 2018 and 2019, and in Novosibirsk in 2019 and 2020, one might recognize 3 kinds of nightlife strategies they follow. Some students consider night life the relaxation with friends. They choose night clubs, dancing halls and bars. Others use night activities for communication and language practice. Normally, such students miss contacts with their Russian course-mates and try to compensate it in this way. Presumably, they visit places with games or combined entertainments where the opportunity for communication is high. They may also visit cinemas to get some Russian language practice. Therefore, the most popular places for them to visit outside

campus are the shopping centers with food courts and cinemas. The difficulties they may encounter there may also result from the fact that not all the locals can speak English. It limits the international students comfort zone by campus boundaries where they feel at home. Those campus areas are identified by students at the maps they created.

The third strategy is caused by the focus on ethnic identity support and having fun with student own folk. These students like ethnic cafés and other facilities where their Diasporas gather.

The Changing Format of Student Night Life?

Certain changes in student night life format were revealed during the study that may be considered the peculiarity of current student night life typical not only for Russian or Siberian cities but also for the whole world due to being the result of typical characteristics of the current student generation.

This peculiarity is based on the specific features of the millennials identified by current sociological research. These features include the decrease in smoking (by 20%) and alcohol consumption (by 25% in comparison to the previous generation) and following healthy lifestyle as a popular trend (Radaev, 2019). These characteristics differentiate the student groups. Thus, for some Tomsk young people nigh life means night clubs and bars that implies alcohol consumption and smoking. However, for some students, especially international ones, such past time is not desirable and they avoid it. Their participation in other types of night life entertainment that does not include smoking and alcohol consumption is prevented by lack of information on cultural events available for them.

The same processes are going on in Novosibirsk. For instance, a time-café 'Campus' was closed because of being unprofitable not long ago in so-called Akademgorodok – the isolated university and research cluster in the outskirts of the city. According to the advertisements the café used to sell alcohol. Right now the new sport center called 'Reform' works at the same place and is supposed to be a student place by some survey participants. Thus, the change in the patterns of behavior is obvious: from the consumption of entertainment industry services to healthy lifestyle and attendance of the same places but for cultural events.

The demand for independent areas for open communication caused the popularity of quiet 'third places' like play and speaking clubs, hookah-rooms, anti-cafes, quest-rooms, etc. The empty market niche is being filled with the services organized by students and graduates themselves. One of the examples is the quest-game 'Exit' that was popular among young people of Akademgorodok several years ago.

Thus, it may seem that the number of places for students decreased. But taking into account the changing needs of current young people, it may be concluded that they revealed new places that meet

their new interests. It means that night life infrastructure is being transformed to meet the new generation preferences.

At the same time the limited number of new public areas and formats meeting the needs of different student communities encourages the development of illegal student parties organized in abandoned places that are accessible only for those who participate in the certain social network. Such events are linked to risks. For instance, in January 2020 a girl died under the roof that crashed down in an unfinished building during such a party. In addition, the participants of such parties mentioned the opportunity to buy drugs there.

Despite the absence of high criminal rate in Siberian universities cities, security considerations become significant ones together with cultural needs to determine the choice of the city to get higher education. It is also proved by the result of sociological survey conducted in 2018 during which students were asked to identify the urban environment elements that had played a significant role in their choice of the city to get higher education. Correlation factor analysis provided the opportunity to define three factors uniting the groups of the elements (Table 1).

To what extent are the following elements of urban environment important for you?	1	2	3
The size and the centrality of the city (meaning whether it is a city or a town)	**,806**	,380	,338
Security	**,833**	,333	,288
Cultural sphere of the city (museums, theaters, exhibitions, arts festivals, etc.)	**,807**	,382	,334
Quantity and quality of places for entertainment in the city (cafés, clubs, studios, etc.)	,293	,598	**,693**
Projects implemented in the city that meet your interests (social, cultural, business-projects)	,491	,331	**,776**
The cost of living in the city	,450	**,779**	,354
Climate and ecological situation in the city	,451	**,780**	,350

Table 1. Dispersion of factor weights for importance of urban environment elements

Comparing the results of the survey among international students of Novosibirsk and Tomsk universities, Tomsk turned out to be more attractive by both universal elements and security considerations. It results from fact that Tomsk suits more the criteria attracting students in different countries, namely, it is small, beautiful, old and student city.

Individual interview held with the students of Novosibirsk and Tomsk universities allowed to identify the following demands and problems. They included:

- the decrease in the demand for night clubs that are designed for students as a specific age and social group and the transformation of night life infrastructure to meet the new generation preferences in both Novosibirsk and Tomsk;
- limited supply of areas that do not depend on climate for organizing evening events in the formats that are attractive for students;
- the need for the increase in the number of river promenades, parks, third places near the universities and for the changes in their format to meet the demand for healthy lifestyle;
- preferable participation in evening events organized by universities due to security consideration and identity maintenance;
- students' willingness and active participation in the development of new risky formats of night life (in Novosibirsk);
- sustained social demand for interuniversity open-air events even despite the limitations provided by the climate (Tomsk).

Conclusion

The variety and location of nigh life places in Siberian university cities have changed significantly within the last 30 years. It used to be concentrated inside campus but nowadays it crosses campus boundaries more often. However, universities are still active participants of student night life by organizing special evening events of both intellectual and entertainment activities.

Students of university cities are not the main target audience for night economy organizations, including clubs, bars and cafés, yet. Only the high concentration of studentship representatives (mostly in the areas with several university campuses situated in the same city quarter) influences the disposition of night facilities and the variety of events. The examples of such influence may be seen at Lenina avenue in Tomsk and Marx avenue in Novosibirsk.

The evident lack of evening cultural events and night life infrastructure that is independent from climate in isolated campuses (for instance, Novosibirsk Akademgorodok) result in student active organization of illegal parties in abandoned places or during the recent pandemia bans on mass events (as the form of protest). The key problem of night life for students is security.

International students as a specific group in Siberian university cities also consider security an important issue but regard the lack of English-speaking people in the city as one of the most significant barriers for their participation in night life. The strategies of night life participation by international students may vary from the wish to relax to the need to improve language skills and develop national identity.

