Proceedings

II International Conference on Night Studies

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Manuel Garcia-Ruiz, Jordi Nofre (Editors)

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2021

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A night above all

Manuel Garcia-Ruiz, Jordi Nofre

In recent years, research on and about the night has increased exponentially, attracting researchers from very different disciplines. The night, understood as an *object of study* or as a *setting* in which phenomena take place, attracts more and more attention from scholars from the Global East, the Global South, and the Global North. Night studies are beginning to resonate within and outside the Academia, gaining strength and relevance as an emerging transdisciplinary field . At a thematic level, we can see how "studying the night" does not necessarily mean studying the party areas, or the actors that participate in this sector of nightlife; nor does it mean studying deviation and crime, as was the custom until a few decades ago. Night studies burst forth with high-quality research regarding the creation of atmospheres, light and darkness in architecture, urban design, the archeology of the night, or invisible workers, to name a few of the topics with which we meet at the II International Conference on Night Studies that was held online on 6-8 October 2021 .

Night studies are transdisciplinary, and we can see that they include a wide methodological range. However, in recent years, and as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic, the ways in which the *night* has been investigated have changed. On the one hand, we see that researchers have embraced more intimate methodologies, producing research closer to themselves, accepting sensoriality and emotions, and employing increasingly online and even self-ethnographic methods. On the other hand, we see an increase in the production of *sofa investigations*, produced from stories in the press or social networks. Undoubtedly, the confinement of the researchers introduced the search for new ways to continue studying the night, when it was closed. The field was digitized, and distances were shortened through networks.

Here we find eleven (11) genuine works that illustrate in an extraordinary way the diversity of approaches, methods, and research topics that we can find in the studies of the night. Undoubtedly, this work is an important step for this field of study and a reference work for those who intend to start studying the night.

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Daily life was compromised globally with the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic at the beginning of 2020. The measures adopted to prevent and control the contagion were implemented quickly in general terms, but they imposed radical changes in the way in which people interacted, both on the street and in their homes. Abdallah Zouhairi (Hassan II University) and Sana Benbelli (Hassan II University) present here the processes of *reinvention* of available private spaces and their occupation by gender in Casablanca. These authors describe the appropriation of rooftops, stairwells and balconies by men, and the strategies adopted to guarantee their independence and distance from women during nights of confinement.

Alicia Fournier (University of Porto) explores the Porto night based on the experiences of queer and non-binary women, presenting the relationships of power, resistance or domination and argues that the night is an open space-time that allows expression and visibility of non-normative bodies and identities.

Sanitary measures would force Montpelier's nocturnal ecosystem to close its doors, while university students, deprived of their socialization spaces, would seek new ways to continue to meet. In this sense, Florian Guerin (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, UMR 5281 ART-Dev), Emanuele Giordano (Université de Toulon, EA 2649 BABEL) and Dominique Crozat (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, UMR 5281 ART-Dev) lead a series of questionnaires throughout the different confinements, accompanying the implementation of the measures proposed by the French government and their adoption (and interpretation) by the youngest.

Kasia Ozga (Université Paris 8, Saint-Denis) introduces us to an artistic workshop for the production and exploration of night and darkness that took place on a ship sailing between Saint Malo, Guernsey and Sark in 2016. We find here an x-ray of the project Nightfall, a creative experience for artistic exploration in which the *night* plays an important role both as a background and as an incarnation inspiration of the artists.

In the summer of 2020 and in the midst of a pandemic, the city of Portland (Oregon, USA) began a hundred-day protest against police abuses of power, as well as to the posture of politicians after the murder of George Floyd. These parades were more active after sunset. Yael Kidron (Portland State University) in this work exhaustively and progressively reviews the incidents that occurred after the tragedy and assess the role of public space and real democracy, while proposing the need for more research on the narratives of violence, authority, equality and contemporary wellness.

Lighting projects, as well as the creation of atmospheres, are strongly associated with night studies, especially from an architectural perspective. Public lighting projects and the

entanglement of dark and light areas are important for urban life and activities that take place after the sun goes down. Nicolas Houel (ENSA Nantes, AAU Laboratory) presents here some results of a workshop held with students and questions the need to reimagine public spaces, advocating a more sustainable light sobriety.

Salomé Vincent (Université Sorbonne, Department of Geography, UR Médiations) invites us to review the demonization of the night in the media, as well as in academic work carried out since the 1980s. Her work questions the relationship between insecurity, crime and the night pointing to a catastrophic dramaturgy that deforms the perception of the urban night by the reproduction of certain collective imaginaries. The author calls for reflexivity and rigorous research to demystify the collective paranoia established after decades of reproducing *fear tales.*

Recently the Balat, neighborhood in Istanbul, has undergone an increasing process of gentrification. Elvan Can (University of Westminster) presents in this work the juxtapositions between the residents of the neighborhood and the frequenters of the new cafes; at the same time, she presents an opposition in the uses of the space between day and night. This work is the result of a microethnography, and brings attention to the convulsions between the search for a new bohemian, or the experience of a certain nostalgia, and the reactions of the Muslim conservative locals and the local government.

Lockdowns were not always respected, nor did they prevent people from meeting each other. Health recommendations in the different confinements were also different, generating situations of uncertainty or disorientation in what was allowed; however, the restrictions seemed endless. This perception was especially felt among young people, who, accustomed to frequent social exchanges, were prevented from meeting. Sophia Abidi (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3) presents here some of the risk practices identified in Berlin among the youngest, and the need for authorities to communicate better to prevent sex, drugs, and other abuses.

Nancy Gonlin (Bellevue College) transports us to Mayan Mesoamerica. Nights full of dangers, animals, mystical beings, drugs and negotiations. Nights with rituals, science, and love relationships. The archeology of the night brings us closer to a distant past and brings us the history of other ways of living urban spaces once the sun goes down.

Finally, we walk with Nick Dunn on his nightly wanderings in the city of Manchester. A work of rediscovery of the urban fabric in times of pandemic in which he proposes the change in the dynamics of spatial occupation, and the replacement of the usual occupants by unexpected gaps. In this *autoethnography on foot*, Dunn considers the need to redraw the city, deconstruct the

urban and include the non-human in urban design, also thinking of night rhythms and night uses of the space.

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Welcome to the Proceeding of the II Annual Conference on Night Studies.

Turning Rooftops into Cafés:

Nocturnal Appropriations of Public and Private Spaces in Casablanca (Morocco) During the Pandemic

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Abstract

This article researches the relationship between urban public and private nighttime space during the lockdown imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic in Casablanca (Morocco). Based on ethnographic research, this work shows how public and private spaces were disrupted and reinvested with various forms of presence and appropriation by the inhabitants, especially in the popular neighbourhoods of Casablanca. This appropriation occurs in an intersection of new forms of nocturnal occupation linked to these spaces' social and cultural gender roles. The material boundaries between private and public spaces are also subject to conflict and even masculine domination during the nights of confinement. The results show how women usually occupy appropriated spaces and are even occupied by men, transforming them into exclusively male spaces. During this health crisis, the nightly closure of cafés led to a redirection of men towards private spaces or borders such as the rooftops of buildings, stairwells, and patios. The appropriation of rooftops, which in regular times is an exclusively female space used for drying clothes, consists of a transformation of these spaces for nocturnal use during the lockdown. The men install tables, chairs, and ashtrays to mark and prohibit this space from using women at night. Collective recreational practices such as hookah smoking in these spaces are carried out in a kind of translation from the male public space of the café to the female private space of the building rooftops.

Keywords: Cafés, Rooftops, Gender, Public-Private

Casablanca before the pandemic: a secluded space of time

The public space in Casablanca is highly gendered. Certainly, the separation of the sexes in public places of sociability such as cafes, restaurants and cinemas is not as strict as in other Middle Eastern cities (Paquot, 2015; Gillot, 2004). However, the enjoyment of these spaces remains limited for women and is accompanied by several forms of intimidation; stares, flirting, verbal violence, which means that the latter generally prefer to exclude themselves from these places (Davis-Taïeb, 1998). The mixed presence between men and women, which is usual in work, study, and transit, suddenly becomes disturbing in places of leisure and relaxation. The refusal to mix becomes more and more pressing as one moves away from the city centre towards its working-class and peripheral districts1.

In these Peripheral working-class neighbourhoods, leisure and recreation areas remain strictly gendered, even excluding women who often opt for private or at least indoor spaces to gather together. If they do, they have to move to the city centre neighbourhoods to access cafés, restaurants, cinemas and sports halls that accept mixed gender.

In the study of the urban setting, the dimension of space cannot be considered without that of time (Remy, 2015). Relationships of mobility (spatial, social, and economic) are often considered in relation to movement in space and time. The "urban night" raises the issue of safety for both men and women. However, beyond security issues, going out at night for a woman inCasablanca can be devaluing and even stigmatising. Staying out at night can accentuate a man's virility and a woman's vulnerability. Indeed, society considers a man who stays out at night in a valorising way. He is either *responsible* if it is linked to a professional activity, ajob or a bon vivant to unwind. At the same time, any woman's presence outside during the night is suspicious, and considered as *khârja*[2] with all the negative connotations that thisword has.

The transgressive framework of the action of "going out" emanates essentially from the factthat it takes place outside, in space-time that, according to the social norm, is not adapted towomen and especially outside the family framework, thus escaping surveillance and control. Moreover, the woman who "goes out" acts outside a displacement thatinsinuates a character of idleness and an absence

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[1] The centre of the city of Casablanca corresponds to the European districts built on the eve of the French colonisation, grouping together (Anfa- Anfa sup- Maarif- Sidi belyout- Bourgogne- Belvédère- Les Roches Noires), which house the main commercial and administrative centres of the city. While the famous districts were born later towards the 1950s following the decision of Marechal Lyautey to make Casablanca an industrial pole which favoured a great migration of the workforce. Lyautey called on Michel Ecochard to create several annexed neighbourhoods that could accommodate the large flows of migrants while respecting their way of life from a social and cultural point of view (Rachik, 1998: 253-255)

[2] The term "kharja" in Moroccan Arabic language comes from the verb "to go out", which refers both to a presence in the public space and to the fact of going out of the right way, i.e. doing something that goes against social norms and especially concerning the trade of intimacy. See the work of Meriam Cheikh on the notion of "khrij" (2010)

of responsibility stronglycondemned for women. On the other hand, a woman who works (*kheddama*) is in apendular and punctuated movement, a shuttle movement in space and time between her home and her place of work, since her movement is strictly linked to defined spaces and times. Thus, outside of these workspaces/times and outside of the work situation itself, a woman must remain "fixed" (*tabta*) and "surrounded" (*mhasna*)[3] by the presence and care of her male family members. As a result, sedentary life in space and time is socially perceivedas a feminine ideal.

The café, a public but gendered place

The café remains the public, commercial place that most reflects the character of urban life since it is a space that is rare or even absent in rural areas. It is a flourishing trade whose expansion is in geometric progression in the city of Casablanca. It is a fundamental elementin the architectural structure of the metropolis, and its absence can change its morphology to the point where certain districts can become dull, austere, and less safe. A caféin a neighbourhood can increase security among the people who live there and pass through it.

Figure 1. Neighborhoud café in Casablanca. Casablanca during the month of Ramadan.
May 2018 © Abdallah Zouhairi & Sana Benbelli

For men, a café is an intermediary place that serves as a place to relax, meet people, sometimes as a place of work for people living off the grid, and more often as a place to meet friends. Young men cannot meet in the family setting since the increasingly cramped living conditions and lack of personal space make it impossible to receive male friends indoors, except for very short visits in the presence of other family members. The café thus takes on the role of a second home in which to entertain. Unlike

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[3] The adjective "surrounded (mhasna)" comes from the word "hisn" in Arabic, which means "tower", whose primary function is to protect and dominate what surrounds her. The "mohassana" in the Muslim religion is a married woman to a husband who plays such a "tower". The husband is supposed to dominate, separate, and protect her from all the outside people. In the Moroccan culture, the "mhasna" is a woman who remains home under the protection and domination of men in her family.

men, most women's meetings take place indoors in the intimate and protected setting of the home. The reception of other women in the home can automatically lead to the expulsion of men to the outside to allow more freedom and privacy for women.

Legally, a café has fixed hours of operation. It starts at about six in the morning and stays open until ten in the evening. However, cafés adapt their opening hours to the presence of customers, which changes according to the seasons and events. A café may stay open until the last customers leave, and this may be at eleven PM in the winter.

The café follows the rhythm of its customers' lives, such as during the nights of the month of Ramadan, which is the fasting period in Muslim religion. Moreover, once in the café, time seems to stand still for the users who stop measuring it, especially with friends. They come for a quarter of an hour and stay for three hours. They do not come to the café only to drink or meet friends; they also come to pass the time. Moreover, coffee consumption is often accompanied by the discreet consumption of other stimulants rarely consumed at home or in public spaces, such ascannabis, *Kif*[4], *Maajoun*[5] and *Hookah (Shisha)*[6]. Tobacco is subject to less social and family control of consumption, but its consumption is more related to the outdoor space.

Casablanca's cafés in the rhythm of the pandemic

Total closure: day and night

During the first wave of Covid-19 in Casablanca, and due to the number of cases, the authorities decided to close down several public spaces and services such as sports halls, bathhouses (*Hammams*), hairdressing salons, party halls, and public spaces, gardens, restaurants and cafes. Shortly afterwards, general confinement was adopted, and outings in the public space had to be for specific reasons such as work or other urgent or indispensable needs. Such a decision has been taken in several countries worldwide to limit the spread of the coronavirus. The closure of public spaces disrupted the urban rhythm, both during the day and at night. The confinement raised hitherto invisible constraints concerning domestic space as nature of dwelling, its surface, the number of rooms and especially the importance of the spaces of contact with the outside such as windows, balconies and rooftops.

In the case of cafés, the closure of these spaces has disrupted the daily schedule of a large

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[4] Kif: refers to the leaves and stems of the Indian hemp plant, a hallucinatory plant that grows in North Africa, which are finely cut and smoked in traditional pipes. The word "kif" in Arabic refers to the pleasure obtained from its consumption.

[5] It is a paste of flour, almonds, sesame seeds, cannabis seeds, nutmeg that is mixed with dried figs and honey, formed into small balls and eaten with tea.

[6] A water pipe or Arabian pipe is used to smoke tobacco but also hash (cannabis).

population of users of this space, especially men. The café plays a role in regulating the daily rhythm for men such as pensioners, unemployed young people, and intermediaries in certain activities who use the café as a meeting and negotiation place. The urban space in certain districts of Casablanca is problematic due to the absence of urban furniture capable of providing a place of fixation for long periods. Not many public gardens could play this role, and when they do exist, the conditions do not allow for shady, secure sitting positions. Café, on the other hand, allows for these physical and social arrangements. The café enables people to sit in a chair, in the shade or the sun, in a protected space and for extended periods that can go on for several hours. The cost of such a service is also relatively low compared to other more affluent leisure areas of Casablanca. A cup of coffee or tea often costs less than 1 euro in most popular cafés. The café also acts as a refuge from a situation where housing does not allow for a corner or a space for continuous presence, particularly in small-area housing. This constraint, which initially appears to be spatial, is also social and relational. In popular housing, in addition to the small surface area, there is the constraint of the number of habitable rooms where men and women carry out a more or less negotiated order of space occupation. In Moroccan culture, as in the traditional Arab-Muslim culture, the domestic interior is often associated with the feminine and women. This representation is operationalised in the form of a social norm reproduced by both men and women. Even within the same family, mixed-gender poses a spatial and moral problem in the sense that intimacy is jeopardised by the promiscuity caused by the continuous presence of men in the interior domestic space. Outside becomes space for men to resort to and be present during the daytime, apart from mealtimes and sleeping times. For young adult men who still live with their parents, mainly for economic reasons, the café space becomes a place to pass the time instead of remaining permanently in the domestic space. Many unemployed young men choose to sleep most of the day to wake up in the evening and stay up late at night. For others, mornings are spent in a local coffee shop or neighbourhood café until mealtime at the family home.

Thus, a social distribution in terms of masculine/feminine occurred without knowing the private/public spatial distribution. Each group occupied space as its own and took care to expel others even within the framework of family or couple. The domestic space in the working-class neighbourhoods of Casablanca is ideally that of women, organised by them and made primarily for their social use. At the same time, the space of the café is an ideally masculine space where the intrusion of women is rarely accepted.

Night closure: a confiscated night

A metropolis like Casablanca is known for its intense nightlife and activity. Being the economic capital of Morocco, Casablanca is the place of a night economy that includes trade, services, industries and especially leisure. A sort of collective imagination Casablanca has also been associated with the film "*Casablanca*", which has amply articulated the adventures and encounters woven throughout the film. This imaginary Casablanca nightlife has been perpetuated in reality beyond the cinema screen. Moroccan filmography also gives a great deal of space to this nightlife in Morocco's largest city. Films

such as "*Casablanca by Night*" (2003), " *A Casablanca, les anges ne volent pas*" (2004), "*Casanegra*" (2008), conveya Casablanca nightlife image made of freedom, enjoyment but also insecurity and uncertaintywhile reserving for women the cliché of night women or "public" women (Bahmad, 2013). This modern image of urban life in a city like Casablanca can be put into perspective to representations of the night in Arab literature in general. These nights are moments spent indoors and discreetly. The place of gender is also well-differentiated in this image since women are primarily captives, slaves or at most secret companions. Accounts of *Thousand and One Night (*Mahdi, 1995*)* have reinforced this theme, which has been relayed by other literary or artistic productions such as the paintings of Arab seraglio and harems at night. Researchers who have worked or tried to work on the Casablanca night have also been confronted with this image of the forbidden presence of women in cafés during the day as well as at night, as can be seen in the texts of Davis-Taïeb (1998), Arrif (2011) and Benbelli (2017; 2018).

Modern nightlife in Casablanca is differentiated according to neighbourhoods and social categories, creating multiple nightlife spaces ranging from the chicest and closed places to cafés in working-class neighbourhoods that are open to everyone at night. Each night user thus finds a space corresponding to his or her financial resources and a particular cultural and social capital that filters access to some of these nighttime spaces.