Many problems that arise in university cities night life result from insufficient infrastructure and may be corrected by the purposeful cooperation between university and city administration (for

example, most French students suggested improving the night life in Novosibirsk State University campus via exterior lighting).

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the absence of less regulated areas available for secure night life, including well-lighted and open parks, river promenades and third places near the universities hinders the development of night life in Siberian university cities. Existing infrastructure does not meet the current student needs any more. Siberian winter decreases night mobility of students. In summer period the dominance of small clubs and cafés and the segmentation of university campuses prevent interuniversity open-air events and student communication. Moreover, coronavirus pandemia, thus, challenges both the university city and its night life.

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'Temporary Autonomous Home': integration and belonging on the margins of late-night leisure

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Abstract

The notion of TAZ - 'Temporary Autonomous Zone' (Bey, 1991) grasped the free party culture's philosophy when it first emerged during the nineties. The concept emphasizes the non-hierarchical and momentary time-spaces of self-organisation, creativity and freedom that inspired thousands of ravers. Drawing on this notion, I use the concept of TAH ('Temporary Autonomous *Home'*) in order to explain how belonging, affection and integration have become central aspects of late-night leisure on the margins for young people living abroad. These TAH are non-regulated alternative 'free parties' organised by groups of young people gathered as sound systems. I argue that these nights articulate a sense of belonging and feeling at home as well as non-traditional ways of participation in the foreign culture that constitute a deeper meaning to this migrant community than the regulated late-night leisure. Also, it follows the line of some research about diasporic identities or minorities which articulate their sense of belonging through partying.

Key words

Free party, migration, belonging, integration, home

'festival as resistance and as uprising,
perhaps in a single form, in a single hour of pleasure
[is] the very meaning or deep inner structure
of our autonomy' (Bey, 1994).

Introduction: free party culture and youth migrant communities

The night and its liminal spaces hold refuge for practices that are not entitled to occur at the centre of our cities. Around the margins, subjects of late-night leisure in all its kinds try to re-build autonomous spaces where it is possible to feel, at least temporarily, at home. Sound system and DIY culture emerged many decades ago as a place to re-think and re-shape leisure, music and how these were consumed. The notion of TAZ (Bey, 1991) as 'Temporary Autonomous Zone' grasped these invisible and fluctuant spaces where cyborgs, nomads (Pini, 1997) and humans of all kinds tried to build different forms of conviviality and sociality. The 'free party' movement emerged at the edge of the late eighties, spreading quickly and *tekno*-loud all over the recesses. In a context of deprivation and uncertain future for youth, these non-profit 'spontaneous' practices showed that people themselves could be active partakers in their leisure and parties, with no other mediation than a wall of speakers.

Even though a rough wave of criminalisation and commodification interfered in these practices since early on, the free party movement and its committed dancers continued their path in multiple and different ways. (Free) partying, as any other practice, is not exempt from assimilationist and depoliticising attempts (and hits) as much as it is not detached from socializing and politicising potentials. It is precisely this tension and in-betweenness what has kept free party culture alive, mutating and adapting its resources to the contexts they have to surface. The creation of spaces where people can organise and consume leisure differently and sovereignly (Riley et. al, 2010), although still embedded in power relations, as it is shown is this research, is the choice for many. This is not to say that alternative and marginal forms of leisure exist independently from what they are trying to challenge or escape, nor is this a discussion of the radical or underground status of these practices.

At the other side of this narrative, the post-2008 crisis horizon in Europe has depicted how the impossibility of an autonomous and stable future is still at the plate for many young people. Migration from Southern European countries to Northern ones in order to find better opportunities (Lafleur and Stanek, 2018) has supposed a phenomenon intersecting many of my friends' lives and myself. An estrangement from home and the integration in new cultures have been the reality for many youths as much as discovering new senses of belonging and feeling at home through clubbing and music (Kosnick, 2015; Lewis, 2015). At the crossover of these two pulsations, between the organisation of alternative spaces for enjoyment and migrating for a different life, the night articulates affects (Ahmed,

1999, 2004; Bell, 1999; May, 2013; Probyn, 1996; Watkings, 2010;) and belongings (Maffesoli, 1996; Yuval-Navis, 2006) on the margins of late-night leisure.

In this paper, an exploration of the intersection between belonging, migration and free party culture will be developed. For this, I will be focusing on one particular sound system based in Bristol (United Kingdom) created by southern European migrants in order to analyse and discuss with them their views around these issues. There is much literature on the role of leisure for migrant integration and 'home'-building (i.e., Baily and Collyer, 2006; Lewis, 2015), but scarce approaches that address the importance of free party and alternative late-night leisure for outsider communities. Considering migrant leisure lives beyond the economic, politic and functional sphere may help to elucidate the negotiation and articulation of belongings in novel surroundings through non-traditional ways of participation in the foreign culture.

This research departs as a collection of different narratives and experiences of a group of young migrants who have encountered in this sound system and their parties a way of finding pleasure, expressing themselves and caring for each other. The party itself is a catalyst, a *temporal autonomous home* where our relationships and bodies are exposed to the intensity, sensorially modified loudness of the night. As such, the term 'temporal' tries to grasp the migrant context of the research subjects, as well as the transient nature of the night. The notion of 'autonomous' refers to the nature of the free party as non-commercial and alternative nights, but also to the participants themselves, as independent and sovereign subjects in relation to leisure, as it will be seen. 'Home' depicts the affect and sense of belonging that is re-created through the parties. There is more behind and beyond, but these nights emerge as the junction of everything else: our relations, our passion for the music and dance, our political position against commodification and monetarization of leisure.

This project seeks to understand other ways of party that escape from regulated, public and visible spaces (clubs, bars, etc) where DIY culture, drugs and pleasure are openly put at the centre. Returning to the importance of the free party/rave culture for some youth to continue drawing a thread through the movement that has lost academic interest compared to a couple of decades ago, but that is still very alive. In this context, the research explores how migrant youth communities interact and relate within them and outside their communities, how they feel and understand belonging, and how they find ways of integration in the post-2008 crisis Europe.