Nighttime cafés in working-class neighbourhoods are thus frequented by young and people who often come from the same neighbourhood and are linked by their spatial and social affiliation. These cafés play a central role as a space that allows for a nighttime existence without moving to other spaces in the city that require both physical movement and a set of arrangements necessary to access these spaces. Moving at night to places of recreation requires either taking a rather expensive taxi or having a means of transport, notably a car or motorcycle. In addition to this constraint, accessing leisure areas other than the popular ones often requires appropriate clothing and, most importantly, enoughmoney for consumption and tips.

This spatial segmentation of leisure spaces in the Casablanca nightlife offers products and services to all social categories. The nighttime cafés are filled with users who frequent them for collective or individual nocturnal practices such as playing cards, checkers, drinking hookah and other stimulants, reading the next day's newspapers or connecting to the mobile phone through the Wifi[7] provided by the café.

The first period of general confinement, which imposed the day and night closure of cafés, caused an inevitable disruption in the daily practices of the various users of these spaces. Time schedules were turned upside in favour of renewed importance of the home as a spaceof confinement imposed

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[7] The connection to the internet network via 3G or 4G remains expensive in Morocco, the connection via a WIFI network is not available in all homes, and if it exists, the speed remains average and does not allow a good connection without interruption, unlike the cafes that almost all use optical fiber with a reasonably connection speed.

by the health situation. As the primary users of the cafés, it was mainly men who had to reorganise their space-time by negotiating a place in the domestic interior. The constraints of the size of the dwelling and the possibility of carrying out certain practices in the café emerged as a critical element in this continuous return of men tothe domestic space. In dwellings with one or two rooms, this presence proved to be problematic. Thus, other strategies to circumvent this forced closure were gradually developed to make the best use of this space. In addition, despite the prohibition of unnecessary presence in the public space outside, practices of resistance have been observed, especially in the working-class districts of Casablanca. In these neighbourhoods, where alleys and dead-ends limit the rapid access of the containment authorities, many inhabitants wentout alone or in groups near the doors of their houses or buildings. The arrival of the authorities was known a little in advance and allowed them to return to their homes to avoid trouble. If necessary, any open door became a possible refuge while waiting for the authorities to leave, or in the worst case, one could reach home by going through the rooftops of the neighbouring houses.

After Morocco experienced some improvement regarding the Covid-19 health situation, the authorities allowed cafés to reopen during the day but close between 9 pm and 5 am. This window corresponded to the curfew imposed on service, commercial and non-essential travel activity, but it also corresponded to the rush hours in the cafés, which started from 6 pm until closing time. The period of confinement saw a halt in the activity of several services considered non-essential, notably the cafés. The adverse social consequences on the employees of these services were vital. In café workers, waiters and bartenders, state support require registration and declaration by the employer with the national social security fund. Despite the State's efforts to cushion this impact by providing compensation to workers affected by the lockdown, a large majority of these workers did not benefit from this financial support. Several café workers were deprived of this support and sawtheir financial and, therefore, social situation strongly affected by the confinement and closure of their place of employment.

After reopening during the day, the users happily returned to the cafés open during the day. The role of café as a multifunctional space in the city was thus strongly confirmed by an intensive return to daytime cafés.

The definition of day and night in Arab-Muslim societies follows the rhythm of the prayers, which have fixed times during the day. The day begins with the dawn prayer (*Fajr*) and ends with the evening prayer (*Maghrib*). This prayer corresponds to the sunset. Another prayeris performed in the core of the night (*Isha*) or at any time but not after dawn. The Muslim prayer can be practised at home, but the religious tradition strongly recommends doing the prayers in the mosque. The mosque thus plays a significant role in towns and villages in such a way that it organises the social and economic life of the surrounding communities. It is mainly men who are most involved in this spiritual and spatial-temporal relationship with mosques. The *muezzin*, who is always responsible forannouncing the prayers by calling out in the mosques, plays a clock that regulates day and night time.

However, during the month of Ramadan, mosques are used even more as a spacefor prayer. The sacredness of the month of Ramadan in the Muslim world makes it a period during which religious practice is more intense than the other lunar months of the year.During this month, Muslims fast from sunrise (*Fajr*) to sunset (*Maghrib)*. However, this daytimeabstinence ends with the muezzin's call for the evening prayer (*Maghrib*). At this point, nightlife begins, where abstinence is paused until dawn with the *Fajr* prayer.This nighttime interval is very lively in most Muslim towns and cities, either through vigilsor through the late presence of people in outdoor spaces, especially in cafes. As the dawn prayer is usually around 4 to 5 am, nightlife during Ramadan is spread throughout the night. For a good part of the male population, the Ramadan night is consumed alternately between the mosque and the café. In Cafés, Ramadan nights are famous with rounds of drinks (coffees and teas) which follow one anotherat the rhythm of the rounds of the board games, especially the card game as well as the joints smoked in the group, a practice which is done less and less since the appearance of Covid-19.

The Covid-19 pandemic has dramatically changed the habits of urban dwellers during the nighttime confinement of the month of Ramadan. The usual nightlife during this month has been cancelled. The closure of mosques during Covid-19 has also meant that prayers are held at home, including those in the evening. During the lockdown, regulars of the evenings in the cafes were deprived of a space of meetings and social conviviality that could not offer a home.

Rooftops transformed into cafés

A female space in regular daytime

The rooftops of houses and buildings are reserved for women as an ample space of the interior domestic space. A rooftop is an elevated place concerning the street, an external and public space. It, therefore, allows women to make rooftops a kind of space open to the ambient air, but which inside being attached to the dwelling still preserves from the outside look. If the initial architecture of the dwelling foresees a balcony, it is transformed into interior space by works of aluminium or tinted glass. On the contrary, windows and balconies expose them to a rejected and sometimes forbidden vis-à-vis; blinds and curtains of the windows are generally doubled.

A rooftop is where women carry out tasks that they cannot perform in the indoor accommodation. Laundry is one of the main tasks that has permanently been assigned to women. The methods of washing clothes are still primarily traditional. The laundry is often washed by hand. Washing machines that allow complete spinning are pretty expensive for a majority of households in working-class areas. In addition, the interior space of the dwellings does not allow for the installation of a washing machine with a spin cycle, which takes up space. However, there are washing machines with reduced costs and small sizes that do not spin. In this case, the spinning is done manually. Drying clothes in a sunny place is the safest andmost efficient way to dry them. The houses in the working-

class areas do not have balconies but only windows, which are often not sunny. Therefore, the use of the rooftop as a drying space is the best way to complete the cycle of washing clothes and even sheets and blankets.The daytime functionality of the rooftop is linked to the sun as a source of heat for drying clothes and hygiene and a relationship to the female body. Rooftops are spaces where women can apply traditional beauty products and recipes such as Henna for the hair and body and other recipes whose preparation and application are made in the traditional way[8]. Rooftops are also adequate for drying seeds necessary for the preparation of bread and specific culinary recipes that are always done at home and for the dehydration of certain fruits, meats, and aromatic herbs.

In Maghrebian and Arab-Muslim literature, rooftops are often described aswomen's meeting places par excellence. When men enter, it is often in a forbidden andsensual context. Moroccan cinema has also recounted this image of female eroticisation ofthe rooftops. These images show the rooftops as places for lovers to meet that the shared space of the street would not allow. Conventionally forbidden to men, the rooftops are spaces for meetings, gossip and confidences between neighbours during the day, at the time of hanging a cloth or collecting it, and less and less frequently for the collective preparation of specific recipes linked to festive events[9].

The architecture of large numbers habitations was adopted by French urbanists since the protectorate and continued with the economic or low-cost housing has meant that the rooftops of the houses are adjoining,leaning against each other. Despite specific separations put in place by the inhabitants to separate the rooftops, such as fences or walls strewn with barbed wire or broken glass, access between rooftops is still possible. This access becomes synonymous with insecurity, especially at night. Hearing noises on the rooftop during the night is a cause for fear and is equivalent to an illegal or even dangerous presence. At night, the rooftops become empty and forbidden spaces. Locking the access doors to the rooftopsis the safest way to prevent intrusion from other rooftops that are connected.

The housing crisis in Casablanca has led to owners modifying rooftops to make them independent dwellings. Some rooftops are even used as rental accommodation or by the owner himself or a member of his family as an extension of the main house. In the case of several shared dwellings, such as multi-occupancy houses or apartment buildings, the ownership of the rooftop is common. Any attempt to make the shared rooftop a permanent living space is opposed by the other inhabitants. The use of the shared rooftop follows a diurnal rhythm that empties them at night. Exceptionally, during festive events such as the feast of the sacrifice, the rooftop plays another role, allowing to lodge the animal of the sacrifice(ram) several days and to carry out the operation of the sacrifice the day of the feast. The

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[8] See Fatima Mernissi's account in Rêves de femmes (1996) of women's daily life and experiences in the patios and rooftops of the houses in Fes city (Morocco).

[9] It was customary in Morocco to prepare recipes that are mostly related to festive events such as Ramadan, religious holidays and wedding celebrations. These recipes require mutual help and a chain of work between women who often choose the rooftop as a shared space for this activity.

women then use the sunshine of the rooftops for the traditional drying of meat during the day, and at night the meat shreds are brought in to prevent them from being eaten by cats or even stolen.

Rooftops can also be used as living spaces for domestic animals such as chickens, rabbits or pigeons. However, individual rooftops often allow such animals because of the possible conflicts between inhabitants about this cohabitation. These animals can be pets suchas dogs or used for egg and meat products such as chickens and rabbits. Young people usually raise pigeons for resale. The rooftops can also house plants and flowerpots used to decorate but sometimes are used to grow aromatic plants such as mint or basil.

Figure 2. Rooftop transformed. Summer 2020. © Abdallah Zouhairi & Sana Benbelli

A space transformed into a café during a pandemic: Circumvention practices

The occurrence of the Covid-19 health crisis caused a rupture in urban lifestyles in general. The assignment to stay at home has strongly questioned this "home" as a complex and even conflicting space. As authorities defined a home as an interior beyond the doorstep of the dwellings, people tried to adapt to a forced presence in these houses.

Interior spaces that were previously of no value in the dwellings have taken on great importance. The rooftops and especially the balconies and interior gardens were used to settle in during confinement. Therefore, it was necessary to negotiate a place or a corner in this home and review the present times in this interior, particularly for men who spent a large part of their time outside.

Gender relations were put to the test in a spatio-temporal encounter forced and provoked by the law. These invested spaces had to be redesigned to make them functional and serve well as a replacement for outdoor spaces. The interior spaces have suddenly become spaces of conflict, contested by members of the same family who should in principle live together. For example, the living room in Moroccan homes is a dual-use space. It is used at night as a dormitory for children in families that do not have enough individual rooms, but it is organised and reserved for receiving guests during the day. No activity is allowed in this space, which is maintained by the women and costs money to set up. The men locked in their homes following the confinement squatted in this space to work, study, entertain themselves or languish throughout the day, which imposed an additional workload on the women to tidy up afterwards and exposed the furniture to accelerated decay.

The rooftops, in particular, have seen a sudden male investment. Whether the private rooftops of individual houses or the communal rooftops of apartment buildings, this elevated space in contact with the open air has seen its female use in regular times transformed into a natural place for bypassing the confinement, which was based on the principle of staying at home. Moreover, rooftops have become a meeting place for young and men of the buildings. The mass architecture adopted in these buildings allows shared access to all the inhabitants of the apartments constituting a building. Moreover, other people who do not live in the building could go up to the rooftop when they know someone or have obtained permission to access it. A Stranger's presence on the rooftop would be considered as an intrusion during standard times.

Nevertheless, in times of confinement, it is a kind of invitation offered even to the non-inhabitants of these buildings. This flexibility consists of reconstructing patterns of presence in outside space in regular times and translating these modes of presence in the rooftops. Networks of friends who used to meet on street corners or in café have been taken over in the rooftops.

Both men and women, in a way, legitimise this appropriation of the rooftops by men by an opportunity to extend the private interior space upwards on the rooftops. In this way, women confirm their domination over the interior space of the dwellings by systematically expelling men from the living rooms, which must remain clean and tidy. Otherwise, the prolonged presence of men in the living rooms and sometimes their intrusion into the kitchens can cause severe problems in the couple.

Smoking is still a predominantly male practice outside Casablanca in particular. Smoking practices have changed over the past twenty years, and smoking at home is increasingly rare, no more ashtrays placed on dining tables or in living rooms. The medical and media discourse has contributed to this decrease. However, smoking has mainly remained a male practice cannot be explained by these media campaigns alone. In Moroccan society, smoking for a woman has remained a practice that is frowned upon and labelled as deviant behaviour in the public space. Cafés, however, offer a unique space where this social norm is not strongly operational. Therefore, home confinement was a problem for smokers who needed access to the open air not to disturb other family members. The rooftops proved

ideal, especially for male smokers, who could also meet other people and friends.Such possibility was not possible for women smokers, who usually shunned the cafes far from the neighbourhood and where they are known to do so. During the lockdown, women were deprived of public spaces and rooftops as an alternative space to smoke, and they could not do so in their own homes either.

Figure 3. café space on rooftop. Summer 2020. © Abdallah Zouhairi & Sana Benbelli

The rooftops were thus a privileged space to serve as a replacement for a closed and forbidden outdoor space that was first continuously open during the day but remained inaccessible at night. The development of the rooftops began with the installation of seating devices that resembled cafés. In addition to the chairs brought from home, the inhabitants installed wooden or plastic crates used for transporting fruit and vegetables as chairs. The tables were either cobbled together from wooden supports, including these crates or assembled using bricks found somewhere in these rooftops. In a symbolic gesture of this maleappropriation of this typically feminine space, the clothes drying lines were moved so as not to hurt or impede the men's movement on the rooftop.

The night as a border

Regulating access to the rooftops turned in cafés

In his book "*La Nuit, dernière frontière de la Ville" (Night, the last frontier of the city*), Gwiazdzinski (2005) shows how the night continuously shifts urban borders, whether they arespatial or social borders. In the case of these rooftops, the night during this health crisis disrupts the city's external borders and the domestic and private borders between men and women. This disruption is, in fact,

regulation of the gender relations within the "home". The sudden onset of Covid-19 left little time or space for actual negotiation of domestic space between men and women. Solutions had to be found to allow for "social" survival during the health crisis. Installation in rooftops as a space taken by the men in exchange for the interior dwelling space proved to be a deal between men and women during this crisis. Women who have seen their living and circulation space shrink are clinging to what remains of the private space inside the home. For women, the kitchen or the living room are territories to be defended, if only to minimise the chore of tidying and cleaning. As for the men, by occupying the rooftop, they have automatically expelled the women, firstly by their massive presence. By certain types of consumption, mainly smoking, and for the women who still resist it is vulgar language and coarse language. Three elements usually exclude women from cafés or contribute to their self-exclusion.

The furniture and objects placed on the rooftops act as signifiers and markers of a male territorialisation of the rooftops. Laundry is no longer dried rooftops, and any presence of women on these rooftops, even during the day, has become a sort of transgression of an implicitly established pact. The lighting of these rooftops in the night also played a role in this male appropriation. This lighting is brought to a minimum. Some rooftops were connected to bulbs powered by a wire from a house or an apartment of some inhabitants. Often, the lighting is connected to the ordinary lighting system for the shared spaces in the building. In other cases, this lighting is limited to the lamp of a mobile phone or even more to the light coming from the big street lamps.

It is during the night that the border described by Gwiazdzinski (2005) is all the more reinforced. In addition to the border objects installed, the night brings another dimension to the ban on access to women. At nightfall, the meeting between men is increasingly experienced in an emotion conveyed by the same air that gives Casablanca its nocturnal myth carried in the imaginary. This night air of Casablanca moistened in rooftops gives a feeling of freedom from the curfew in the streets and avenues below.

The forced transformation of rooftops into cafés is not only related to furniture or lighting. A particular noisy atmosphere usually accompanies this collective male presence on the rooftops. Loud discussions, laughter, music, or the loud sound of a football match commentator accompanying an Italian Calcio, the Spanish Liga, or the local derby match followed by shouts of victory or insults expressed without the players' knowledge are all sound elements on the rooftop. However, neighbours tolerated such noise for different reasons. The most important is that each family in the building has at least one member of the family on the rooftop-café with the others so that the inhabitants cannot express their discontent when the father or one of the children is the source of the noise. In addition, the frustration of confinement, and the security approach adopted by the authorities to dissuade residents from being on the streets, which often turns into confrontations that can end in arrests, means that families willingly put up with nighttime disturbances on the rooftop cafés.

Objects of nocturnal territorialisation:
transforming a rooftop into a café

It is, therefore, during the night that these become active and become perched cafés.The practices and rituals of street cafés are reproduced with varying degrees of perfection. Coffee as a drink is raised as much as possible to the standard of quality, taste and consistency to resemble the street. To achieve this, users of the rooftops had to act on coffee as raw material and on the coffee machines. Given that tea[10] is the main drink of families in Morocco, coffee occupies a secondary place in consumption both as a product anda material. It is often the easy-to-prepare soluble coffee. In the best case, it is the Italian aluminium pot used to prepare cups of flavoured coffee, consumed most often by women for therapeutic purposes. Suppose the new *Nespresso* machines have burst onto the scene and taken their place in the middle of the beautiful and prestigious Moroccan living rooms of the upper social class. In that case, they remain an expensive object with no return on investment for the working and middle classes. Consuming one's favourite drink in a café is not only cheaper for a working-class man but also allows him to maintain his daily practices away from the family living space. The confinement has created a kind of nostalgia among the users of the café, young andold alike evoke this absence and nostalgia in daily discussions and also on online discussion groups.

In social networks, with the gradual deconfinement, the hashtag "*#ouvrez_nous_les_cafés*" appeared and spread very quickly. However, as long as the closure of cafes continues, such exploitation of the rooftops increases[11].