This project does not intend and it is not representative of the Spanish or Mediterranean community in Bristol. It rather collects the voices and opinions of a quite specific and cohesive group of friends when it comes to ways of understanding partying, the night and social relations. Thus, this research departs from these parties but continues through and focuses on the individual and their emotions. From this privileged position as a researcher, I could do nothing else than trying to put into words the affect and inspirations that connect us all.

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Methodology

The methodology and research methods of this project depart from three main objectives: to do a participatory research where affect and openness inform the process; to address the ethics of researching (with) friends; and to explore the possibilities of ethnographic observation/participation through the night and music sounds (Henriques, 2010) (developing other senses rather than only observation, although what is presented in this project until now is mostly coming from the interviews).

Firstly, this research departed from an inductive position where there is no initial research question or hypothesis, but a series of general and open themes was set. With this, I wanted to let the participants shape the research's possibilities during the interviews. This seized the possibilities of the research methods by blurring the lines between research and daily conversations around those issues.

By now, I have conducted 16 interviews: 9 of them were to the people that constitute the crew, the sound system collective who are labelled 'part of the crew'. The rest was done to friends (7), members of the bigger group that go to the free parties, who are labelled as 'friend and raver'. The participants are all Spanish except one French male and one Italian female. I have done only one night of ethnography directly related to this research due to Covid-19, but I have been to some of their parties before, so I used my previous memories and experiences with them to frame the bigger picture.

One of the key points that emerged while doing this project was the ethics of researching (with) friends. Taylor (2011) refers to this positionality as 'intimate insider research, where the researcher works with its own 'cultural space', being part of it. This then becomes a process of self-interpretation (Taylor, 2011, p. 9) and reflection on one's values and positionality in quite a deep level, feeling even as a participant to some extent. The insider status (prior knowledge of the scene) and the confidence and closeness I had with almost all the participants allowed the interviews to develop in a spontaneous and intimate way. The establishment of rapport and trust seemed to be already there even though in many occasions this did not entail an immediate profound reflection and openness from the participants, it took some time, even between friends. Without any doubt, the most fruitful consequence of our friendship was the involvement and interest that participants developed towards the research itself. After each interview, we established an informal line of communication that in another occasion would have been more difficult to set. We continued reflecting together about the stage of the research, the findings, and the different directions this project could take (as being recorded for a short documentary, making songs with pieces of the audios, printing some interview's parts for a DIY magazine, collaborating with other feminist free party projects, etc).

Obviously, being 'too much of an insider' entails the problematic of ceasing to be a detached observer (Finnegan, 1989, p. 343). This was counterbalanced, as it has been explained, by endorsing a strong inductive position where I tried that my own views of the scene do not interfere, acknowledging

that being part of the same cultural practice and lifestyle do not entail giving the same meaning to those. Also, being an insider should not be presumed as having a correct way of reading the culture and discourses under investigation.

The closeness between us, as it has been noted at the introduction, has been the central motivation to develop this research at a grassroots level, and I intend to continue to do so. More ethnography and a few more interviews are still needed.

Analysis: building temporary autonomous homes on the night margins

This research starts by drawing a bigger picture of the context it studies. The sound system and the people interviewed migrated almost all from their home countries (Spain, France and Italy) to live, some more temporarily than others, in the city of Bristol between the last 2-6 years. The Spanish context presents a similar landscape to their Mediterranean neighbours in opportunities and future for youth. The 2008 economic crisis and the policies implemented to tackle it deeply impacted people's lives. Cuts in public services, the welfare state and salaries, corruption and high unemployment were the meta-images representing a damaged country, with around 50% of youth population jobless. There are multiple narratives and personal experiences about these years, but a particular one permeates the collective consciousness today and directly affects my generation: the future appeared uncertain for youth and migrating was one of the few open doors.

Here is where the context of the project starts. In the aftermath of the crisis, youth's redistribution around Europe was visible. Generalizing, East and South European migrants arrived at increasing rates to Northern countries looking for better opportunities. Not all of the participants came here as a result of that crisis, but all of us have at least grown with the memory of those years and have experienced the scarce opportunities that our countries were giving to us.

1. Free parties and the night

The sound system crew started in the spring of 2018, fruit of multiple conversations and nights partying together. Specifically, it came from a shared sensation that there was a missing space regarding alternative parties and the type of music that was played in clubs and raves, seeking to create something to feel at home and welcome everyone. It emerged as a project among party people that initially barely knew each other, but had a determined idea about what partying, music and dancing meant for them. As Dani, male DJ and member of the crew explains *"it is a mix of very peculiar people that could not have met in other places. People that would have never organised a free party are part of this collective, myself for instance".* It can be said that it was a product of coincidence, eager for better

parties and social connections that made it possible. The philosophy of the free party and the political aspect of it was something, at least for some, secondary and not constitutive of its beginnings.

Figure 1. First free party. April 2018. Picture provided by the sound system

Growing and collaborating with other sound systems from Bristol, the crew have been throwing free parties and club events since then. The conceptual differentiation between 'free party' and 'rave' is a bit tricky, since in the European context 'rave' is almost a synonym of 'free party', meaning open, free (or sustained by voluntary donations), alternative parties whereas in the UK, 'rave' has a more general meaning, being used to refer to any big party. In this project, I only study rave as free parties.

The free parties organised by this sound system have emerged as a catalyst of different senses of belonging, friendship and affect, apart from regulated and commercialized spaces (even though, as the parties in clubs show, not always). One of the departing points of this exploration was the question about the nights they organise, their feelings and views about it. Different meanings about the night emerged as the interviews were done to people of the sound system but also to other friends and participants. The crew holds a more layered relationship with the party, as the organisation and 'responsibility' of the night gets mixed with pleasure, dance and communal moments. In general, the participants have emphasized the feeling of finding in these parties a 'comfort zone', a 'bubble' and a familiar environment where everyone (from the migrant community) knows each other, shares, cares and dances together.