For the rooftops to play the role of lost cafés, they had to be dressed in the skin of these cafés and mark their territory with the appropriate furniture and the appropriate practices. In this Spatio-temporal territory of the street café, chairs, tables and ashtrays are indispensable elements for recreating the atmosphere of the café, but not the mostimportant. The hero of these male nocturnal encounters remains the coffee itself. The nicotine-caffeine encounter on the rooftops of the buildings could not be achieved by the solublecoffee or the flavoured coffee in the homes. In this context, strong demand for coffee machines was registered during the period of confinement, followed by an adaptation of the market. Indeed, several household appliance companies started to offer promotions

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[10] Moroccan tea is the most consumed drink by the Moroccan population. It is a mixture of green tea, aromatic plants chosen according to the season (mint, pennyroyal, verbena, wormwood), and sugar prepared in appropriate utensils available in every home.

[11] We have collected several texts in these groups and forums with a sometimes-ironic tone that shows this nostalgia for the cafes. e.g. the distortion of the line of poetry by the Arab poet Mahmoud Darwich "If they give us back the old cafes, who will bring us back the comrades? " it was changed to "Just bring us back the cafes, we don't care about comrads!".Another text was circulated in the form of a declaration of honour signed by café users and posted on their Facebook wall: "I, the undersigned, undertake to drink tea even if the waiter has forgotten to put sugar in it, to drink coffee even without foam, to drink juice even if mixed with water, to sit on the coffee table even if not cleared, to accept to share my table with other customers even if I do not know them, not to ask the waiter to put on the Calcio game even if the game shown on the TV is one of the neighbourhood kids, to increase the tip, to share with the waiter my sandwich and the cakes! #OpenCafes".

and sites, such as Jumia company that offered a wide choice and delivery service. The price of machines ranges from 160 to 700 euros depending on the brand and features, which is too expensive for the budgets of families already affected by a work stoppage and sometimes job loss. Two methods of adaptation were observed. First, neighbours contribute to purchasing a machine and the purchase of coffee and sugar. The whole thing remains a shared property that the neighbours could and can still use as long as the cafés are closed atnight and whose management is organised by consensus. The second case, which is less frequent but more interesting, is when one of the inhabitants without a stable job invests in the coffee machine and turns it into a business on the rooftop. Given the transportable size of the machine, this person can use it to sell coffee during the day on the street corner. Themarket for second-hand professional pressure coffee machines has also grown with theemergence of car cafes set up on the avenues and roadsides to sell coffee to take away. During the day and night, when the coffee shops were closed, young entrepreneurs who owned vehicles took the opportunity to turn their vehicles into mobile coffee shops.

Since the pace has changed during the total confinement, long evenings with men in rooftops have become the only escape. We linger there as long as we can. Wego from rooftop to rooftop and from rooftop to rooftop to meet a friend or to get a cup of coffee. The sociability of the cafés in regular times is territorialised in Rooftop in time of covid-19. The elements of this territorialisation have graduallycome together to draw the boundaries that now include men and exclude women through purely masculine practices linked to the masculine and public space of the café; the football matches watched in groups on mobile phones or computers, the card games that are played.

While touring the café, the consumption of cigarettes and other stimulants, the smoking, the masculine and sometimes vulgar language that men exchanges while watching the matches or playing the game. All these elements and others have contributed to excluding women at night and during the day from a traditionally feminine spacebecause it is in the private sphere and from there to lock them up doubly inside the apartments and rooms.

Men chasing women from the rooftops have recycled these private spaces into spaces for sociability and male meetings of a public nature. On the other hand, women have not been able to invent collective meeting spaces. Apart fromdiscussions in pairs or threes from apartment landings or windows, collective sharing or exchange meetings had no physical place for women. They had to be deterritorialised in moreclosed virtual spaces. WhatsApp groups between neighbours, group video calls, and lives became the only alternative to exchange, talk and share information and recipes. Home visits are less and less frequent due to the risk of contamination. Women have taken on the responsibility of looking after the home by disinfecting, cleaning, and sterilising everything that comes into the house, especially the men after they return from parties on the rooftop- cafes where these measures are rarely respected.

The rooftops during the Covid-19 pandemic were transformed into spaces of utopia or even

heterotopia (Foucault, 2008) capable of containing the emotions that the confinement generated. The feeling of a confiscation of a right to the city (Lefebvre, 1967) that was appropriated for health and general interest reasons pushed these usersto create a "space of hope" (Harvey & Harvey, 2000) as part of a reaction to a spatiotemporal "geography of domination" of urban within the framework of legitimate institutional power. However, in the wake of this resistance through the appropriation of a frontier space, men are at the same time reproducing male domination (Bourdieu, 1990) in the sense that their reappropriation of the rooftops is done at the expense of spatial and chronological segregation towards women. Although this segregation is made in a kind of barter of private spaces, the transaction does not seem explicit or implicit. It was done in a hurry and in the constraint of doing with freedom suddenly confined for everyone.

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Space, gender and sexuality in the context of nighttime leisure in the city of Porto, Portugal.

Ethnographic exploration in three clubs: Zoom, Maus Hábitos and Passos Manuel.

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Abstract
This article is based on the results of an ethnographic investigation that seeks to understand the relationships between space, gender and sexuality. More specifically, we explore queer women and non-binary people's experiences of nighttime leisure through the prism of three elements : the body, the emotions and the identity. We address issues such as power, resistance, domination, subversion, marginalisation, inclusion and exclusion.

Keywords : Nighttime leisure, ethnography, gender, sexuality, queerness

Introduction

Party and nightlife have many links to the history of queer culture. Examples of this are the ballrooms, gay neighbourhoods, gay prides and drag shows. The dark and transgressive night is a space-time[1] that is conducive to the existence of non-normative identities that during the day have limited or no possibilities of expression and visibility. It is between this intersection of the night and queerness that the investigation on the relationships between space, gender and sexuality on which this article is based was born. We seek to explore how clubbing can be a place that offers possibilities for expression, belonging and existence for queer individuals, and more specifically, for women and non-binary individuals, while being cautious of not romanticising it. We explore questions of power and resistance, exclusion and inclusion, domination and subversion.

We ask the question: how can we understand the clubbing experiences of queer women and non-binary people in the city of Porto? More specifically, we explore these through the practices, sociabilities, norms and interactions that constitute them. We apprehend these different elements through the relevant articulation of the dimensions of the body, the emotions, and identity that construct the space-time of clubbing, as well as the way in which these are conditioned by it. Such questions structure the investigation: what is the role of the body in the experience of clubbing? What are the emotions involved in the space-time of clubbing? What is the place of identity in nightlife and what role does it play in the identity construction of queer women and non-binary people? What are the different dynamics of reproduction and resistance between the space-time of the club, and, more generally, of nightlife, and the urban daytime space?

It is important to specify that the model of analysis used in this investigation does not seek to homogenise the clubbing experience, insofar as it is important to take into consideration the individuality of each individual, nor does it refuse the relevance of certain variables such as ethnic background, social class, generation, as well as gender and sexual orientation, which are central here.

Here, we do not simply use the word "queer" as an umbrella term that includes all LGBTQI+ identities, but as something that seeks to question the seemingly stable relationship between sex, gender, sexual desire and sexual practice (Lim and Browne, 2007). A queer approach allows us

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1 We follow the thinking of Rodrigues (2016) and her analysis of the nocturnal city and speak of the space-time of clubbing in the sense that the clubbing experience is located both in space and in time. It is the combination of a location and a moment. Therefore, we do not only talk of the space of clubbing since the temporal dimension is also extremely relevant: clubbing usually takes place at night, it constitutes a specific moment in the day-to-day life of the individual, and is made of rythms (ibidem).

to go beyond the binary and normative oppositions between male and female but also heterosexual and homosexual.

On the category "woman"

The question of whether we should talk about women or not has carried, since the beginning of the investigation, a certain weight. We started from the assumption that "without conceptualising women in some way as a group, it is not possible to conceptualise oppression as an institutional, systematic and structured process" (Young, as cited in Lopes et al., 2010, p.18). Butler (1993) also speaks about the use of the category "woman", for whom it is not so much a question of whether or not to speak of "women", but rather how to understand this category as a reference and how it can be resignified, especially through its use as a political category. Therefore, we first and foremost thought of this category as something that includes a diversity of experiences and not only as a gender identity. We also used it as not to invisibilise the processes of domination that it implies, insofar as it involves relations of power, domination, inequalities, discriminations and experiences that are different from those of cisgender men.

And this is precisely what we are talking about: experiences that are not those of cisgender men. We will see that the relevance of the analysis is not so much in gender identity per se, but rather in sexism, violence and discrimination related to it. Rather than talking about women, it seems more relevant to talk about non-men who experience (hetero)sexism.

The nine participants who spontaneously took part in this research - which initially focused on queer women - have, for some of them, a gender identity other than that of woman (see Methodology section below). However, this does not make their experiences and narratives any less relevant to the investigation, insofar as they are equally relevant to the issues of power, resistance, inclusion and exclusion, violence, discrimination, belonging and emancipation that are addressed here. The investigation first and foremost focuses on queerness, and this is also what queer theory can bring: a fluidity, an evolution, a permanent questioning of issues such as identity.

Theoretical framework

One of the challenges of this research was to theoretically link space, gender and sexuality and to think about how these links are articulated in the context of nighttime leisure. Certain questions have guided the construction of the theoretical framework, such as how to think about gender and sexuality in space, to what extent is space sexualised, and how do gender and sexuality produce space?

Gender and sexuality

In this investigation, we rely mainly on the contributions of Judith Butler (1993) and Michel Foucault (1976), which allow us to rethink questions of gender, sexuality, identity and the materiality of bodies. Following the thinking of these authors, gender can be thought of as a binary system that separates and hierarchies individuals into two categories to which various representations are attached. Gender acts as an effect of power that produces the bodies it governs, and this system it forms is itself ruled by what Butler (1993) calls the "heterosexual imperative" which presupposes a stable alignment of the materiality of the body with gender and desire. It is the heterosexual hegemony that enables the intelligibility of bodies, that makes them viable. When bodies do not conform to the binary system of the heterosexual matrix, they enter the realm of the abject, the non-human, that is, the uninhabitable zones of social life.

However, as Foucault (1976) writes it, where there is power, there is also resistance. Butler (1993) argues that the re-signification of categories (and this can include reclaiming the identities that are linked to them), the subversion of gender norms and the destabilisation of relations of domination are essential to make the bodies imprisoned in the realm of the abject matter, which is precisely what queer and feminist politics do.

Space and the city

The question of space may at first sight appear to be independent of the dimensions of gender and sexuality. This idea is often accompanied by a representation of space as something whose only role is to contain and which constitutes a neutral material structure independent of any social dimension. However, Lefebvre's theory (1981) allows us to go beyond this conception of space in order to think of it as a complex social product and to underline its contractions, conflicts and political character. The author's thinking emphasises the articulation of complex symbols, codes, norms and spatial practices and, when used not only theoretically but especially empirically, allows for the simultaneous illumination of the material, the experiential and the symbolic (Buire, 2019). One can find links with the thought of Michel de Certeau (1990), who thinks of space as the result of an interaction between matrices of power, identifies forms of subversion of the established order and allows one to think in terms of tactics and daily negotiations of space. Lefebvre (1981) also thinks of a city where emancipation and liberation from the regulatory/reproductive forces of (neo)capitalist urban space are possible, especially through everyday life, everyday sociability and through the party.

The party is now part of the city and the urban night space, which is reflected in the creation of nighttime leisure centres and the many bars, clubs and other spaces that are open until dawn. Leisure, here only studied in its nocturnal dimension, can be thought of in terms of non-labour that opposes the productivity injunction of the neoliberal capitalist system, thus allowing for a break or liberation from the alienation of labour (Rodrigues, 2016). Night time leisure can also be constituted as a space-time that allows the release of desires contained by social control and where there is no other end than pleasure (ibidem). It can be argued that nocturnal leisure is constituted as a liminal space-time that allows the appearance of the alternative, the marginal, other sociabilities and norms (ibidem).

Space, gender, sexuality and leisure

In line with Lefebvre's thinking as well as contributions from the gay and lesbian, queer and feminist geographies and the geographies of sexuality, we think of space as a social product, shaped by the practices that it then shapes in return. This allows us to think of space as sexualised. By this we do not mean spaces where explicit sexual activities take place, but rather the way in which everyday spaces are structured by sexuality. Space is constituted by implicit norms - including sexual norms - that regulate attitudes and behaviour and influence the way we experience space (Lim and Browne, 2007). It is produced by the repetition of symbols, actions and representations - of heterosexuality, in the majority of spaces - which make a space perceived as neutral by heterosexual people often heteronormative (ibidem).

It is in a dynamic of opposition to the heteronormative and heterosexist character of a majority of spaces - urban and otherwise - that queer nightlife spaces are situated. Lim and Browne (2007) write that gay territories are often thought of as spaces of freedom and tolerance where identity can be expressed in contrast to heteronormative spaces, which are often perceived as hostile or even dangerous. Gay and lesbian urban recreational spaces are seen as very important for the experience of sexuality in that they allow people to spend time with others who share a similar sexuality and thus make encounters or feel a sense of belonging, in a hybrid public-private space without heterosexual supervision (Cattan and Vanolo, 2014). However, it is important not to romanticize these spaces in that, while they offer emancipatory possibilities, this does not occur in a linear fashion for all (Browne, 2007) and it is necessary to see the city and nighttime leisure spaces in a complex way, taking into account their different aspects and dimensions (Rodrigues, 2016).

Methodology

To carry out this exploratory ethnography[2], various data collection techniques were chosen, such as participant observation with the use of the field diary, interviews and social photography[3]. However, the pandemic context of the investigation made it necessary to adapt the data collection techniques. The three spaces studied closed during the data collection phase and did not reopen until the end of the investigation[4] - at least in their club configuration - which had an impact on the observation, photography and filming work. It was then necessary to find alternative strategies to continue the investigation. We therefore relied more on interviews, accounts and memories of several people who frequented these spaces to compensate for their disappearance. It was also not possible to carry out photography and video work in sufficient depth to allow the development of a rigorous sociological reflection. However, the audio-visual content developed up to the closure of the clubs was used in another way: it allowed access to past events and spaces that were then inaccessible. The photographs and videos also made an immersion in the context of nighttime leisure possible through an access to memories and even to certain sensations thanks to the visual, sound as well as the emotional aspects of the material, given that photographs and videos often transmit emotions to the person who created them or who is represented in them (Pink, 2001).

The participant observation, which only occured in the first phase of the investigation, took place in three clubs, Maus Hábitos, Passos Manuel and Zoom, all three located in the same street, in the centre of the city of Porto. The first two are spaces that we could call LGBT-friendly, in that they are not officially labeled as LGBT but are nonetheless nighttime socialising spaces for queer people. The last one, Zoom, is a gay club which is said to be "hetero-friendly".

Nine individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with queer women and non-binary people who frequented one or more of the studied spaces. Six were conducted in person and three were conducted online and in writing. There was a desire to diversify the profiles of the participants, in terms of age (this being a limitation given that the public of these clubs is relatively young), gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality as well as the role they occupy in these spaces (artists, workers and/or consumers). All of the participants have some knowledge of at least one of the clubs and present a profile that is relevant to the object of study. The participants

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[2] The ethnography was initially planned for a duration of a year, but due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the closing of the clubs in which the fieldwork took place, the participant observation phase lasted around six months.

[3] The use of photography and audiovisual materials is a data collection technique that is thought of here as a way to grasp a reality which is outside of the verbal and written knowledge (Ferro, 2005). More than simply illustrating the words, the initial objective of the investigation was to articulate it with other materials, such as the field diary, the interviews and the theoretical writing, in order to build a more diverse and complete comprehension of the object of study.

[4] The data collection phase took place from September of 2019 to October of 2021.

were found in situ, through a network the researcher was able to establish during the duration of the fieldwork.

Although the participants present diverse profiles and the group is in many ways heterogeneous, which offers a plurality of perspectives, it is nevertheless important to comment on certain socio-demographic aspects that must be taken into account when reading the data analysis. The first characteristic is that of the nine people interviewed, eight are white, an element that influences the perspectives and experiences of nighttime leisure. It is essential to emphasise this point because the majority of the data collected comes from white people - the researcher being white as well - which reflects a certain type of reality that is not the reality of all. Secondly, the majority of the interviewees have a postgraduate degree or are in the process of completing university studies, many in the arts or humanities, which can influence the way in which experiences are told and given meaning. Another important element is that they are all able-bodied, which again means that the experiences and perspectives shared in the interviews are those of a specific group of people that are not representative of the experiences of all queer women and other gender minorities. This is stressed in order to keep in mind that a plurality of experiences exists and to not let the perspectives and representations of a certain group invisibilise those of others by being presented as universal.

Data discussion

> "In the morning, leaving for work, the cruel image of the mirror was drawn: tired, unhappy. Hard to show yourself and walk around in this body that the outside world didn't like, didn't understand. At night, on the dance floor, our bodies became one body again. A lesbian body, bodies that matter" (Casalino in Coffin, 2020, p.190).

We look at the data collected from three distinct angles which allows for different understandings of the experience of clubbing: body, emotions and identity. Although each of these allows specific elements of the experience to be brought to light, we can also see that they complete each other and often even overlap.

Firstly, we chose to focus on the body and the question of its materiality because these elements systematically arise in questions of gender and its performativity, but also of power relations and identity construction. The body is an essential object of analysis, arguably the closest, the primary site of experience, of emotion and of identity construction (Amaral and Macedo, 2020). It can also be thought of as the material expression of identity (ibidem). Elizabeth Grosz (as cited in Amaral and Macedo, 2020) writes that "bodies articulate discourses, without necessarily

speaking, insofar as they are codified with and as 'signs', which articulate 'social codes'" (p.25). It is essential to see and think about the body, as this can lead to another deep, rich and complex level of understanding. This element was always present in the narratives of the participants which showed that it is difficult to talk about the clubbing experience without talking about the body.