While focusing on different aspects of these parties during the interviews, such as the importance of the sound (quality) or dancing, gender relations or introspective moments, one theme emerged often enough to pick up my attention: the enjoyment of the morning in contrast with the night. There is a ritualistic and symbolic importance of this moment, but also very corporeal, tied to the advantages that the end of the night (confusing, ambiguous) and the morning light brings. It is, for most of the participants, when the party truly begins: when they can see each other's faces, they can joke and interact. Also, the speakers are fully warm at that point so the music sounds at its best. Another key point in the morning is the presence of the 'true' dancers, 'energetic' ravers that have stayed till the

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morning. Similarly put by Saldanha about Goa 'tranceheads', it is time for 'others' to leave (2007, p. 3). There are fewer people, but people that really show their resistance, commitment and energy (normally all our friends, so it ends up being very familiar). The morning encompasses a ritualistic nature because everybody feels that their duties (if they are organisers) have ended, it seems everybody heads to their favourite place at this time (in front of the speakers, sitting and talking, just messing around...).

Hence, the night lasts for many hours, normally more than 14, starting at midnight. After the party, the sound system crew spends 3/4h more hours cleaning up, dismantling the rig and the bar, storing the equipment and finally having one last beer all together to discuss how the night went and cheer everybody up. So basically, every time they organise a party they spend at least 24h woken up and together. This speaks for itself of how bounding (and tiring) the experience for the people of the sound system can be. Here, the affective relationship among the crew members is productive and creative, generating a site of possibilities for the free parties and also further projects. The possibility to choose what type of party and music, how is organised, when and where, opens up a world of choices that empowers the organisers and participants (named 'sovereignty' and 'self-determination' by Riley, et. al, 2010). There is almost no intermediation between creation and consumption, especially for the organisers. It feels more 'true' and 'raw' experience than regulated and club events.

The extension of the night beyond its dark contours until the morning and other spaces is influenced by what I call 'figures' and institutions that help to understand better the existence of these 'non-regulated' and DIY practices. One of these figures is the widely discussed use of drugs in the rave literature, being consumed by all the participants even though it was not particularly addressed in the research. Only a few of them referenced drugs without me asking, and it was mentioned normally for two reasons: the prolongation of the night (staying at least until mid-day) and the perception that there is a difference in the use of drugs between the participants and the British ravers (with a widespread use of ketamine in the later). Although this is not a clear-cut distinction and there are other drugs present, it is very recognizable who consumes what because of how actively they dance and interact with each other. People that consume ketamine are likely to be more 'out' and quieter (there is a big debate within the scene about the use of ketamine and how it is 'killing it'). Other external figures and institutions that influence the scene are the regulations and laws about club opening times, which close soon, the expensive prices of regulated parties and the police role (which will be discussed later).

Figure 2 Free party in January 2019. Picture provided by the sound system

2. Migration: re-creating home through partying

a) Integration and barriers

As it has been said, there is a strong communal sense of the group between the participants, which contrasts and is reinforced by the scarce integration this group of Spanish people has within the British community in general and some with the British free parties in particular too. This is typical of migrant communities which tend to be together and organise themselves around shared interests, in this case, music and partying (Lewis, 2015).

> *"We are a bit of a ghetto, no doubt. It is very easy to be with your friends and if you see barriers a bit difficult to break, you can go 'home' easily (...) I like it though, you go out with your group and you're safe"* (Notid, male member of the crew)

The nature of these 'Mediterranean migrants' stands in-between the notions of transnational or 'global nomads' (Nijhoff and Gordano, 2017) looking for new experiences and Kosnick's clubbing post-migrants due to its ways of shaping new forms of sociality through partying (Kosnick, 2015, p. 11). The general perception among participants is that they are barely integrated, principally because they feel culturally different. Also, the language barrier was often signalled as a key factor for not having many relationships outside the Spanish group. A few of them pointed out the friendship and collaboration with other English sound systems, but in general, a sense of scarce integration and identification permeated their narratives.

b) Discourses of authenticity and distinctiveness

Hence, the perceptions around 'being part' or 'being integrated' in British culture are layered and plural. The night is a the temporary autonomous home (TAH), where everyone shares a communal feeling of familiarity but also, and importantly, of differentiation from British ravers. Many acknowledged and admired the country's music culture, historic heritage and the importance of the sound system culture. This oppositional discourse, which will be analysed next, is not a totalizing narrative of

distinctiveness but a critical one towards ways of partying and socializing that departs from the perception of being 'different cultures':

> *"In Spain we have grown with the feeling of the free party as something you have to defend, as something that belongs to you. Here [in the UK] young people have been born with the free party movement already existing. Going to a rave is the same as going to a club." (Pablo, male member of the crew)*

There is a strong discourse of 'authenticity' among participants, endorsing 'desirable traits' (Grazian, 2018, p. 191) of understanding free parties and partying in general, in a more committed and/or joyful ways than, *generally* British people (this emphasis is important because saying that they plainly understand their parties as more authentic would be a simplification of the narratives). Hence, participants differentiate themselves from mainstream late night leisure in a general sense (which is a common discourse within the free party movement, being more 'authentic' than clubbers or other dance scenes), but also partially from the free party movement in the UK, or more accurately, from the ravers themselves. This is not a new trait within free party scenes. As St John (2009) points out, these discourses provide a solid feed into 'subcultural capital' and 'celebrate their distinction from the producers and inhabitants of other, non-progressive, and thus 'cheesier' and non-hardcore vibes' (2009, p. 111). There is an exaltation and perhaps idealization of our own party culture as *generally* familiar, smily, talkative, social and caring.

However, discourses of distinctiveness also recognise the plurality of the British scene and its popularity, having achieved levels of participation, sound system quality and acceptance among youth that are very far from the Spanish rave context. Also, participants have highlighted the presence of a different 'practice' of freedom among British people in these parties. Gloria, a female raver and friend, says that *"they* [British] *maintain that essence of total freedom, they understand it better than us (...) they are more closed but they leave you that space of tolerance and respect".*

During fieldwork and observation, these differences are less noticeable from a detached or outsider perspective. The night blurs these distinctions, offering a more united and homogeneous dancing body. It would be interesting to see if the rest of ravers even notice (or care) that we are not British. Nevertheless, if one observes (and dances) closer, they will realise that there is a big group of people (it can range between 10 up to 30-50 ravers) that interacts, talks, shares drugs and dances together and does not do so with British people, even though interactions happen, but more punctually. It will be definitely enriching to continue this research by exploring British views on this.

The sense of limited integration and difference among them responds also to a narrowed view of what 'integration' or 'participation' in foreign cultures means. The crew, along other artistic projects which were not directly analysed in this research, is contributing to the leisure and social landscape of the city, organising events open to everyone and engaging with the rest of the music scene. In this sense, I follow Riley et al., (2010) development of youth raves as a way of political and social participation that escapes traditional accounts on youth political participation. This approach has more

importance when being migrants, since political participation such as voting, joining organisations or protesting are normally less facilitated or practised by young migrants. Thus, understanding these music events and free parties as a form of integration and participation, not only for themselves but for the rest of society, highlights the number of other spaces that migrant communities generate that are sometimes ignored by public opinion or academia.

3. Belonging

These discourses around integration and understandings of partying opened the path to discuss what sort of senses of belonging are felt and articulated among the participants. I divided these in two groups: a sense of belonging specific to and reinforced during the night and belonging that goes beyond it.

Belonging during the night is described as familiar and affective (Probyn, 1996). *"It is like a family. I had that feeling of being surrounded by all my friends and all the people that have come, many of them Spanish, and had the sensation of home, of a family, of that good vibes… So yes, during the raves that feeling is generated, of our little temporal family"* regards Mister H, a male DJ and member of the crew. This feeling is especially reinforced and embodied during the parties, articulating the TAH, even though it exists among some participants beyond it. This temporal affiliation between ravers resonates to the neo-tribal communities developed by Maffesoli (1996), who defended an increase of informal and unstable social groupings with fluid and multiple forms of participation, characteristic of late modern societies. Participant's neo-tribal belonging (to the group, with a flux of people coming and leaving, and to the rave scene) is problematized by the 'authenticity' and 'distinction' discourses among these migrant ravers, showing the multiple identifications with the free party scene and within it.

Secondly, belonging beyond the night has been shown through the interviews to be a matter of circumstances (where and with who I am at the moment), feelings (how I feel at the moment) and friendship (the family and home feeling that is built). These identifications have come to be defined quite abstract and fluctuant. The discussion of notions of belonging came in two parts, first I was asking what they understood as belonging and where do they feel they belonged, and second, I asked where do they feel at home. Normally their senses of belonging are non-attached to any country, city or neighbourhood (the first question), but when I asked senses of home, Bristol and their neighbourhood (in Bristol) appeared quite often.

As Yuval-Davis (2006) has posed it, belonging also comes related to ethical, spiritual and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belongings. As the account of Cindy shows *"I feel I belong when my ideas are accepted by the people I live with. Not only my ideas, but feeling that people understand you. If there is no judgement, there is belonging. Feeling that no matter who you are, you fit here".* Belonging entails strong emotional attachments (Probyn, 1996), but it is also quite self-protective due to the migrant's temporality as Gloria, a female raver and friend, responded: *"My*

feeling of belonging is with my girls, I know that these relationships are going to last (...) I am also detached from that feeling of family, because many of my people have left already".

Then, it seems that the migrant nature of the participants influences its conception of belonging as fluctuant, temporary and/or circumstantial. For some, their sense of belonging changes even weekly depending how they feel about the city and themselves, for others it depends on the people they are surrounded by and for others, it is a bit more stable, based on where they are living at the moment. Nevertheless, these free floating emotions 'stick' to particular social objects (Ahmed, 2004) which are, for instance, their homes, the parties, and also the city for some, relativizing belonging's liquid nature.
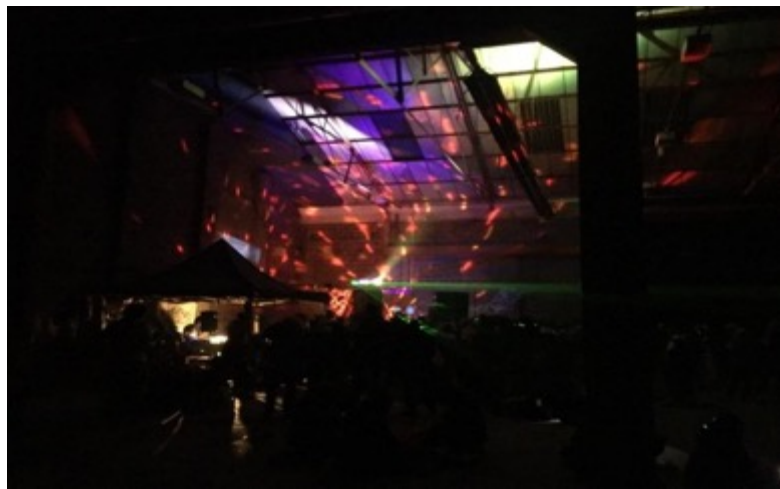

Figure 3 Free party in October 2019. Picture taken by myself

4. Surfing materialities: police authority, work and sense of freedom

Different 'materialities', understood as a series of events and structures which influence the participants' experiences, have appeared as an important part in the interviews. I do not separate 'materiality' from emotions and discursive formations, but its analytical significance in the project requires a more in-depth reflection of these structures. There are two main themes that inform this group's rootedness to the material. One is the economic and working conditions and the other is the relationship with authority, generally British police. There is a general shared idea that it is definitely easier to organise parties in the UK than in Spain and other places. Indeed, most of the participants argue that this may not have happened back in Spain.