We then look at emotion not with the objective to propose an in-depth sociological analysis of the emotions involved in the space-time of clubbing, but to look at them in order to better understand how the latter is constituted. Emotions are essential in the construction of the social experience of individuals, so taking them into account allows a more complete understanding of social phenomena (Bericat, 2015, p.495). In this investigation, we therefore think of emotions as constitutive of the clubbing experience. Beyond this, we will think of clubbing as an "emotional space", defined as "the fragmented spatialities of emotions and the space of clubs and leisure venues, functioning as the spatial field where nocturnal emotional contact between bodies occurs" (Cattan and Vanolo, 2014, p.1159).

Lastly, identity here is not thought of as a stable, unified construct - which corresponds to an essentialist perspective - but as something multiple, complex and in flux (Plummer, 2007). In this dialectical or discursive perspective, identity has a socially constructed nature (Coupland, 2007). It is the perception that develops about oneself in relation to others and it involves issues of power, conformity and difference (ibidem). More specifically in relation to sexual and gender identities, they can be said to "help locate people within sexual and gender cultural frameworks" (Plummer, 2007, p.4246). We position ourselves here within a queer perspective of gender and sexuality, which considers sexual categories as "open, fluid, and non-fixed: both the boundaries of heterosexual/homosexual identities and sex/gender identities are challenged. Indeed, categories such as gay, lesbian, and heterosexual identity become 'deconstructed.' There is a decentering of identity" (Plummer, 2007, p.4249).

The presentation of the self

One of the first elements that arises in relation to the body – perhaps because it is directly accessible to the eye - is related to the ways in which it is presented in nighttime leisure, to the way in which a person self-presents to others and, therefore, to the presentation of the *self* (Goffman, 1973). A first observation is that the looks, clothes, make-up and ways of presenting oneself seem to have a particular importance in the night, and that there is a certain freedom and willingness to present a different aesthetic in the context of nighttime leisure. Ana[5], one of the

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[5] For ethical reasons and to protect the anonymity of the participants, all names used here are fictional.

participants who worked as a waitress and barmaid in two of the spaces studied, explains that the question of self-presentation is extremely present in the night.

> "[…] on a level of affirmation, the way you dress, the way your body speaks when you go out at night, it's very important to you. It's not important for nothing, it's important in the sense that it's a part of each of us. So many people dress in a very specific way at night, they feel more comfortable wearing certain things, I don't even know why, I don't know if it's the darkness, if it's the context..." (Ana, personal communication, June 29, 2020)

The context, as highlighted by Ana, which allows this freedom and creates the will to present differently, may correspond to the fact that the night constitutes a liminal space-time where norms are more blurred, can be more easily broken, changed and reconstituted (Rodrigues, 2016). It provides the opportunity to dress in certain clothes that are not part of daytime dress codes. The issue of work - which in most cases takes place during the day - may also be an important element in understanding this break in terms of day and night dress codes, as it may impose limitations in this respect. The accounts of several participants point in this direction: bodies, especially the bodies of women and those perceived as such, but also bodies that do not seem to fit neatly into the gender binary system aligned with the equally binary masculine-feminine model of gender expression, are looked at, controlled and often reprimanded. Perhaps there is also, as Ana mentioned above, a question of affirmation and, one might add here, of cultural affirmation and identity. The nightlife is made up of several scenes, and each scene is associated with a series of codes, practices and identities that convey specific cultures (Rodrigues, 2016). This can be seen in the way people present themselves, especially through elements such as clothing, make-up and accessories, which diverge from space to space, from event to event.

Movement and sensoriality

Jackson (2006), in his work on club culture, argues that to understand clubbing, the researcher must learn to practice it, to engage their body, senses and emotions. He elaborates on the approach of a "sensual ethnography", which "forces us to take into account the messy, dirty and neglected side of human experience, that darker side that is not usually scrutinised, captured, analysed and labelled" (Jackson, 2006, p.96). In this investigation, it appeared impossible to comprehend the clubbing experience without considering its sensorial and sensual aspects. Beyond their central aspect in the participant observations, those elements systematically arose in the clubbing narratives of the participants. But here was also one of the biggest challenge of the investigation: how to put into words an experience which is profoundly sensorial?

> "The lighting is dim, there is just a disco ball projecting flashes of white light, the DJ's equipment, the light from the bar and the toilet illuminating the room. Bodies are touching, not in an intentionally invasive way, we are all against each other with a different conception of what personal space is. Most of my senses are sharpened, stimulated: hearing, sight, smell and touch, and even taste when I consume a drink" (field notes, September 29, 2019)

The sensoriality is reinforced: the music is loud, vibrations can be felt, personal space is reduced, there is more contact between bodies, there are smells and flavours of drinks and cigarettes, particular lights and colours: the five senses are constantly activated and are sometimes altered by the consumption of various psychoactive substances. It is also possible to observe a shift in the way people communicate.

> "It's not a rational question, it's a sensory question, you know. On the dancefloor, I work much more with my feelings than with my thoughts. So, I think I would say that at night I have a more sensory behaviour, and during the day I have a more rational behaviour [...]." (Viviana, personal communication, June 8, 2020)

One of the great variations between day and night takes place in the body. We can observe a shift in the posture, in the way of moving in space, in the body language and in the movements that occupy more space. This can be observed in the dancing, in the interaction with other bodies - we embrace, kiss, touch each other more than in a daytime context - and even in the noises that the body emits - speaking, exclaiming, laughing, shouting. The night is conducive to exaltation, and this is expressed in a bodily manner.

At night, the body has a different way of moving in space, as if it had a greater amplitude of movement while, contradictorily, it has less space. It moves to a melody and to a rhythm. As Viviana explains, on the dance floor one communicates in ways other than through speech. Cattan and Vanolo (2014) also state that "loud music, by making it difficult to speak and to listen, emphasises the pre-linguistic and precognitive pleasure of sensuous communication" (p. 1169). Ana describes a similar process and explains that communication takes place in a different way, that it is no longer necessarily based on language thought as words and speech but on the corporal and sensory elements that characterise the space-time of clubbing.

> "I don't know, I hear the music and I experience very strongly the vibrations, the energies, the people around me [...] and we are all there in a sharing of vibrations that move us and I don't know, it's a bit excluding words, excluding any oral communication, there people see me only

through the body, total body language." (Ana, personal communication, June 29, 2020)

Where we observed a possibility of freedom in the way of presenting oneself in terms of dress codes and we can see that bodily liberation extends beyond this aspect, as it also encompasses movements and senses. For most of the participants, dancing occupies a central place in the clubbing experience and was described as a process that allows a bodily liberation through a focus on the body and its sensations. As Viviana (personal communication, June 8, 2020) puts it, "our body just dances the way it should dance, you know, without thinking about anything. I feel my mind empty and my heart beat faster […]. I feel a bit of freedom. I feel relieved, I feel free from the chains of society".

Emotional space : multiplicity and heterogeneity

One of the fundamental characteristics of the space-time of clubbing is that it is constituted by a vast repertoire of emotional experiences. More than a desire to escape, insofar as it constitutes a break from daily life and obligations, it is emotionally very rich and it is part of a process of liberation, both physical and emotional. Nocturnal leisure can also allow for a break from diurnal identities. Viviana makes an observation along these lines when she explains that 'that's the thing about the night, the traditional family is sleeping, and so from midnight onwards, you can be whoever you want to be' (Viviana, personal communication, June 8, 2020). Ana (personal communication, June 29, 2020) expresses a similar idea: "We are all someone at work, we are all someone at home with the family, but I think it is in the clubbing, in the night, in the parties and in those moments that we are closer to ourselves".

We can observe a different way of experiencing sociability in the context of urban nighttime leisure, which is reflected in particular in a disposition or even a desire for contact, encounters and discovering the other. Manu (personal communication, May 26, 2020) explains that "we are always in a hurry during the day, and at night we take the time to sit, and there's a time for everything: for myself, for chatting […]". Sofia makes a similar observation regarding the rupture that can be felt between the diurnal and nocturnal city.

> "Daytime Porto is like work, people have much more linear routes, they are busier and at night the most work they have to do is park the car or come to Porto, then they walk around from one side to the other, looking, smoking and hanging out, so the impression I have is that it is much more peaceful, like the environment is warmer, more welcoming." (Sofia, personal communication, October 31, 2020)

This observation of Sofia can be linked to the notion of urban sociabilities which are characterised by great physical proximity as well as social distance with a daily contact between strangers, an ambiguity constitutive of the modern according to Simmel (Frúgoli Jr., 2005).

The rupture between the day-time urban space and the space-time of clubbing can be experienced at multiple levels: bodily, emotionally and in identity. For example, Carmen states that coming into contact with Drag culture changed her perception of her body and her gender expression: "I hated myself as a woman, and the Drag universe calmed me down in relation to this acceptance of femininity" (Carmen, personal communication, June 16, 2020). Coming into contact emotionally and physically with other individuals with marginal identities allows one to feel a sense of cohesion, a sense of belonging, as well as freeing oneself from certain views, norms and oppressions for the duration of a night and sometimes more, as this experience leaves its mark on the construction of the individual's identity. For example, Aline (personal communication, October 30, 2020) explains that "we understand that we are not alone. It is also an example of a support network. For those who are curious, it is understanding that you are not alone and that it is possible to be 'different'".

These emotional spaces built from contact with other queer individuals allow for an exit from the condition of isolation that sometimes characterises the experience of people who are outside of sexuality and gender norms and present possibilities of existence outside of them. As Cattan and Vanolo (2014) write it, "[...] the co-presence in space and the sensation of feeling the crowd may also assume a political-aesthetic dimension, a sort of grassroots subversion of the idea of isolation, and/or being part of a minority and the celebration of the multitude" (p.1169). This is also what Brandão (2010) observes regarding the gay and lesbian milieu, which allows for "the reduction of feelings of scarcity, isolation and loneliness; access to social networks of support and belonging [...] and the possibility of situating oneself from an identity perspective" (p.140). We can in some cases observe the creation of a place within space, insofar as we consider place as "the identification or attachment an individual develops to a particular location, usually geographical, which has an influence on his or her ongoing self identity" (Wasson, 2007, p.3410).

In the three settings of the investigation, we can argue that emotions are therefore central to the clubbing experience. As Cattan and Vanolo (2014) write, without them, the club would be nothing more than a container for bodies. Yet it is much more than that. We can also say that the body is emotion: it is impossible to establish a complete break between the two, or even understand identity without these two elements that constitute it.

Between control and emancipation

Although clubbing was described in a majority of the interviews as a zone of freedom, this aspect is to be put into perspective for several reasons. Even though the spaces studied can constitute a place of inclusion, they are also characterised by dynamics of exclusion. The first, and undoubtedly the most visible since it conditions the entry to the physical space, is the economic exclusion. The price of admission is a decisive factor in the access to spaces for certain participants. To the question of the economic capital is added a spatial question: to what extent does the place where we live facilitate or complicate access to these spaces? People who live on the outskirts of the city find it less easy to get to these spaces, and this variable is not independent of the question of economic capital: life in an urban centre is generally more expensive and those who live there, amongst the younger population, are generally those who can afford it.

Another important element is that the three spaces studied present many differences from other nightlife leisure spaces in the city of Porto. Therefore, we cannot extend all of our observations made to other spaces. In fact, in many clubs the traditional codes of femininity and masculinity are performed accordingly to the heterosexual imperative and these spaces are inscribed in a logic of encounters and hookups (Teixeira Lopes et al., 2010), which can make the environment uncomfortable or even hostile for many queer people. This can for example take the form of comments, looks and even a selection at the door and the prohibition from entering a space.

It should also be emphasised that spaces that are in principle LGBT(friendly) are not impervious to certain forms of control over certain bodies and are the site of conflicts regarding gender and sexual norms. We chose to look at these conflicts, discontinuities and ruptures as they can reveal certain relations of power and domination (Velho, 1978), which allowed us to see that tensions related to identity exist even in LGBT(friendly) spaces. Most participants experienced and/or observed these tensions to varying degrees. For example, Rebeca (personal communication, May 22, 2020) explains that "what happens most is guys rubbing up against me when I dance, especially at Maus Hábitos. Awkward straight guys who try to come in the middle when I'm with a girl. Gay guys who, because they are gay, think it's okay to grab my breasts".

An element that also emerged in several of the interviews was the question of curiosity about the person's sexuality. Mónica (personal communication, May 17, 2020) explains that "during the day, it seems that people look at us badly and are disturbed, and at night, they praise it, they ask to belong or something like that". Sara (personal communication, June 1, 2020) reports something similar: "People think they are being nice, but they are invasive in people's lives. Well, that kind of

thing, people who stick to you a bit, who ask you weird questions, I feel a bit like I'm in a circus."
At first sight, this type of attitude might not be perceived as a rejection of the individual and can on
the contrary be presented as an act of tolerance. However, it is often experienced as an invasion
of one's intimacy and is no less an act of differentiation and marginalisation. Whether these
attitudes express discomfort, disgust, amusement or eroticization, they nonetheless constitute
ways of perceiving the individual as an object, as something less human: what differs is only the
feeling that the object generates in the eye of the observer.

We are facing complex spaces that are embedded in power relations through which norms
are constantly redefined. There is always the presence of attitudes and behaviours that are part of
the reinforcement of the heterosexual imperative, of gender norms and of the representations as
well as the various oppressions that these can entail, such as the objectification of the female body
and the eroticisation of the relations between such bodies through the male gaze, as if they did not
exist in themselves, without men, but for their consumption.

This observation illustrates that space is never either intrinsically and in itself straight or
queer insofar as the norms are always redefined by the different bodies, practices and
performativities that constitute it (Lim and Browne, 2007; Browne and Bakshi, 2011). We can also
look at the effect that the presence of queer bodies, practices and performativities produces. Not
only does this allow for the contestation and re-creation of gender and sexual norms - albeit
sporadically and in a site-specific way - but it also gives visibility and normalises these bodies and
the interactions between them. These presences and acts constitute an everyday negotiation of
space (Certeau, 1990) and are forms of resistance as thought by Foucault (1976) and Butler
(1993), which might not take the form of great revolutions but nonetheless allow for the
destabilisation of relations of domination.

Conclusions

Articulating the dimensions of space, gender and sexuality allows us to understand the
variations in the ways in which gender and sexuality can be expressed and experienced in certain
spaces, as well as the ways in which these elements participate in the construction of space. It
can be reaffirmed that space is not just a container for what we put in it. It is always produced and
reproduced by the practices that take place within it, and spatial norms - particularly of gender and
sexuality - are constantly reasserted, contested, negotiated and recreated. This could not have
been done without looking at the club and, at a larger scale, the city, beyond their material, static,
tangible reality. This allows us to perceive another reality, which cannot be touched, but which is
no less constitutive of the experience of space.

Spatialising gender and sexuality, particularly from a queer perspective, has highlighted the ways in which spatial norms and traditional power structures are contested and destabilised as a result of practices that do not fit into the heterosexual imperative and the gender binary system that it upholds. In the space-time of queer or LGBTQI clubbing, we can find challenges, struggles and transgressive acts that assume an intrinsically political dimension and add to the multiplicity of meaning of the space.

The relative rupture that takes place in the context of nighttime leisure activities with daytime normative identities can favour the expression and visibility of bodies and identities marginalised in daytime space. This produces certain effects such as the emergence of feelings of freedom, cohesion and belonging that play a role in the construction of identity. However, as it was observed, these effects need to be put into perspective as they are not the general rule in nightlife nor necessarily in LGBT(friendly) clubs.

The specificity of the investigation is that it is situated between the observation, the experience of the spaces and their memory. Although this complex position is in balance between what is present and what is no longer present, it was possible to reveal certain aspects and dynamics intrinsic to the space-time of clubbing and its experience. The body, emotions and identity triad allowed for the exploration of issues of control, inclusion and exclusion, conflict and rupture, belonging, identification and meaning-making. It also showed that these three elements are intrinsically linked.

We also emphasise the need to think about the city through the prism of gender, sexuality, but also race, class and other variables which make it possible to understand specific inequalities, discrimination, exclusion and violence and to reveal many dynamics which often go unnoticed. Far from concluding this reflection on space, gender and sexuality, the results of this investigation seek instead to stimulate and encourage possibilities for future research.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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Night off?

Potential resilience of student festive events in Montpellier facing Covid-19

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Abstract

In France, the Covid-19 health crisis has transformed the geography of urban nights. Public policies have developed successive measures (lockdowns, curfews, etc.) to limit the spread of the virus. Measures reduced social interactions and motives for leaving home. Evening festive and cultural activities, declared "non-essential" by the Government, were stopped, which reinforced the economic difficulties of this sector.

We are studying the intermediate student city of Montpellier, in the south of France. First, we will report how the stakeholders (bartenders, prevention associations, party organizers, etc.) have adapted their professional practices during this health crisis: sanitary hygiene systems and redefinition of the ecosystem of actors for a recognition by public action in decision-making (discussion platforms, White Book, etc.). Compliance with the application of government measures - by private organizers as well as festive users - is monitored by police and military devices. Blamed for the spread of the virus, those revellers are subject to the restrictions by resigning themselves or taking a festive break. But other users privatize their party in public space into a clandestine way (rave party, apartment parties, etc.).

Second, students were questioned in the situations of initial 100% lockdown (sociological survey), then during a period of reduced lockdown (semi-structured interviews) and also during a period of 50% lockdown (survey). The students' words will highlight us about resilience of the festive spirit (or at least of conviviality), and their tactics to face the policies of surveillance and the restriction of liberties put in place. The disciplinarization of behaviour in the public space - under the argument of health risk - seems to stem from a certain moral hygienism which makes nocturnal occupations by young people undesirable. They are stigmatized by the media and considered homogenously by public action, questioning their right to the night and, above all, their citizenship.

Keywords : Health crisis, Students, Revelries, Public action, Intermediate cities

Introduction – Qualify the Covid-19 health crisis

In order to manage the health crisis produced by the Covid-19 epidemic, the French government operated under a specific "state of health emergency" regime between March 23 and July 10, 2020, then between October 17, 2020 and June 1, 2021. This emergency regime authorizes the administrative authorities to take measures, such as restrictions related to the freedom of movement, the administrative closure of establishments, house arrest or the ban of public assemblies. This legal status has already been mobilized in the recent socio-political history of France, from a security perspective, in particular during the Algerian War (1955, 1958, 1961-63), during the conflicts in New Caledonia (a few days in 1985, 1986 and 1987), or due to riots in certain priority areas of some cities (2005) or the risk of terrorist attacks (2015-2017).