Work and leisure are two deeply interrelated spheres, being a site of constant negotiation, which is emphasized by the fact of being migrants (precarious, unskilled, unstable and flexible jobs for some). There is certain rejection to put work at the centre of human life, trying to organise their lives around leisure, music and partying. Hence, as it has been said, the participants are active and sovereign subjects of their leisure, not just consumers. They create spaces on the margins to organise their own

leisure activities and try to put work in a secondary place (shifting jobs and schedules, making calls 'in sick') to be able to manage their own time, although not always possible. For instance, Pablo gave a detailed explanation of the economic and social conditions present in Spain that handicap young people embarking on projects such as having a sound system, which require a lot of time, effort, and money:

> *"(...) here [UK] there are more jobs and there is money, so you can do it (...) In our group, everyone works, everyone has more or less a salary so they can have this kind of hobby, something you love. Moreover, you have time, which sometimes is more important than money (...) Here the labour market allows this. In Spain, in my group, I was the only one working (...) Also, here there is an enormous second-hand market [of hardware and speakers] that does not exist in Spain. Our first rave we made it with all borrowed speakers, we only had the generator (laughs)".*

This does not mean that in Spain or other countries having a sound system and making raves are completely determined by this, there is also a lot of music and cultural influence at stake. Historically, the United Kingdom has one of the biggest sound system cultures in the world, inherited from the Jamaican migration of the post-war period and it is way more integrated within popular culture and street parties than in Mediterranean countries, as some participants emphasized.

Nevertheless, I found this reflection very interesting and one of the few class analyses from the interviews. This acute perception links with the introductory emphasis of the 2008 crisis, precarity and 'youth without future' that has tightened up south European countries during the last decade. Most of the participants were recent graduates or/and unemployed before coming to the UK, an economic situation that does not allow to have either time or enough money to commit to something like this, or at least, requires way more effort. Interestingly, the UK also underwent austerity measures and widespread figures as student debts and zero-hour contracts do not seem either the heaven of opportunities. This, however, shows the nature of migration and the internal disparities within the EU (or Europe after Brexit) when it comes to youth opportunities, inequality and the perception of it.

Finally, the idea and sense of freedom appear quite often as a facilitator for making free parties. Even though the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act almost completely obliterated the free party scene in the UK as it used to be at the beginning, and police raids and closes parties, especially now with Covid-19 restrictions, the presence of authority and control is felt less strict and harsh here. There is a conception of freedom underlying almost all the interviews and in this sense the conclusion is clear, they feel freer here than in Spain. This sense of freedom and easiness for parties is strongly related to the role of the police. A few participants (all part of the crew) directly emphasized the permittivity of the police, especially in comparison to Spain:

> *"The way the police is changes everything from the beginning (...) the image of seeing the police at the end [of the party], talking with someone, staring at the speakers and the river, man, so good vibes"* (Quinoa, female DJ and member of the crew).

> *"In Spain, we are more afraid of the consequences. There, police can come and will cut you off differently, roughly".* (Dark Purple, female member of the crew).

Conclusions and future of the research

1) The articulation of the TAH during the parties locates the night as a catalyst of friendship and affect, where affection and belonging are performed and reinforced. The night does not generate 'home' alone but it is the scenario where *la joissance de vivre* is felt and embodied. These affects and 'playful vitality' (Malbon, 1999) are the result of dynamics outside and beyond the night, in all its aspects (the morning, the afterparty, being outside home…). These parties are acts of feeling at home through re-creating one. The location of these Mediterranean migrants in the scene, the city and the country might seem sometimes ambiguous: there are many discourses of in-betweenness, of feeling and not feeling integrated, of rejecting the British way of partying and fully endorsing and participating in the scene at the same time. This supposed contradiction between discourses and practices show the liminal spaces of migration and integration, the threshold between the realities of being outside home and creating new communities.

2) Contrary to what their discourses seem to show about British youth and partying, I argue that these practices can be understood as a form of integration and participation displayed by a small youth migrant community, developing new senses of belonging and non-traditional ways of participation within the culture one is living in. The participants surface different materialities (regulations, work conditions, etc) by putting alternative ways of leisure at the centre, organising their work and free time in order to be active subjects in the creation and enjoyment of these practices. Partying and organising free parties are the main linking between the foreign culture and the group, becoming one of the most important ways of participation and sociality in the city. I argue that the scarce sense of integration and belonging within British community is counterbalanced by their parties where lots of people attend and participate.

3) This is especially important in a city like Bristol, where sound system culture is rooted in the recent history of the city. And again as what Jamaican communities showed in the 1970s, a group of migrants are employing their time and energies at throwing these parties. Hence, the importance of the context shows the thread that connects the importance of music and leisure on the margins for building sovereign participants and new senses of belonging among migrant communities.

4) Finally, amidst the recent global pandemic that has deeply affected leisure of all kinds, some considerations in this realm will be closing the proceeding. At the time of the interviews and fieldwork (Februrary-May 2020) the impact of the pandemic was starting to be felt in the club and regulated dance scene. However, the consequences for the free party scene, even though similar as well as many events and teknivals got cancelled, was still ambiguous. At the time I am writing these lines, some conclusions can be drawn. The rise of non-regulated parties across the country and in Europe have been notable with the ease of lockdown, especially as most of the clubs are still closed or dancing is prohibited. In the UK, the celebration of different free parties during and after lockdown (Summer 2020) have generated a public reaction of concern and criminalization of these parties for risking public health and not following the government guidelines. For instance, the 18th of July and 30th of August, different free

parties were held with the attendance of 3,000 people with a strong presence of police. In France, the second week of August one free party was seized and all the equipment was confiscated in one of the biggest recent raids in the country, which on the other hand, experiences one of the strictest police towards free party culture in Europe. In Spain, high fines have been imposed on the few raves that have been held and in Czech Republic a new law regulating gatherings has recently been approved. Similarly, organisers of illegal raves could face fines up to 10,000 pounds in the UK since August. Going beyond the discourses of risk and irresponsibility that these parties are deemed to entail (no social distancing, low use of face mass, etc), it seems we are entering a new cycle of repression of the free party movement, being Covid-19 the reason and as some argue, the excuse for it. It does not seem that the upcoming months will be different and the alternative late-night leisure will move (and it is moving already) even more to the margins in order to survive. On the other hand, it seems that free parties are going to continue happening, probably in smaller scale or in very special dates. Concretely, this sound system has participated in some free parties and has done also their own, in a small and private scale. In consequence, research of the night, dance and electronic music scenes seems to be at least suspended and altered for now in many senses, forcing researchers to find other mechanisms to keep studying these scenarios which have also already changed.

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Disappearing into Night. Visual Essay

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Abstract

In modern Gulf cities the rapid development of urban infrastructures instantly transforms the built environment. At night in Doha, Qatar artificial light and architecture fuse together to produce unique ocular environments. In these settings electrical light sculpts architectural landscapes and reorganizes established boundaries in neighbourhoods erased by structural change. 'Disappearing into Night' focuses on principal spaces where people rest, worship and trade amid these active construction sites. Ongoing research considers how light energy production, consumption and pollution influences sustainable development and stimulates ecological change in Qatar and along the Arabian Peninsula.

Keywords: Infrastructure; Architecture; Illumination; Photography; Environment

Introduction

In modern Gulf cities the rapid development of urban infrastructures instantly transforms the built environment. At night in Doha, Qatar artificial light and architecture fuse together to produce unique ocular environments. In these settings electrical light sculpts new architectural landscapes, reorganizes established boundaries and visually erodes soon-to-be forgotten neighbourhoods erased by structural change. In these settings crumbling buildings become saturated and cloaked by the distinct hue of prominent light sources. As a result, 'artificial light' forms auditory conditions and ocular stimuli to visualize power relations that undoubtedly exist in architectural sites typically occupied by an unsettled expatiate workforce-rebuilding cityscapes.

Therefore, visible shadows could be utilized as dialectical metaphor to explore light energy generated by active construction sites and residential spaces in surrounding areas.

The commanding presence of lengthening shadows generated by construction lights typically indicates the concrete reality of the buildings. However, light is undoubtedly temporal obscuring and stealthily opening up communal space in the modern cityscape. Consequently, in Doha tactile collective spaces merge seamlessly with the nocturnal architectural backdrop in the changeable landscape, that often appears structurally uniform yet is socially contingent. As such enveloping darkness resolutely closes down space and illuminated light redefines image composition and instantly opens up possible opportunities to visualize social boundaries. Therefore, spotlighting deliberate decisions to brilliantly illuminate selected architectural sites and knowingly leave in considerable shadow other constructions. Is precisely a practical exercise of controlling executive power, as well as the promotion of structural heritage and economic redevelopment.

This visual essay introduces artistic experiments that expose perceptual landscapes where sound affects vision, and 'listening' reveals and transmits unseen audible phenomena (via the human body) to form and disclose new temporal objects – afterimages of spatial experience or atmosphere. The porous thresholds and temporal intersections between photography, active modes of listening and performativity are continuous narrative concepts. Utilized to identify how the temporal afterglow of overhanging floodlights merges with fluctuating climatic conditions to shape ocular composition in the urban environment. Furthermore, spatial and social distinctions between noise, sound and signal and how these phenomena penetrate architecture and its inhabitants remain themes under investigation. To conclude, 'Disappearing into Night' focuses on principal spaces where people rest, worship and trade amid these active construction sites. And ongoing research considers how light energy production, consumption and pollution influences sustainable development and stimulates ecological change in Qatar and along the Arabian Peninsula.

Figure 1 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 2 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 3 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 4 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 5 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 6 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 7 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 8 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 9 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 10 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

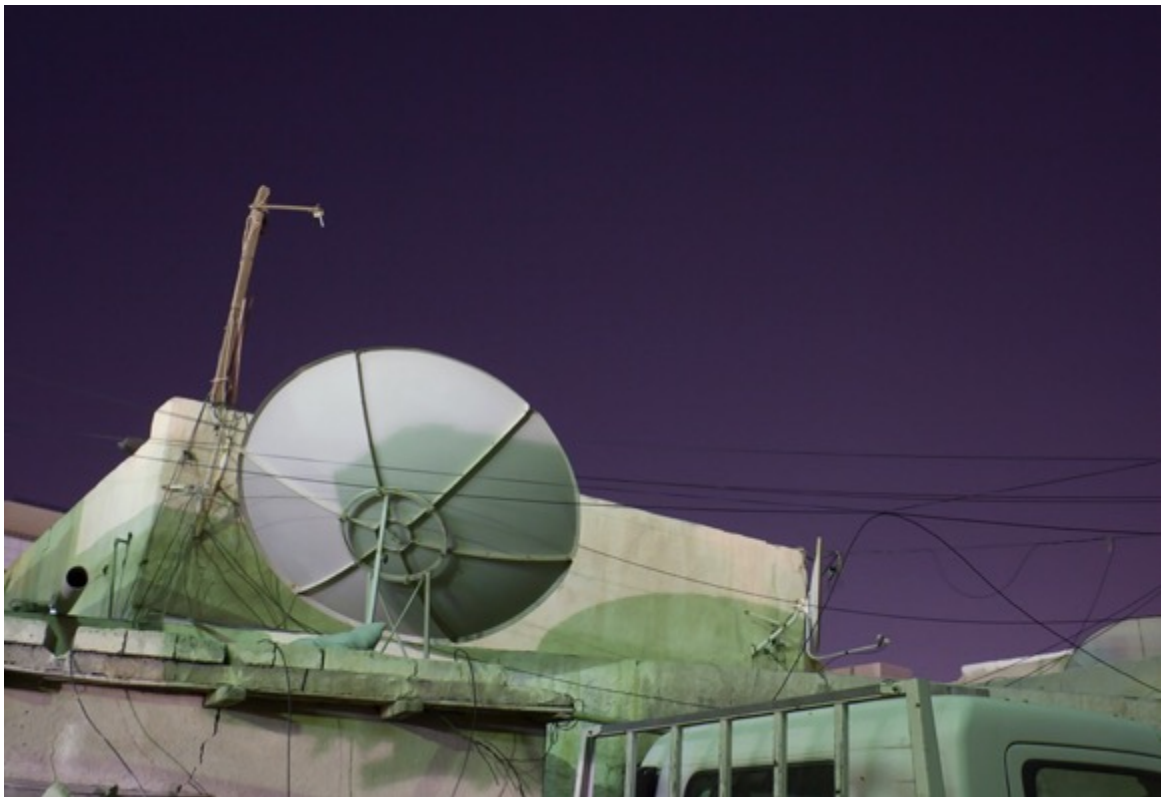Figure 11 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

Figure 12 Disappearing into Night, David Kendall, 2016 – 2017

About the Project

The project 'Disappearing into Night' was created in and around Al-Asmakh, Doha, in Qatar in 2016-17. This neighbourhood is undergoing large-scale, inner-city redevelopment inspired by contemporary design processes, yet retaining Qatari cultural character and heritage articulated through city planning and architecture (Law & Underwood, 2012). The district portrayed in the photographs is populated predominately by male economic workers, attracting flows of migrants from African and Asian countries including: Sudan, Egypt, India, Bangladesh and Nepal working in construction and the service sectors. Subsequently, a rapidly growing population and built environment increases light, air and noise pollution. The private enclosed space of the large construction site expanded week by week and its border fence redefines access through old neighbourhoods to residents squatting and renting buildings condemned to make way for redevelopment. Consequently, 'temporality' becomes an important structural component in forming the photo series, which considers how the afterglow of overhanging floodlights merges with fluctuating climatic conditions and built environment to form fresh visual landscapes in Doha.