These measurers have deeply transformed the geography of urban nights in France. Public policies have developed successive measures to limit the spread of the virus. Crucially this has deeply affected how university students experienced the urban night. While several curfews were adopted to force people to stay at home during night-time, several news emerged concerning illegal parties and outside activities at night. As a result, in public discourse, young people have often been depicted as irresponsible and several articles from newspapers have accused them to promote the circulation of the virus. This contributes aim to study the adaptation of student night leisure practices to the restriction measures adopted to fight the spread of the virus in the city of Montpellier.

The measures adopted to limit the Covid-19 epidemic consisted initially in the ban of gatherings of more than 5,000 people in confined spaces from the end of February 2020, then of more than 1,000 people from March 8, 2020 and more than 100 people on March 13, 2020. Then, nurseries, schools, colleges, high schools and universities were temporarily closed and an exceptional and massive partial unemployment mechanism was put in place. The borders of the Schengen area were closed on March 17, 2020; the same is true for establishments considered "non-essential" by the government (including bars, restaurants, cafes, nightclubs, textile shops, etc.). Finally, a national lockdown (from March 17, 2020, to May 11, 2020) was adopted.

During this period, the population was required to stay at home (except buying groceries nearby or going to a medical consultation). Some municipalities (such as Montpellier) adopted a curfew. These announcements put an end to the legal possibility of festive evenings in public places and in apartments. The reopening of some of these businesses, from May 11, 2020, was accompanied by a health protocol by professional branch. Restaurants and bars were able to reopen from June 2, 2020, for service on the terrace. Wearing a mask became compulsory in all enclosed places from July 20, 2020, then imposed outside.

The curfew was imposed again on October 17, 2020 (for 4 weeks) in Ile-de-France and in eight major cities (Grenoble, Lille, Lyon, Aix Marseille, Saint-Etienne, Rouen, Montpellier and Toulouse) in starting at 9 p.m., and gatherings were limited to six people. Then the curfew was gradually implemented in all departments - a measure accompanied by the administrative closure from October 6, 2020 of leisure establishments open to the public (bars and restaurants). A second lockdown was imposed nationally (from October 29, 2020 to December 15, 2020), with a curfew maintained from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m., then extended from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. (from January to June 2021).

Bookstores, art galleries and certain other businesses considered "non-essential" were able to reopen from November 28, 2020, as well as libraries. However restaurants remained restricted to take-out. Then, at the end of February 2021, confinement was again imposed on weekends in certain territories (Dunkerque, Pas-de-Calais, the Alpes-Maritimes coast). The curfew was lifted in mid-June 2021, three days after the end of the obligation to wear a mask outdoors (and just before the departmental and regional elections). Cafes and restaurants were authorised to welcome their customers indoors with a 50% gauge with a limit of 6 people per table. Nightclubs begin to be able to re-open their doors in July 2021, with a strict health protocol following test concerts on the potential transmission of the virus. Since then, establishments open to the public have been subject to the question of the requirement of a health pass[1] to bring in their customers. So, the management of the health crisis concerned the establishment of two lockdowns of the population, the administrative closure for several months of night-time leisure establishments and the imposition of a curfew that lasted for eight months.

The introduction of a disruptive element, such as a virus, can produce a "crisis" which must be qualified subsequently, whether it be political, social, economic or health. The etymology of the word "crisis" refers to a paroxysmal moment, to a turning point in the evolution of a phenomenon, such as an illness or the economic situation (passing from sustained growth to depression), where the period of decline - more or less long - would be when the conditions for a recovery are put in place. This means that transformations of a configuration are highlighted by the attempt to manage a disruptive factor of this configuration, indicating that flaws or failures prevent a resilience of the system, meaning the capacity of integrating the disturbance in order to reconstruct itself in an acceptable way for the functioning of the systemic configuration.

The periodicity of these moments of "crisis" can lead to questioning the term "crisis", consisting rather of a turning point of a particular oscillation or recurrence, therefore a rhythm, or even of a polyrhythm of processes according to the time scale taken into account. The phenomena of oscillation or recurrence (the "crises") appears according to an organized processes that produce these phenomena and maintain them, or even make them disappear. The notion of "rhuthmos"

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[1] This is documentary evidence that people have received 2 doses of the vaccine or has had a recent nasopharyngeal test with a negative result.

(Michon, 2005) can be used in order to better define its outlines. For being a rhythm, according to the definition of the philosopher Lefebvre (1992), there must be strong beats and weak beats in the movement, in the order of events, therefore varying degrees of intensity, as well as the idea of return, of irregular repetition. There is therefore a differentiated time and a duration to be qualified, as well as breaks and resumptions. Consequently, the time of the clock (or the metronome) is only one of the parameters to be taken into account, different from the quality of the rhythm, of its perception, and of the overall movement towards a becoming. This perspective leads us to analyse the situational redefinitions of rhythms according to confronting value systems, and refers to the question of identification, and therefore of symbolization.

In this way, the health crisis linked to the management of Covid-19 is not seen here as a "crisis" in itself but as a disruptive element. In this sense, we aim to introduce a reflection on the temporalities of the phenomenon, translated into socio-urban rhythms due to the articulation of temporalities with territorialities (and the taking into account of lived experiences). Usually, urban studies do not consider this dimension, social phenomena being either essentialized or spatialized. Introducing the notion of rhythm - in urban studies - makes the discussion possible on the construction of dynamic configurations by introducing the dimensions of appropriation, therefore the ability to exercise a skill, as well as that of representations (according to value systems). However, the socio-territorial configuration cannot be superimposed on the socio-temporal configuration, since they correspond to different structural systems. It is therefore a question of updating the vagueness and fluidity of urban rhythms (Monnet, 2001), by introducing the notions of communication, mobility and living, but also the confrontations and arrangements between the points of view of actors from various social worlds.

Questioning the night off in an intermediary city

Montpellier, capital of the Hérault department, is an intermediary city in southern France. It is located on the Mediterranean coast (15 kms from it), but developed towards the hinterland. City has experienced an important demographic growth between 1962 and 2015, when the population increased from 123,000 to 283,000 inhabitants (441,000 inhabitants in the greater urban area as a whole). The historic center of Montpellier – named Ecusson - have been preserved since Middle Ages. The universities of medicine and law are recognized since the 12th century. At the end of the 17th century, a royal square and a triumphal arch were established outside the town, corresponding today to Peyrou (one of the limits of the town center from which the suburbs extend). In this sense, some squares were created during the revolutionary period such as the Comedy square and, at the end of the 18th century, Montpellier absorbed the neighbouring municipalities of Celleneuve, Montels-lès-Montpellier, Montauberon and Saint-Hilaire.

The significant urban expansion of Montpellier was during the second half of the 20th century with the important North Africa and Spanish immigration leading to the construction of inexpensive buildings to house newcomers and to the restructuring of services such as local universities (in connection with the national policy of democratization and massification of access to higher education). At this period, we can observe the strong urbanization of the Mosson district to the west (which was made up of scrubland and agricultural land) and of the Hospitals-Faculties district to the north. In 1975, the Polygone shopping center was inaugurated in the south-east of the historic center, one of the largest shopping centers in France, then the Antigone district was developed by the Catalan architect Ricardo Bofill. This prefigures urban development towards the Mediterranean Sea, which will subsequently take shape with the urbanization of the Port Marianne district. This district is composed by greenery and modern architecture (such as the "Nuage" building by Philippe Stark). All Concerted Activity Zones have not yet been completed; however, this is a real turning point with the installation of the new Montpellier Town Hall, the construction of the Odysseum shopping center as well as the Richter university center and the Lez Market (a new evening festive place).

Figure 1. Vautrin P-F [@pierrefelix_vautrin] (2020, December), The "Nuage" building of Philippe Stark by night, Montpellier

Montpellier is therefore a dynamic city in terms of demography and urbanization, marked by an economy linked to trade, tertiary services, viticulture and tourism. Its population is culturally and socially heterogeneous and rather young with a third of local population between 15-29 years old (compared to 17.5% nationally). Over the last decades, university students who live in the city have increased to over 46,000. This change has clearly affected the city image. Once nicknamed the "sleeping beauty", Montpellier is now perceived as a dynamic, attractive and young city. The Hospitals-Faculties university district (north of the city) is the one with the highest weight of young people aged from 15 to 29 years old who are schooled (35% of the population, 14,000 young people), then the historic downtown district (23% of the population, 18,000 young people) and the new Port-Marianne university district (16% of the population, 3,000 young people). However, precariousness is also important, showing great local disparities with an unemployment rate of 13.5% of working people aged 15-64 (against 10% nationally) and a monetary poverty rate[2] corresponding to 27% of the population (compared to 15% nationally).

However, in Montpellier, despite the impetus provided in many spheres by Georges Frêche (mayor of the city from 1977 to 2004), urban nights have long been a blind spot for thinking on urban spaces. In fact, they have been the object of both security policies (urban police, public lighting, video surveillance, etc.), and marketing strategies (around celebrations and heritage in particular), with little regard for everyday practices. Caught up in the movement of urban neoliberalism, the city councillors are betting on the attractiveness of their territory. As such, they privilege development policies and events for capturing flows and capital. This movement involves the redevelopment of public spaces, the development of commercial activities and prestigious urban and real estate projects, and the improvement of accessibility to urban polarities. The night is one of these "policies of attractiveness", through tourism development strategies. However, some questions remain open on the medium and short-term effects of these strategies (Giordano, Nofre, Crozat, 2018) because, by concentrating investments in a few carefully selected areas, urban policies participate in the socio-spatial fragmentation of cities (Harvey, 2010).

Beyond certain spaces dedicated to nightlife, the municipality of Montpellier is therefore not developing a coordinated strategic night vision, as one actor of the city center redevelopment agency indicates:

> "We never really asked the question, if there wasn't an emergency [...] the attractiveness of the Ecusson [the historic center district] is linked to its nightlife with the presence of customers from bars, restaurants, theatres and Opera, which creates a dynamic [...] But in terms of specific arrangements, I don't know. If not ...

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[2] This rate corresponds to 60% of the median standard of living (disposable household income relative to the number of consumption units). In 2018, this threshold was established at 1,063 euros per month.

except for street lighting". (Urban renewal project manager. City Developer Agency. Interview. Montpellier. 19 January 2021)

There is thus a very different geography of night policies in Montpellier between a hyper-center which is taken into consideration in a development strategy, and the outskirts in which the night is not considered.

Methodology - A hybrid and remote empirical approach

We questioned students from Montpellier in the situation of initial 100% lockdown (sociological survey), then during a period of reduced lockdown (semi-structured interviews) and also during a period of 50% lockdown.

First, we carried out a sociological survey during the initial 100% lockdown (March-April 2020). 668 students answered the questionnaire on their models of festive consumption, for a territory bringing together at the scale of the Montpellier academy about 110,000 students (including 75,000 students enrolled in the Hérault department in 2018, according to the Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation). For a 95% confidence level, the margin of error is 4% for all responses. The first part of the questionnaire dealt with the description of their nightlife habits. The second part dealt with the description of the last festive evening lived in Montpellier. 6 questions dealt specifically with the ways of experiencing lockdown. The third part was focused on the feeling of security at night and the last part was there to collect socio-demographic data. The sample is composed mainly of students declaring to be biological female, for three quarters of them. However, there are only 57-58% of female students in Montpellier, indicating a bias at the sample level. Less than half of the sample is made up of students aged 19-20 (40%), and a third aged 21-22 (34%). However, students are distributed differently nationally, with younger and older structuration of ages. They are 80% to declare to be at the License level, 19% to declare to be at the Master level and 1% in PhD cycle. Indeed, more than a third of respondents are in the process of validating their first year of university (37%). Two thirds of respondents (67%) say that they are living in the city of Montpellier, and a quarter is living in another municipality, not near their place of study.

Then, we conducted semi-structured interviews during the period of partial restrictions (mid-end of 2020) and with students selected in this sample. We mobilized 13 interviews for this paper, lead with 8 female students and 5 male students. To select them, we made up ideal types of revellers and ways of partying, based on the analysis of the responses from the sociological survey. We questioned those who came closest to an ideal type, in order to obtain a diversity of relationships with festive nights in Montpellier. The interview guide focused the discussion on the

geography of festive practices in relation to the daily practices of each one; the various stages of their reveller careers; social interactions and nocturnal sociability; the organization of festive events and the relationship to psychoactive products; as well as social norms and representations related to the more or less restrictive dimension in accessing festive nights. The impacts of Covid-19 have been discussed all along the interviews:

- Samuel[3], 20-year-old male student in Natural Sciences License;
- Iris, 21-year-old female student in Arts License;
- Nathan, 21-year-old male student in Human and Social Sciences License;
- Dina, 21-year-old female student in Human and Social Sciences License;
- Amélie, 22-year-old female student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences;
- Danielle, 22-year-old female student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences;
- Gwendoline, 22-year-old female student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences;
- Kylian, 22-year-old male student in Arts License;
- Arielle, 23-year-old female student in a Master of Law and Political Sciences;
- Louis, 24-year-old male student who recently obtained a Master of Human and Social Sciences;
- Carole, 26-year-old female student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences;
- Carine, 26-year-old female student who recently obtained a Master of Human and Social Sciences;
- Arnaud, 35-year-old male student in Arts License, returning to studies after a business school.

The interviews were thematically analysed in order to understand the divergences and convergences in their relationship to festive nights, as well as with a biographically point of view to unravel the careers of revellers.

Finally, we carried out very short directive interviews during the 50% lockdown period (the curfew in March-April 2021). We relied on the respondents to the sociological survey by interviewing those who agreed to share their contact details, *ie* 73 respondents. The exchange was structured in 3 parts. The first part consisted of 10 questions about daily life during this period; the second part consisted of 16 questions on adapting their party life to the curfew; the third part included 12 socio-demographic questions to situate their talk. Among the 73 respondents, 57 were female students, 14 were male students and 2 did not wish to specify their gender, *ie* an over-representation of women in the sample. In terms of age, 35 students were between 19 and 21 years old inclusive, 20 students were between 22 and 24 years old inclusive, 16 students were between 25 and 27 years old inclusive, and 2 students were over 27 years old. The vast majority of respondents were at the University (71 students, and 2 students in private school). The answers were analysed in the form of flat sorting and thematic analysis, depending on the degree of openness of the questions asked.

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[3] We use a pseudonym to respect the anonymity of informants.

In order to situate the specific context, we interviewed several stakeholders in the local nightlife, such as 2 cultural actors; 13 local associations or neighbourhood committees which bring together residents that are involved in their area of life; 1 bar manager; 3 health stakeholders; 2 stakeholders of local urban production; 1 student life service at university. These analyses were extended by a systematic watchfulness carried out both in the local press and in social networks (in particular for economic stakeholders such as bars and discotheques), and the follow-up of work meetings carried out at the national scale between nightlife stakeholders.

Results - Potential resilience of student festive events in Montpellier facing Covid-19

The adaptation of Montpellier students to the initial lockdown

All the students interviewed appreciated the exceptional nature of the health context. They wondered if they should tell us about their usual nightlife or one transformed by this context (except for the non-revellers). Students experienced the initial period of lockdown (March-May 2020) in a mixed manner for a third of them, and more than a third are satisfied (228 respondents, 34%). These results correspond to the national study conducted by the Observatory of Student Life (OVE) (June-July 2020) indicating that "*nearly one in three students (31%) presented signs of psychological distress during the lockdown period*", against a fifth in 2016. The manifestations of this distress are then explained by the Observatory of Student Life (OVE) through signs of nervousness (for 34% of those concerned), sadness (28 %) or discouragement (16%).

More than half of the respondents found that they missed nightlife, with a score of 7 to 10 out of 10 (350 respondents, 52%); and less than a third found that they did not miss their nightlife with a score of 1 to 4 out of 10 (197 respondents, 30%) [among them, 18% went party less than once a month including 14% did not have an evening ending after 10 p.m. in the 6 months preceding the questionnaire]; few are mixed (121 respondents, 18%). In fact, two-thirds of respondents indicated that they no longer have a nightlife (412 respondents, 60%). Students that were enjoying their life since the introduction of restrictive measures explain it through their ability to adjust to the new situation. In fact, they have not necessarily changed their habits in terms of activities and dating, breaking the rules or not going party - as usual. The students with a mixed option put this period into perspective by comparing their situation to that of other students who are more isolated or less well off than themselves. Two students - usually very party girls - also took advantage of this period to make a break from their intense party life during their studies, and think on their lifestyle.
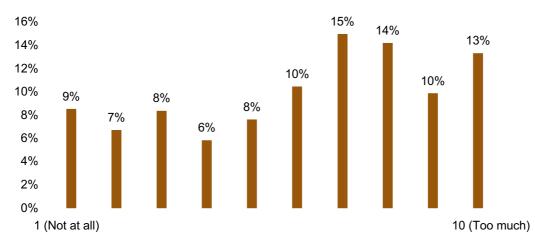
Figure 2. Responses to the sociological survey (March-April 2020), Felt a lack of festive life during first lockdown (in %, n = 668)
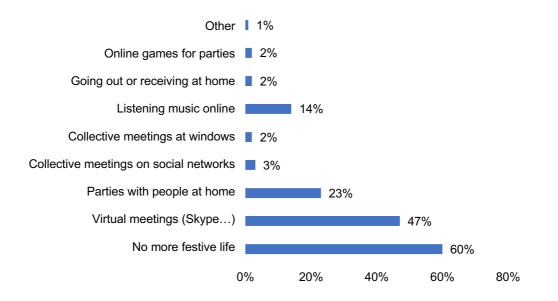

Figure 3. Responses to the sociological survey (March-April 2020), Adaptation of festive life during first lockdown (in %, n = 668)

However, all of the students interviewed indicated that they had to adapt them. Most of them had to give up non-school activities that take place during their free time (sport, association, leisure, etc.), or try to find alternatives (such as videoconferencing). They missed these activities because they form the basis of their social life. The students therefore mobilized social networks or online gaming platforms (such as Discord) to stay in touch with their friends and try to hold on together, as Samuel indicates:

"We have groups on Messenger, Snapchat […] Every week, we send each other messages, but just to get news […] As soon as someone sends a message in general, in the following minute he receives answers". (Samuel, 20. Student in Natural Sciences License. Interview. Montpellier. 6 November 2020)

The students' relationship to festive nights was transformed. To cope with this situation, almost half of the students questioned by questionnaire connected virtually with acquaintances (318 respondents, 47%) and a quarter participated in parties with those with whom they were confined (162 respondents, 23%), such as Amélie:

"[…] during the lockdown, that's where I spent the most parties because I was confined to my mother-in-law. We were 8 or 6, 6 and it was 1-2-3 parties a week, 4 even here, because, in fact, we were only young people. [...] the first lockdown was so cool". (Amélie, 22. Student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences. Interview. Montpellier. 3 November 2020)

The other alternatives seem to have been used in a rather marginal way, such as participating in collective events on social networks with strangers, parties within online games, or "window aperitifs". However, not all of them necessarily made videoconferences for evening conviviality, no doubt because of the number of hours spent in videoconferencing to ensure the continuity of studies.

Many initiatives have flourished on the side of night-time consumers, more or less accepting the fact of not being able to party as before. It seems reasonable to consider at least a form of psychological resilience, that is integrating the disturbance to rebuild themself in a socially acceptable way (Bonanno, 2005). This is the case with the organization of "La Fête aux balcons" where everyone is invited to play one hour of music to support caregivers. The "aperitive windows" have multiplied at the initiative of inhabitants, municipalities or venues. Many evenings have been organized remotely, sometimes via a digital videoconferencing tool, redefining festive sociability (Lallement, 2020). As social distancing and confinement have produced new night atmospheres in the city, tinged with calm and darkness, the virtual world has grown. Social ties have multiplied, often ephemeral. However, a certain amount of them seems to persist in practice.

The lockdown has widely changed the way of life of students. The professional activities of the students were also affected by these restrictive measures, which accentuated the precariousness of some of them. Thus, the Universities have dealt with this increasing precariousness and have been able to set up exceptional measures, as indicated to us by a student life service:

"Social assistance, there is already one that is set up in a commission with the CROUS. […] Normally, until before the health crisis, I would say there were between

4 or 5 a year. This year, there was 1 per month, not counting the emergency emails that were sent. […] The budget has increased by 100,000 euros, so we went from 70,000 to 170,000 euros in social assistance". (Administrator. Student life service. Interview. Montpellier. 16 November 2020)

In our survey during the first lockdown, the bedtime hours during the week were close to those of the weekend outside lockdown, with a slightly larger lag at the weekend, showing a more diffuse temporality (more than a third went to bed between midnight and 2 hours a week), partly because of the absence of face-to-face lessons which could have disrupted their rhythm of life. Respondents' go to bed later on weekends than on weekdays (around 2 hours apart). However, in terms of consumption of psychoactive substances and sexual relations, the overall trend of students was decreasing during the first lockdown. Alcohol consumption has decreased for almost three quarters of the respondents concerned (359 respondents out of 495, 73%), the consumption of tobacco for half of the respondents concerned (130 respondents out of 249, 52%), the consumption of drugs from the cannabis / hashish type for two thirds of the respondents concerned (108 respondents out of 162, 67%), the consumption of other drugs for the majority of the respondents concerned (60 respondents out of 74, 81%), the consumption of pornographic sites remained similar for half of the respondents concerned (152 respondents out of 288, 53%) and sexual relations decreased for two thirds of the respondents concerned (278 respondents out of 440, 63%).

Questions then arise more specifically about the few students marginalized during this period, characterized by an increased consumption of psychoactive substances. This could be explained by the feeling of being on vacation, and possibly the feeling of loneliness. Indeed, the hospital addictology services have been able to note an increase in consumption among the most vulnerable in Montpellier:

“[…] net increase in alcohol, net increase in cannabis, everyone has been able to experience it a little in his entourage. For the simple reason also that it is still easy to access alcohol. While ... going to your dealer in lockdown, it's also a little more complicated. And then, the lockdown made decompensate anxious pathologies”. (Hospital practitioner, manager of addictology services. University Hospital Center. Interview. Montpellier. 19 November 2020)

Conversely, consumption may have decrease for the less vulnerable, in order to protect their identity due to the change in social frameworks (with the obligation to stay at home and therefore among their households during lockdown). Faced with these phenomena, the actors of health and social prevention questioned themselves to reach consumers who multiplied the groupings in private apartments or in the street, without fully integrating the Covid-19 within their remarks on prevention related to the addictological use:

"[…] there is a kind of saturation of this message which is so omnipresent and which controls the bodies, the ways of being, the interactions". (Manager of service and addictology unit worker. Drug prevention association named the ZINC. Interview. Montpellier. 20 October 2020)

An in-between two lockdowns lived in half shade

Since June 2nd, 2020, the Hotels, Cafés and Restaurants (HCR) received the administrative opening authorization as part of the reopening process after the lockdown. During the lockdown, this sector tried to innovate (deliveries, online sales, etc.), but the economic difficulties worsened, with an estimated bankruptcy from 20 to 30% for the establishments. Measures were put in place at national and local levels, such as partial financial support or deferral of taxes. The same is true for cultural venues. The two actors we met told us that the health context involved a number of cancellations and postponements of scheduled activities, implying a reorganization for the following season, but also a notable drop in visitor numbers[4].

During the summer period between two lockdowns, some students still decided to not participate in night-life activities due to the fear of the virus or future penalties. They thus express an awareness of the potential risks associated with going party in open places, in public, in relation to older members of their family whom they meet, or within the professional sphere, as for Iris:

" […] Since I worked with people with disabilities, I still had to pay attention to my relationships. So, during the period when I was working in a home with disabled people, I was careful". (Iris, 21. Student in Arts License. Interview. Montpellier. 11 November 2020)

However, with the gradual reduction of the uncertainties concerning the health risk, students gradually relaxed the pressure and the atmosphere in the city was perceived in a more positive way. The first post-containment observations made in the city indicate the massive return of citizens to the public space, in the name of conviviality. Indeed, beyond digital territories, new festive practices have intensified, divesting commercial establishments. This is the case with parties organized in apartments (rented for the occasion or not) and clandestine parties organized in abandoned spaces (such as urban wastelands).

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[4] Nightlife already occupied a specific place there (annual nightlife, "FX is not lying" event, etc.) before the health crisis, and which is not intensified due to an economic brake linked to security costs. night museums and institutional obstacles to the need to open collections at night.

Figure 4. Vautrin P-F [@pierrefelix_vautrin] (2020, October), The Jacques Coeur basin in Montpellier by night, Montpellier

Other students have moved into public spaces to face the restrictions and create big gatherings among young people, as Arielle observed:

> "There were mainly young people and many were partying in the neighborhood. Many of them were located around the Jacques-Coeur basin and on the banks of the Lez. I was one of those young people who were partying after the lockdown". (Arielle, 23. Student in a Master of Law and Political Sciences. Interview. Montpellier. 23 November 2020)

Some have participated in raves or free parties, such as Teknival organized in province of Lozère in August 2020, with an audience of around 10,000 people (with an average age of 30-35 years old) according to a health prevention association, therefore not fully corresponding to student audiences that can usually be found.

However, several actors note a significant repression of these events since this Teknival, such as a drug prevention association that said:

"In fact, there was a decree which said that if the cops checked you and that there was sound systems in your car, they could grab the material directly, it could be audio material, as speakers, or processors, computers, whatever, any kind of electronic material […] When he feels, for example, that a Teknival will arrive in his department, the prefect of the department prohibits the circulation of heavy vehicles in his department over a weekend".   (Prevention coordinator. Drug prevention association named Axess Festif. Interview. Montpellier. 20 November 2020)

These repressive devices have greatly reduced the number of free parties according to these actors because of the repression against users (with a fine of 135 euros) and party organizers.

The uncertainty concerning a second wave of contamination has led local authorities to reorganize public spaces to respect spatial distancing and to develop preventive health measures in terms of social distancing within leisure establishments. A health protocol has been made compulsory by the Ministry of Health, including - among other things - the obligation to wear a mask inside an establishment, the strengthening of hygiene and disinfection measures for the equipment used, a distance of one meter between each table of customers, a maximum of ten guests per table (reduced to six guests thereafter), contactless presentation of the menu, prohibition of the consumption while standing inside the establishment. Some students took advantage of this reopening, with a style that was intended to be more convivial due to the time constraints of establishments and the closing of discotheques, such as Gwendoline:

"[…] we went 1 or 2 times to have a drink precisely at **** because, in fact, by ended up knowing the managers, we imagined that it must have been complicated for them financially […] There was no one there". (Gwendoline, 22. Student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences. Interview. Montpellier. 6 November 2020)

The public space - usually dedicated to cars – has been invaded by terraces and dedicated to pedestrians, creating intense nocturnal atmospheres (but variable depending on seasonality and weather).

Municipalities are therefore worried about the impacts for residents in terms of uncivic behavior (such as noise pollution produced by the deployment of terraces in the street), leading the government to stigmatize youth and the festive practices of students, through a regime of fear, prohibiting university integration events for newcomers. Student parties are usually more intense and organized during the first two years of graduate studies, as Danielle indicates:

"In fact, during undergraduate studies, mostly student parties were organized by the association. It was rare for me to go out with friends outside of a student party". (Danielle, 22. Student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences. Interview. Montpellier. 4 November 2020)

This is linked to the empowerment of students (especially those who move away from the family home) and to the integration into a group of little-known people (especially for those who are not from their city of study). The university workload plays on the lower frequency of parties from the third year, as well as the desire for another type of evening: organized student events are gradually being left aside in favor of more informal experiences, tightening around strong links and based on a more refined knowledge of leisure activities and of one's own tastes (Guérin, 2017).

Break the curfew to meet up with friends

The announcement of the establishment of a curfew - both with the administrative closure from October 6, 2020 of leisure establishments opened to the public - was difficult for the students to live with, reducing the festive life to its strict minimum, at Montpellier even more than at the national level. One year after our first survey (March-April 2021), only a quarter of respondents have a mixed opinion about the appreciation of their life in general (17 respondents out of 73, 23%) and two-thirds are dissatisfied (47 respondents, 65%). It therefore seems that the benefits perceived by some students during the first period of lockdown have faded for the majority of them. More than three quarters of the informants found that they missed their festive life, with a score of 7 to 10 out of 10 (57 respondents, 79%); and only 15% (11 respondents) found that they did not miss their festive life, with a score of 1 to 4 out of 10 [which corresponds to the 14% who did not have a party ending after 10 p.m. within 6 months preceding the first questionnaire]; few are mixed (5 respondents, 7%).
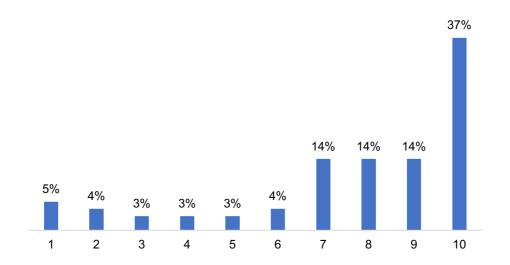

Figure 5. Responses to the second survey (March-April 2021), Felt a lack of festive life during curfew (in %, n = 73)

Their dissatisfaction is mainly related to the perception of a loss of liberty in relation to their urban experience and social life, which leads them to the impression of living in a monotonous way, of "*missing out on something*", of a "*wasted youth*":

"We feel blocked, helpless, as if we were living our life only partially".

"I feel like a robot. I go out in the morning to go to class, and when I get home, I automatically have to go home. I don't have any time left to go out and see friends, or even go shopping".(Open responses to the second survey, March-April 2021, Feeling about curfew, n = 73)

This creates a feeling of frustration, especially for those who do not legitimize these measures which they believe are ineffective, or even a source of stress due to the obligation to respect the time constraints imposed (difficulties to reconcile with all the activities to be carried out according to them). This feeling of loss of freedom is badly experienced due to the perception of the future as uncertain. The absence of nightlife – that free moment of convivial leisure – is directly implicated in the overall feeling that students have of their life. These urban experiences constitute a decompression moment in the face of the "tyranny of the clock", which is linked to day-to-day productivity. These restrictions have had an impact on the relationships formed between students. The same is true at the end of the school year, concerning the parties to celebrate the end of the exams that constitute a micro-ritual of passage from university context to another context.

At the same time, nightlife establishments have had to adapt, particularly in terms of hours. Observations made at the start of the curfew have revealed a relatively calm atmosphere in the city at night, with a number of closed establishments and less frequentation. Informal street alcohol vendors seemed to replace closed places, adapting to the transfer of festive practices into the public space. The few open establishments offer food to stay open legally (such as tapas), which increased the budget for the evening. The fear of administrative closure has led the managers of the establishments to lower the curtain before legal time and to increased surveillance among them, such as at the Lez Market where each one indicated to the other one the need to close, tidy up or make leaving customers. The sub-prefecture of police would then pass in groups, in a strange atmosphere of repression, questioning the manager and the customers about the opening of the place, then leaving under a little heckling created by the customers. The succession of measures taken has therefore left the managers of establishments in the uncertainty of maintaining their economic activity and the power to "do well", with a number of unforeseen checks for constantly changing rules.

On the student side, they adapted to this curfew starting at 9 p.m., then gradually at 8 p.m. and 6 p.m. and having lasted locally for 3 months and 14 days. A good part of it even broke the rules to keep going out. Thus, almost two thirds of students (44 respondents out of 73, 60%) went to other people's homes or received people at their homes to do parties despite the curfew. But a third adapted by moving their parties before or after curfew (28 respondents, 38%), and a quarter

by connecting virtually with acquaintances (19 respondents, 26%). Only 13 students (18%) attended parties with those residing in their accommodation, undoubtedly due to the resumption of studies and the restricted structure of the student household.

However, even the students who broke the curfew did not go out very often: less than once a month for 20 students (27%), and from 1 to 3 times a month for 18 respondents (25%). Only 13 respondents went out 1 or more times a week. These students tend to go out on Saturdays and Fridays, then Thursdays – such as the usual party days. The "short" evenings (around 4 hours according to the respondents) started, for the great majority, between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. (45 respondents out of 64 concerned, 70%) and ended between 8 p.m. and 2 a.m. (32 respondents out of 64, 50 %). This means that more than half of respondents (58%) finished their evening after curfew, while only 6 of 64 respondents (9%) started their evening after curfew. Concerning the "long" evenings, they started, for the great majority, between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m. (35 respondents out of 60 concerned, 58%) then between 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. (14 respondents out of 60 concerned, 23%) and ended between 4h and 8h (20 respondents out of 60, 33%), or between 2h and 4h (14 respondents out of 60, 23%). This means that only 3 respondents started a "long" evening after curfew, but 51 in 60 respondents (85%) finished their evening after curfew.
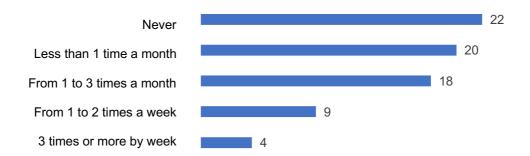

Figure 6. Responses to the second survey (March-April 2021), Frequency of night outside from home since curfew (in effectives, n = 73)

Within the framework of these evenings, only 5 respondents declared sleeping outside. They therefore broke the curfew to return home, using: a tram or bus (30 respondents), walking (26 respondents), a car – motorbike – personal scooter (25 respondents), a bicycle – skateboard (14 respondents), or even a taxi – Uber (4 respondents). Indeed, two-thirds of them organized parties at home, half went to parties at a distance from 1 or 2 km from their home (or in the immediate neighborhood) therefore accessible on foot, a third wen to parties at a distance from 2 to 4 km of their home, and almost half of them went to parties at more than 4 km from home (the majority between 4 and 10 km) requiring a vehicle. These evenings were mostly held at the home of a friend or family member (51% did it from 1 to 5 times and 38% more often) or at the student's own home

(59% did it from 1 to 5 times and 19% more often). A good number of them were in public space (19% have done it from 1 to 5 times and 8% more often) or a park (30% have done it from 1 to 5 times and 8% more often) and this despite police control. Few have performed alternative parties in underground bars, squats or otherwise.

These transgressions were facilitated by weak police control according to the students: only 3 out of 73 students said they were controlled once or twice at night by a police officer during the curfew, and none received a fine, which encourages them to go out. However, only 9 students out of 73 (12%) say they were comfortable with the idea of going out at night during curfew, indicating that they have already done this for a valid reason (night work, studies, etc.). Thus, a quarter of the students indicated that they remained on the alert, preparing a derogatory exit certificate (which could be falsified). The fear of the penalty (a fine amounting to 135 euros) accentuates this feeling, a fine that seemed expensive. During these parties, the students met mainly themselves to discuss-debate, eating and drinking. They listened to music or played board games, that are more convivial than festive activities in order to not stay isolated in the evening and to be able to decompress.

Consequently, the lack of legitimacy given to the curfew which was not intensely monitored, articulated with the need to meet up with friends, encouraged these students to break the rule. These students have integrated justification regimes shared between peers, such as Gwendoline indicating:

> "So, in fact, as if we were given semi-liberty: you are no longer confined, you can go out but, in the evening, you stay at home. Finally, for us, it was more complicated to manage than the lockdown itself". (Gwendoline, 22. Student in a Master of Human and Social Sciences. Interview. Montpellier. 6 November 2020)

In the same way, Kylian indicated:

> "So, the curfew, I hated that. […], I felt it just like I was in jail, let's say. […] It is not because you have parties that the disease will circulate more. Illness circulates at work, it circulates in everyday life, etc.". (Kylian, 22. Student in Arts License. Interview. Montpellier. 5 November 2020)

Conclusion - The uncertainty management of health crisis

This contribution has analyzed how the university students living in the city of Montpellier have adapted their night leisure practices to the restriction measures adopted to contrast the spread of the Covid-19 in France. The results have shown how the curfew and the administrative closure

of night-time establishments have deeply affected the nocturnal leisure practices of the university students. The first lockdown was characterized by a strict respect of the restrictive measures. Most of the students have renounced to go out, and social contacts with friends and family happened virtually. Yet, these virtually interaction, while useful, were not able to successfully replace the live interactions. Following the lifting of the first lockdown, the students have massively reinvested the public spaces in the name of conviviality. Beyond digital territories, we observed an intensification of leisure practices outside the commercial establishments, like parties in private apartments or clandestine and not-authorized parties organized in abandoned spaces (such as urban wastelands). While these trends are not new, it could be interested to understand if these trends will continue in the future. Finally, the results allowed to relativize the narrative that has emerged on the national media that described young people as irresponsible and the main responsible for the second and third Covid-19 wave.