These dialectic images help define the city's social geography and ocular identity through exploring rapid architectural reconstruction taking place in the city. The project aims to explore how 'artificial light' forms auditory conditions and ocular stimuli that visualize power relations in architectural sites occupied by an unsettled expatiate workforce-rebuilding cityscapes.

From these sites the quality and frequency of light comes in many hues and intensities that shape ocular composition in the urban environment. Overtime construction fences and hoardings are put up and buildings taken down changing the over-illuminated landscape. In these settings crumbling buildings become saturated and cloaked by obvious light sources and indistinct light energy generated by construction sites and residential spaces in surrounding areas. As a result, shadows are utilized as dialectical metaphor; the presence of shadows indicates the solid reality of the buildings yet light is temporal obscuring and opening up space in the cityscape. (Borden, 2007) (Buck Morse,1991). Thus, tactile collective spaces merge with the nocturnal architectural backdrop in the changeable landscape, that often appears structurally uniform yet is socially contingent. As such darkness closes down space and illuminated light redefines image composition and opens up opportunities to visualize social boundaries. Therefore, spotlighting how decisions to illuminate or to leave in shadow is an exercise of executive power as well as the promotion of architectural heritage and redevelopment. Consequently, these shared spaces where a multiplicity of events occur generates spatial conditions where chance plays a significant part in redefining social space (Gilbert, 2007). Sensing atmosphere is significant in project development, and this embodiment becomes a vessel to conduct and transmit electronic signals and sense the environment. Furthermore repartition, mobility and migration are themes utilized to encounter architecture with visual and sonic media. As a result, exposing traces of precarious communal activity or unofficial organization via audio-visual media identifies how construction

processes could be informed and reproduced by the people who build as much as those who design Gulf cities.

Visual Study

These photographs focusing on nocturnal sites, are a work-in-progress that aims to consider how energy generation: consumption, circulation and air pollution merge with and separate ocular and auditory landscapes: Sites that seem to have no distinct presence or absence in and around building developments in Doha.

Information and Communications technology and embodiment are devices to reveal and peel away sonic atmospheres, which are invisible to human eyes. Yet when heard through Information and Communications equipment penetrate the body and direct vision to new sites to be seen.

Artistic experiments expose perceptual landscapes where sound affects vision, exploring spatial and social distinctions between noise, sound and signal. Discovering how these phenomena possess or penetrate architecture and its inhabitants. In addition, illumination and spotlighting are devices to navigate through material structures. And the repetitive act of walking along city streets and roads places and fosters spatial awareness of new visual identities in the metropolis.

The act of listening becomes a mode of seeing. Such research forces a re-think of the ways 'scale' and 'location' offer starting points to develop practical and theoretical frameworks. To explore fresh perspectives on how residents, migrant workers and tourists interact with architectural spaces in and around the city.

Wandering at night investigates the indeterminate space between what is visible and invisible. Offering opportunities to discover how the visible electromagnetic spectrum seen by human eyes and the cameras image sensors merges with radiant flux, the unseen light-energy; invisible 'Radio Frequency Interference (RFI)' emitted, transmitted or received by Information and Communication Technologies.

Roaming helps new provisional sites emerge as ocular pauses, momentary fragments of cohesion that punctuate inter- subjective experiences en-route. Creating a field of view that is reliant on the human paths and sonic routes and channels crisscrossing neighbourhoods. Transitional spaces of cultural and historical hybridity woven between architectural spaces become apparent in Doha and enrich conceptual frameworks to make new work about labour flows in the city.

Moreover, if an entire city is conceived as an archive, buildings are not only sites of infrastructural order, but become active through architectural destruction and reconstruction. Delineated by an assemblage of activities and events created by inhabitants in particular places and moments in time.

As a result, the points of navigation are continually being moved, which produces a sense of disorientation and disruption.

Subsequently, the social imagination could stimulate memories through repeated journeys into Doha's cityscapes. Triggering new photographs, audio-visual works and soundscapes that express the city as an archive thus, revealing links between inhabitants, architecture, communication technologies and digital infrastructures (for example – radio waves, smart devices and the Internet).

Climatic conditions affect the practice of walking as an embodied research methodology. If one's body becomes part or extension of the edifice, one begins to ?become centred, merge and mimic its shape and form. This has a significant impact upon the perception and recording of analogue and digital signals in the area. However, walking in sites designed for motorized travel could offer autonomous opportunities to move freely and weave within city spaces intended to direct users towards particular destinations. In these settings the practice of walking is a polluted environmental experience, and standing still in dust and exhaust fumes generates social and physical barriers. Nevertheless, these ever-shifting boundaries create fertile ground from which the urban imaginary can arise from the Anthropocene.

Discussion and Conclusions

In conclusion, the ongoing research cross-examines distinct challenges facing Qatar's construction and infrastructure growth in-line with the National Vision 2030 development plan (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2020). The photographs and soundscapes within this series highlight the fluid threshold between private and public spaces by exposing permanent and impermanent traces of migration nestled within the changing architecture. The project continues to focus upon subtle imprints made by dynamic social infrastructures where people rest, worship and trade amid these construction sites: locales that appear to be silent yet in reality never sleep in the 24-hour sky glow enveloping the biosphere.

Acknowledgments

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