While the second and third lockdown and the curfew were less respected that the first one, the breaking of the curfew did not imply a return to normality before Covid-19 and night outings remained greatly reduced for all the students interviewed during the study. At the same time, the results call into question the measures adopted in relation to night-life during the Covid-19 pandemic. Night-time leisure activities are an important element of the social wellbeing, especially for young people. Yet, instead of considering the night-life as a potential source of psychological mutual support during the crisis, French authorities have adopted a strict disciplinarian approach towards evening and night leisure activities. Rather than allow regulated and controlled forms of night-life, the 8 months of national curfew have eliminated any possibility of legal nocturnal activities. The result has been the emergence of illegal events and the generalize breaking of the curfew among young people. Crucially, these events highlight the need to produce a renewed discussion around the role of night-life, one that goes beyond licensing, regulation, crime and the economic impacts but rather focuses on the potential of night-life as time and space to foster social well-being, community-building and even psychological mutual support.

In terms of management, public authorities have to deal with a growing uncertainty, due to flexible behaviors (A. Bourdin, M-P Lefeuvre, P. Melé, 2006). Without being the consequence of a disorder, the uncertainty of the context and of individuals leads to the renewal of forms of regulation linked to collective projects. This is a disturbance of the traditional urban order. As a result, confidence must be regained as an intermediate state between mastery and non-mastery of context and behavior, accentuated in the context of complex urban spaces:

> "Cities are thus reconceptualized as unbounded and polyrhythmic spaces, no longer understood in terms of fixed locations in abstract space, but rather in terms of a continuously shifting skein of networks, with their own spatiality and temporality' (Ali and Keil, 2007: 1217). Thus, the growth of megacities and mega-regions raises the critical question of who has the mandate to control outbreaks in peri-urban areas

(see Keil and Ali, 2007). This issue of jurisdictional authority is particularly noteworthy in the context of public health and its connection to the unique type of governance relationships that may exist between urban and ex-urban centres" (Connolly, Keil, Ali, 2021: 257).

However, the perception of "crises" (these shortcomings or flaws to be corrected) makes it possible to innovate in terms of networks or devices to return to an acceptable systemic configuration (a future):

> "As Paul Ricœur has so well analyzed in the 1988 article […], the very notion of crisis has very different levels of meaning and interpretation which lead, not to paralysis, but to the stimulation of human thought and activity against routines leading to sterile repetition and, ultimately, torpor" (Müller, Waterlot, 2013, p. 5).

This is the case with the "political crisis" in France, which reasons are to "go beyond the transformations of French politics and society" (Garrigou, 2017, p. 468), and rather - according to the author - within the chains of interdependence created in a globalized world of exchanges[5] leading to the dismantling of the working class, to economic insecurity, to the downgrading of the middle class.

Thus, the phenomena of crises overlap with each other, and between local and global scales:

> "Arendt - to use Ricœur's words - sees the crisis as a "regional" reality, in the sense that she sees it in the shaking of social, political and cultural institutions. But it also attributes to it a "global" dimension. In her eyes, the crisis is at the heart of all our activities and all our relationships (with ourselves, the world, others, etc.). It constitutes our "living together" and our being in the world" (Ehrwein, 2013, p. 45).

These "crises" (or disturbances) give rise to new networks of actors and mechanisms for action. Leaders' authority diminishes due to the multiplication of negotiations between partners (including economic and institutional), in an increasingly complex system of interdependence between administrative levels:

> "we do not count the initiatives, utopias or simply perspectives, with the classic constitutionalist thinkings on a Sixth Republic (C6R, M6R, Pour une Constituante, etc.), the projects of participatory democracy [Blondiaux, 1998], local citizen experiences (social and solidarity economy, Zadistas, etc.), uses of the Internet [Cardon, 2010] or whistleblowers (WikiLeaks, LuxLeaks, Panama Papers, etc.).

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[5] Financial globalization will then be made visible through the so-called "subprime crisis" of 2008.

More than through human planes, history follows an underground course in which political transformations emerge as tectonic movements" (Garrigou, 2017: 468).

In this context, the management of the health crisis linked to Covid-19 sheds light on the flaws in the social and political configurations of the forms of management of urban nights. The underlying hypothesis is that this disruption allows the emergence of innovative networks and devices to make night-time urban configurations work. However, these oscillations in the nightlife - muted in the management of this health crisis - can be read at various levels, various time scales, in terms of simultaneity-succession-duration and present-past-future, giving to see an order of succession of initiatives (which can also be simultaneous) between a diversity of stakeholders and towards a future to be defined: the night as a "common good"?

Grant

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Going Dark

Revisiting Nightfall, a site specific "dark sky" contemporary art workshop

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Abstract

Sark is a small 500-resident island in the Channel Islands archipelago that lacks cars or public lighting. In 2011, it became the first place in the world labeled as an "International Dark Sky Community" by the International Dark-Sky Association. While artists often exhibit their works in well-lit galleries and use daylight or spotlights to highlight their public works, they are rarely asked to make something for and about the absence of visible light. In 2016, I led a workshop, Nighfall, with 10 participants which asked students to create new work in the dark. How can we make visual art after dark in a place with exceptional conditions for stargazing, but no freestanding streetlights to orient our movement on the ground? How does a total lack of light and noise pollution, change how we make work, as contemporary artists?

Nightfall was based in the B.O.A.T. ®, an artistic and educational research annex to the European Academy of Art in Brittany housed in a former fishing trawler. In September 2016, we spent a week sailing between Saint Malo, Guernsey and Sark. Some art interventions were produced on-site while most participants used the residency period for observation, reflection and research. A subsequent exhibition at the Les Abords University Gallery at the University de Bretagne Occidentale in January 2017 presented the results from the workshop, including installations, videos, sculptures, as well as sound and participatory devices. The group show was also an ever-evolving stage, with new works being installed and activated over time. Night falls and blurs the forms and hierarchies of everyday life. By revisiting the workshop and exhibition, I explore how artists and designers responded to a dream-like physical experience of night as a pure, elemental form far distant from the artificial lighting-filled environments most of us experience on a nightly basis.

Keywords dark sky, contemporary art, night art, art workshop

Introduction

Nightfall, a 2016 visual art workshop based around the Isle of Sark, gave young artists and designers the opportunity to experiment and make new work in reaction to the dark-sky environment. The retreat, supported by the European Academy of Art in Brittany (EESAB) and subsequent exhibition at the University of Western Brittany (UBO) inspired new collective research methodologies, site-specific actions, and innovative forms of documentation and translation. Participants updated and expanded on the nocturne tradition in visual art by engaging with the body's physical experience of the dark in a variety of media, including photography, drawing, video, sculpture, readymades, and sound art. The variety of formal and conceptual approaches can serve as a resource for academics seeking to engage with and popularize notions from night studies, among non-academic audiences. Likewise, introducing visual practitioners to concepts such as light pollution, nocturnal soundscapes, and dark ecological networks can promote art/science collaboration (Ellison et. al., 2018), encourage makers to engage with natural phenomena, and to internalize the environmental externalities inherent within various creative processes.

Initiated by then-assistant professor Kasia Ozga, the workshop was inspired by a call to artists for collective projects within the B.O.A.T. ®, an artistic and educational research annex to EESAB housed in a former fishing trawler that was in operation from 2015-2019. It took place from September 26th-30th during the first stage of B.O.A.T.'s tour of the Brittany coast at the start of the 2016 academic year, replacing a planned stopover in Saint Helier in Jersey with the island of Sark, located about 10 kilometers east of Guernsey in the Channel Islands archipelago. With a population of around 600 people, Sark is an island with no cars and no public lighting. A former refuge for wreckers and pirates, it later became the last feudal state in Europe. In 2011, Sark became the first place in the world to be labeled a "black sky island" by the International Dark-Sky Association (IDA), an American association which combats light pollution.

Participants were selected following an open call to all EESAB students on the basis of cover letters and initial project proposals. During the workshop, they traveled together from Saint-Malo to Guernsey to Sark and back by sea, with logistical support from a boat captain and first mate/ program coordinator. Before sailing, they spent a first day and night in the port of Saint Malo to explore Dark Sky-related themes, to brainstorm possible projects and to scavenge and purchase equipment for artwork production on-site. Then, once on the island, they scouted sites for temporary art installations, met with tourists and locals, set up their projects and documented each other's activities. The workshop encouraged immersion in light-and-sound environments at odds with the urban spaces participants usually work in. Before, during, and after visiting Sark, they reflected on their artistic practices and on the relationship between these practices and the use of electricity, artificial lighting, and natural resources.
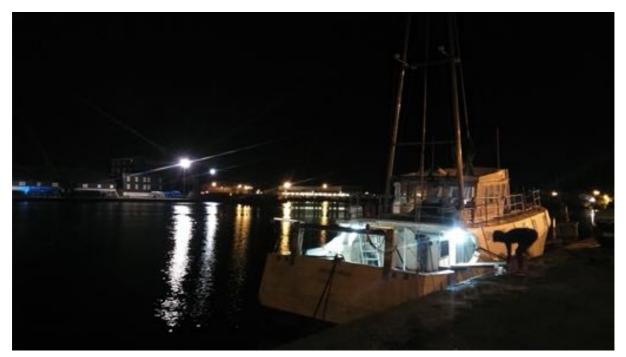
Figure 1. View of the Grand Largue at Night (c) Fabien Abgrall 2016.

Framing Night Art: Contexts and Challenges

Art about and at night is a means to understand and guide social behaviors, both at night and during the day. According to Ingrid Astier (2014), by diminishing the constant stimuli that solicit our eyes during the day, night rids us of our diurnal perspectives and encourages introspection (p.62). Art that amplifies, illustrates, or mimics this process comments on social life by summoning its' absence (Hollier, 2011). It suggests the dialectic contrast between night and day can be a fertile source of reflection on slumber and wakefulness and the situations and values that we attach to these states, both literally and metaphorically. Through a combination of group discussions, texts, and references to artists and exhibitions, the workshop served as an introduction to the concept of visual art at night for project participants. Together, they studied and experimented with different ways to produce work for and about environments lacking artificial light. Information was not presented in a linear fashion, through art-historical lectures detailing visual representations of the night over time. Instead, during formal and informal work sessions, everyone was encouraged to give and gain feedback on potential projects and to share descriptions of relevant work seen in other contexts. The meanings of various subject matters as well as different technical choices involved in producing and documenting work (using local materials, imported tools, electronics, etc.) were discussed, resulting in a wide variety of approaches and skill-sharing among participants. The format was open to a full range of responses addressing relationships between art and night, with many works vacillating between representing the night and existing within it.

While the workshop was proposed in a specific geographic context, the theme of visual art at night has been the subject of larger trends within contemporary art, on the level of individual bodies of work within the practices of contemporary artists, in collective exhibitions at the institutional level and in "white night" art events around the globe. Briefly analyzing these initiatives can help situate the works produced during Nightfall within larger movements.

Most art historical writing on the subject concentrates on Nocturnes, painted representations of the night in 18th Century Europe (Choné, 2001) and the late 19th Century in the United States (Homann, 2015). Other articles focus on specific activities associated with the night, such as sleep and/or dreaming to compare works by different contemporary artists (Morse, 2018). In addition to such traditional representations, the atmosphere of the workshop lent itself to the study of relevant artworks with a critical attitude to environmental/ cultural changes in how we appreciate the night. Videos such as Tacita Dean's *Amadeus (swell consopio)*, 2008, capture the ambiance of the trip. Photographic works including Olaf Nicolai's *Z. Point*, 2008 and Trevor Paglan's *The Other Night Sky*, 2007-2011+ were sources of inspiration for some of the photography-based projects that emerged, as they introduced random chance and political contexts into the field of documentary photography at night. Site specific works including Olafur Eliasson's *Your Loss of Senses*, 2006 and Julien Salaud's *Grotte Stellaire*, 2012 provided inspiration for immersive sculptures and installations produced following the experience. Keiichi Tahara' "dream of inventing a lamp that spreads darkness" (Gwiadzinski, 2016) was a model for some of the conceptual works produced, as participants reflected on the paradox and limitation of working with an elusive subject matter that is both difficult to grasp and absorbing, at once enveloping and penetrating the viewer (Merleau-Ponty, 1945).

Recent exhibitions position night art in the nocturne tradition and/or affirm a socially-engaged view of night as a time for political action and/or individual transformation. The exhibition *Die Nacht* (Haus der Kunst, Munich, Nov.1998-Feb.1999) explored the theme of the night in Western painting through a typology of allegories including death, sleep, dreams, moonlight, the macabre, lighting, etc. *Die Nacht im Zwielicht* (Unteres Belvedere & Orangerie, Vienna, 2012-2013) included 282 works hung according to themes such as "War at Night" and "Night in Poetry," "Sublime landscapes," and "Hell and Cinema." More recently, *Into the Night: Modern and Contemporary Art and the Nocturne Tradition* (Tucson Museum of Art, 2016) examined the various ways that contemporary artists consider the notion of the night through paintings, photographs, and works on paper by more than 65 artists. *Au-delà des étoiles : le paysage mystique de Monet à Kandinsky* (Art gallery of Ontario, 2016-2017, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, 2017) explored the sacred dimension of urban nocturnal images and representation of the cosmos from the late 20th and 21st centuries. *Le rêve* (Musée Cantini, Marseille, 2017) featured works on the subject of dreaming. More recently, a large thematic exhibition, *Peindre la Nuit*, (Centre Pompidou-Metz, 2019) explored art at night through the lens of three revolutions; the spread of electricity (the profusion of artificial lighting,

neons ...), psychoanalysis (the "inner night"), and the conquest of space (the discoveries of modern astrophysics), which are linked to three types of vertigo: sensory confusion of the senses, inner vertigo (dreams, surrealism), and cosmic vertigo.

Whereas such examples of night art are mainly visible during daytime opening hours of Museums, globalization and online platforms are eliminating some restrictions on night as a specific time of day with limited access to cultural production (Gwiadzinski, 2016). The group show *Painting at Night* : An Artist/Mother Juried Exhibition (2020), featured politically engaged content by artists addressing how care, gender roles, and motherhood impact the daily and nightly rhythms of artistic production. The show existed in a physical space, Fort Houston Gallery, Nashville, TN, but also included a virtual exhibition tour and podcast. As classrooms and cultural spaces experiment with hybrid formats, viewers around the world are invited to tune into live art programming happening in time zones far removed from their physical locations, putting these exhibitions in a position to both comment on and literally interact with the public's experience of the night.

In contemporary art, annual "white nights," monthly night-time art events, architectural mapping projections, and the spectacular lighting of monuments and heritage sites can also be seen as a conquest of the night. These efforts often look to promote societal cohesion and peaceful coexistence by creating spaces for different audiences to gather and experience artworks together. Whereas critical art questions the underlying unity of different groups that constitute the public, by asking what its members have in common and provoking debate, night-time art events based in the notion of festival and ritual bring members of a community together around common experiences, emphasizing unity, rather than divisions. (Ozga, 2013 and 2016).

Workshop as Method

The Nightfall workshop provided a means to explore and address night art outside of the physical and temporal constraints of a traditional teaching environment. It featured what the Raqs Media Collective (2009) calls "a time set aside for the production of desires, a space for the continuous generation of interpretive acts that also successfully constitute the world or a world among many." (p.81). Contrary to initial intentions, only a handful of the works produced during the project were actively made on-site due to logistical (temporal, material, financial) constraints. Instead, the workshop period evolved into a research-style residency week-long period for intense reflection and documentation that laid the groundwork for subsequent production.

In selecting nine successful applicants, we looked for a diversity of student profiles and individual project proposals; students ranged from 3rd year undergraduates to 5th year Master's candidates from a variety of backgrounds. The workshop involved fine art, graphic design, and

industrial design students from all 4 of EESAB's campuses (in Lorient, Quimper, Brest, and Rennes) and was the first BOAT retreat to insist on such geographic heterogeneity. Rather than immediately situating their projects in relation to the previously cited artworks, participants began with proposals developed in relation to their existing art practices and preconceived ideas about the night. Each artist's pieces then evolved first through direct contact with the terrain – the night environment on board the *Grand Largue* ship and in Sark – and also via feedback from other workshop contributors.

The experience blurred the lines between daily life and art-making, between the private and public spheres (Ardenne, 2004). Everyone lived and worked in shared spaces with rare moments of isolation. The boat itself, where users spent at least half of their time, had a main and lower deck, a small upper deck (captain's quarters) perched above the main common area, and ladders connecting each section. The lower deck was divided into a maze of wooden bunk beds custom built into the walls by previous workshop cohorts of design students. The main deck included a kitchen area, benches and tables affixed to the ground for meals and meetings, a few beanbag chairs (helpful during rough waters), and an outdoor deck which stored buoys/ flotation devices including a zodiac raft, ropes, anchors, and a makeshift privy (a bucket with a shower curtain). Opportunities to bathe were limited, with facilities available only when the boat docked in certain ports. During the crossing of the English Channel, almost every participant experienced severe sea sickness, a very visceral reminder of how our physical environments influence proprioception and our capacity for higher-level functioning. The sentiment that no one was immune to an experience that would otherwise be a private affair increased empathy, uniting participants in their resolve to help each other.

The mobile physical environment depends on the rhythms of the sea (wind, currents, waves, etc.), unpredictable criteria that make scheduling a challenge for one-off journeys to new locations. Sark is only accessible by boat, giving the island a character and organization entirely at odds with the public transportation-filled environments (and air and noise pollution) that students encounter on a daily basis. The speed of travel by boat and by foot, and the constant confrontation with the elements, decreases the sense of separateness between travelers and the landscape, common in air, car, and even rail journeys. Certain sites, including caves near Dixcart Bay where the boat was anchored on Sark, were unexpectedly rendered completely inaccessible over the course of one 12-hours day due to rising tides. The necessity to travel everywhere on-site, on foot created an embodied learning experience for everyone involved. Students could only use what they could physically carry in the time allotted, making travel and transport an integral dimension of each project, rather than a supply chain problem for someone else to solve.

The journey to and from the island was just as important as the time on site. The theme of the workshop, night, became a beacon driving daytime experiences, inverting a common temporal organization where night bookends a day well spent. Indeed, the literary trope of the archetypal

Night Journey was embodied in the physically demanding trajectory that brought students to the island. Instead of looking to light up the night by extending daytime modes of seeing, participants searched for sites on Sark that would be particularly evocative at night, during the day.

The workshop included various pedagogical strategies identified by Helguera (2011) to facilitate engagement with dark-sky environments. Few ground rules were set in advance. Instead, schedules evolved in an organic manner over time, as participants encountered new stimuli that influenced their work. There was no imposed time-frame for project completion and the choice of materials and working methods was left entirely up to each artist. Specific times were set aside for reflection and brainstorming. The intimate, participatory group dynamics brought together people at different moments in their educational journeys and from different contexts to present their work together. Ozga took on the role of a facilitator and participant as well, eventually making a soft sculpture that was presented in the exhibition alongside work by students. Collaborative decision-making processes guided day-to-day life, on-island research, and, ultimately decisions about the subsequent exhibition's title, communications/marketing, and schedule.
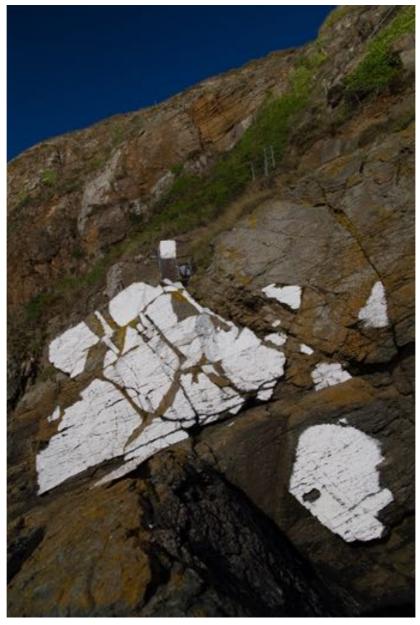
Figure 2. Le Treut, S. and Labor, S. 2016. Untitled, Dixcart Bay, Sark, September 28th, 2016. photo (c) Kasia Ozga 2016

Artwork Production

After the retreat, students returned to their respective campuses to make and refine finished artworks. Despite working together on Sark, participants focused on individual projects as they moved forward at their respective campuses, in Brittany. This was mainly due to the traditional organization of French art schools, in which students are assessed on their individual, rather than collective work, and to the logistical difficulties of organizing collaborative projects at campuses many hours removed from each other, before the widespread availability of digital tools for collaboration (pre-covid). Artwork production was a form of translation that followed on-site documentation (photography, video documentation, note-taking) and further reflection.

Different strategies were embraced by participants, ranging from representing, to interacting with, to recreating elements of the trip and the night-time environment. Half of the participants chose to work with digital media while half used traditional media (mainly sculpture and installation). Of the pieces produced, half alluded to the experience of night at sea while the rest referred to night on the island. The final works produced included the following :

- Kasia Ozga, Occultente, soft sculpture, textile, tent pole, concrete blocks

- Fabien Abgrall, Cyclique, Fixed shot of the boat. Looping video on DVD connected to a cathode ray television placed on the ground. Video length: 8'41 "

- Fabien Abgrall, Latent, sound installation, Bose speakers, low-frequency engine background noise on one side and on the other the crackling of wood that could be heard inside the boat. The sound is played in a loop on a telephone.

- Arek Kouyoumdjian, Untitled, 2 Drawings.

- Marion Rousseau, Que nous reste-t-il à la fin du voyage ?, A space reminiscent of the B.O.A.T to live in. Installation, table, benches, fishing net, photos.

- Matthieu Renaud, Série noire - Guernsey, Framed photographs of nocturnal lights. 6 images, 29x39 cm each.

- Matthieu Renaud, Crowd, Photo installation / engraving on rectangular wooden cradles. (32x32x40; 32x32x50; 32x32x60 cm)

- Soto Labor, Couché, taking up space to make an object of comfort, site specific installation with steel frame and sculpture made with flour, sand and fabric.

- Tarquin Pons, Archipels, White sculptures reminiscent of rocks. 2 plaster and plexiglass sculptures on white archipelagos (low plinths).

- Céline Le Guillou, C'est un stratagème, Images et texts of the sea. Video projection (7'37'') looped on a wall.

- Céline Le Guillou, Saltwater pots and waxes, sculpture, clay, found plastic, rope, rubber, sponge, and wax.

- Sabrina Muschio, Fragment, Short images of life in the night in the heart of the sea. Installation, wall-size video projection overlapping three 8-inch screens, 4 videos (41") broadcast in a loop.

The workshop featured an open choice of materials and techniques but transportation issues posed technical limits for works on site. Temporary works were produced on-island with locally available natural materials (sticks, stones, sand) and white water-based paint, purchased off-site. Artists also brought back materials from Sark for later use (sand, salt water, dirt samples, plastic debris). EESAB later provided students with plaster, sand, flour, nets, ropes, and audiovisual equipment, while covering transportation of finished works to the final exhibition. Funding for more elaborate production costs was limited, negatively impacting students who were unable to self-finance their work (Cérino, 2016) and who hoped to experiment with costly materials (plexiglass, large-scale printing of photos in blueback).

The experience prompted a reconsideration of familiar modes of making. Night gives a new dimension to common materials and invites different perceptions of them. Labor's *Couché* imagines the sand around the island as a crumbly scroll or bed, both welcoming and frustrating potential sleepers. The loss of points of reference changes our relationships to scale, making it difficult to judge relative distances between objects close by and far away. Pons' *Archipels*, Renaud's *Crowd*, and Kouyoumdjian's drawings based on portolan charts evoke this experience of disorientation at sea and at night, as travelers grasp at familiar forms to make sense of their moving environments.

The sensory deprivations and altered rhythms of the night heighten our awareness of the social dimension to making and consuming art. Night both reinforces physical isolation (especially in secluded island environments) and invites wonder and camaraderie among humans (parties, campfires, rituals). It acts as a cover, enabling nocturnal populations (forest animals, essential workers) to thrive and spectacular behaviors (the bioluminescent bays in Vieques, Puerto Rico), to flourish. Night is associated with a loss of mastery over our immediate environments and with fear (of the unknown, of illegal activities…). Indeed, a paradigm change from human-centric to more wholistic attitudes towards the night, emphasizing the interdependence of different populations, is part of redefining night-life to include all life (Challéat, 2019), decentering the anthropomorphic gaze (p.76). The French naturalist François Terrasson went so far as to lead students on overnight trips in which they were invited to sleep alone in the forest, without a telephone, lamp, or tent as a means of awakening and confronting our shared nocturnal fear of nature (*stages d'abandon nocturne*, Génot, 2018). While the workshop proposed a less extreme, and more collective form of confrontation, it nevertheless inspired some artists to examine our emotional reactions to the night, as with Renaud's photographs of nocturnal lights from Guernsey in search of a narrative and Abgrall's *Cyclique*, in which water repeatedly washes over the deck of

the Boat, leaving the viewer unable to escape the pull of the ocean. In both cases, representing the night is "an attempt to grasp the possibility of something that disturbs how we see." (Fœssel, 2018, p. 17)

Night connotes a variety of distinctive moments: auspicious (celebratory) times, solitude (moonlight walks, all-nighters), and liminal states. The works produced in the workshop rarely evoked revelry and were more somber in nature, even though the workshop itself included collective meals, discussions, and moments for collaboration. Some works referenced bricolage, play and youthful games, vaguely alluding to the changing significance of night at various life stages. Given the uniform age of workshop participants (late teens/early 20s), it is unsurprising that works did not directly address topics such as aging, parenting, or child-development. While the experience of being awake at night can bring to mind the antics of children at a slumber party, all-nighters pulled by college students writing term papers, and the sleepless nights of parents pacifying crying infants, wakefulness has a different flavor in each of these contexts. Experiencing night in a more elemental form, away from our usual social contexts, led to a heightened awareness of the changing self by providing a time to slow down and take stock of what night meant to each of us, as this moment in time.

Figure 3. Kouyoumdjian, A. (2017). Untitled. photo (c) Nicolas Ollier 2017

Dreaming, the unconscious, and sleeping have long inspired art-making (Astier, 2014). Many artists have sought out or responded to mental states that facilitate unconscious exploration through medication, meditation, rituals, dreams and play (Hughes, 1999). Historically, this

connection was particularly important for the surrealists, and within various mystical traditions and ancient cultures (aboriginal art, cave art). One of the soft sculptures produced by the author, *Occultente* (2016), featured a tent produced from blackout fabric – a literal space for dreaming - whereas Abgrall's installation, *Latent*, inspired the kind of free association between sounds that occurs when our minds are open to suggestion. These works asked the public to imagine night as a time to throw off the shackles of physical reality (and the political and social organization that accompanies it) and to imagine different ways of sensing and existing in space.

One of the larger questions asked by the workshop was how can we dream together? The collective dream is a metaphor, a vision for social change; indeed, the French slogan and poster, "Rêve Génerale," (collective dream), a play on words on the ubiquitous inducement of the "Grève Général" (general strike), was coined by left-wing movements in the country frustrated with the slow pace of reform proposed by traditional labor unions, during strikes in 2006. That Spring, marches against proposed changes to labor law brought 2.5 million people to the streets (according to the unions), the largest turnout at street demonstrations since the country's famed 1968 strikes. While nocturnes in visual art feature everything from Utopian futurist images of the modern electrified metropolis to representations of dispassionate landscapes at dusk to dramatic candlelit historical scenes to biblical scenes of mothering, night as a subject matter in the performing arts context inspires individual laments and above all, collective experiences. From intimate lullabies to storytelling by a fireplace, to ritual night music, to contemporary concerts and performances, night brings people together to share collective experiences. The workshop asked whether this theatrical tradition can be transposed into contemporary art, with its' more individualistic, less socially engaged, visual art tradition at night ? How can darkness manifest in art become what Jean-Marie Gallais (2018) describes as a seat of political resistance (p.117)?

Evolving Exhibition Modules

After looking into various venues for public presentations of the works produced, an open slot became available in a newly formed exhibition space at the University of Western Brittany, Les Abords. Suddenly, after leading a freewheeling exploratory collective experience, came the challenge of imposing tight deadlines and composing a coherent spatial experience that brought together heterogeneous individual approached to art-making, for a wider audience. While curating required different skill sets than leading the workshop, our objective was to continue to promote collective decision-making as the show, on view from December 12th, 2016 to January 14th, 2017, came together. Participants worked together, via a Facebook group, to plan and even select a visual and typography for the invitation card, settling on a grainy photograph of the boat at night by Céline Le Guillou. The card was subsequently designed and printed by the cultural services of the UBO.

Figure 4. Nightfall Exhibition Postcard, Side 1, 2016.

In French, the word *restitution* is used to signify exhibitions that mark the end of art workshops and residencies. In English, and specifically in an art historical context, the word strongly connotes the return of cultural heritage objects, whereas in French the word has a broader meaning, implying a return to one's place of origin to present the results of one's work. The Nightfall exhibition involved reproduction of the workshop experience, sharing of artworks produced, and different form of audience interaction. When they entered the exhibition space, viewers first encountered Marion Rousseau's installation that literally transposed aspects of the Boat experience into the gallery space. The artist found wooden furniture that mimicked the desks and benches within the boat, conserved and recreated post-it notes with telephone numbers and security codes, hung other ephemera (paper cranes, scrolls) from the ceiling, and used scotch tape and simple photos to recreate the ambiance of the space in a low-tech manner. She also filled 1L water bottles, labelled in black marker with individual participants names, with water and distributed them along the gallery windows and throughout the gallery space. The bottles, which participants drank, cooked with, and refilled whenever possible, were ubiquitous and banal reminders of the physical experience on board.

Figure 5. Rousseau, M. (2017). *Que nous reste-t-il à la fin du voyage ?*, A space reminiscent of the B.O.A.T to live in. Installation. photo (c) Nicolas Ollier 2017

The exhibition itself was an opportunity for institutional resource exchange between the UBO and the four EESAB campuses. It was the first time that EESAB students exhibited at Les Abords, and the Brest Campus of EESAB subsequently launched a significant partnership with the University which entailed the establishment of a 3-year undergraduate degree course in interdisciplinary arts at UBO. UBO provided access to its' exhibition space and some technical materials whereas EESAB lent video projects, televisions, sculpture plinths, furniture to display the work produced. Student interns recruited by Ozga acted as docents for the show, assuring that the digital works functioned correctly and welcoming the public during opening hours. Following the success of the initial exhibition, EESAB-Brest students have since shown their work at UBO on multiple occasions (workshops, graduating student shows, alumni exhibitions…).

The structure of the exhibition was also an opportunity to experiment with different forms of spatial and temporal organization. Because of the short time frame from securing dates to mounting the show and our desire to accommodate students' busy schedules at the end of the academic semester, we decided to organize the exhibition as an evolving experience with a *finissage* (closing party at the end), rather than maintaining a more traditional format with an opening event. Various works arose over time, with certain pieces being produced in the space during opening hours, with visitors present. The first pieces were installed on December 5th, with additional works arriving on the 12th, the 14th, the 21st and January 6th. By integrating the production

and installation of the show into the exhibition itself, Nightfall invited guests to experience the art and exhibition as process and to think about the conditions in which the works were made and how they arose during and after the workshop. Some works were shown as completed, discrete objects whereas others were fragments of ongoing investigations. Pieces by Ozga and Rousseau functioned as participatory devices that viewers could enter and experience. Through the concept of a space that changed over time, the public was invited to appreciate the exhibition as both a presentation and a stage for the works themselves and the interactions they grew from and made possible.

Figure 6. Nightfall Exhibition (Partial View). photo (c) Nicolas Ollier 2017

While the exhibition itself took place in one location over a set range of dates, it also created the potential for possible extensions for this type of project into the print and digital realm. Available funding for the project made the experience possible in the first place, however, it also limited the length and breadth of the workshop, preventing participants from spending additional overnights on the island due to heavy waves and ocean currents. Since all participants had to sleep on the B.O.A.T. and the captain's wages and fuel costs were covered for a limited amount of time, the duration of the workshop could not be extended, despite plans to this effect, in the initial workshop proposal. Extra financing could also have helped potentially produce more elaborate artworks via follow-up production residencies, editions specific to the project, podcasts, and websites/online exhibitions. Employee leaders received dispensation from one week of teaching, however additional compensation in the form of project specific grants for lead artists could also have

supported a greater time investment before and after workshop dates, more collaboration with local organizations on Sark in the lead-up to the workshop, and better promotion and distribution of the works produced.

Discussion

Explicitly defining the night as an object of artistic research and supporting work that addresses this theme can promote artistic production that is spatially and temporally aware and offers what Jean-Marie Gallais (2018) describes as "a window to the universe and the infinite" (p.177). This "awareness" manifests in specific material choices, formal & symbolic considerations, types of audience interactions, and new opportunities for interdisciplinary action for knowledge growth, consciousness-raising, and social engagement.

While our workshop was limited in scope, with one week on site, followed by a one-month collective exhibition, other residencies specifically target artists who wish to work in and with a dark sky environment, over a longer period of time. The Altitude Artistic Academy (AAA) was created in France in 2020 by the artist Laurent Chanel to pursue experimental artistic projects that deal with the mountains, alpine territory, and wild environments in general. The AAA runs short retreats and artistic expeditions entitled "Bivouac" that play with observing our relationships with the landscapes removed from daily life through perceptual, somatic or choreographic experiences. These workshops take place over several days in remote locations, with certain exercises taking place at night and many participants have taken part in multiple iterations of the project since it began.

The Artist-in-Residence (AiR) Program at Capitol Reef National Park offers artists the opportunity to pursue their work in a dark sky environment over 2-4 weeks in a furnished park house with some funding for travel and supplies and the Glacier National Park AiR program has also previously supported night sky photographers . The Natural Sounds and Night Skies Division of the NPS assists other parks in the system in preserving dark skies and supporting cultural programming, such as residencies, centred on dark sky resources at different sites under the service's purview. "Cairns" is a new art residency at the University of Utah that embeds artists within multiple departments at the university over the course of several years. The current participants, artist collective ALL MY RELATIONS, are leading a project, GIZHIBAA GIIZHIG | Revolving Sky that looks at astronomy from an indigenous perspective in collaboration with the University's Dark Sky Studies minor. Lumen is an art collective, focused on themes of astronomy and light, that has run a yearly (paid) summer night-sky thematic residency in Atina, Italy from 2015-2018. Also in France, The International Centre for Art and Landscape and the Millevaches Regional Natural Park are supporting two, 2-month-long artist research and production residencies in 2021/2022 focused on the quality of the night sky and on its' preservation. The Sydney

Observatory runs a residency program on a seasonal model, with artists and scientists undertaking 4–12-week placements on astronomy-related themes.

In Sark, night was experienced as a limit and a springboard/opportunity for creative exploration and artwork production beyond the immediate context of the dark sky environment. The workshop operated on the basis of a paradox, asking artists who are used to working in/with light to make art in/with darkness. This challenge led to specific outcomes in the short and long-term, impacting on the creative trajectories of leaders and students alike. In the case of the author, the experience led to the creation of a new body of work involving soft sculptures and sewn drawings on blackout fabric, completed between 2016 and 2019, with works exhibited in France, Belgium, and the United States. Students reported impacts in the year following the workshop and in the many years since. One student explained that in the year following the workshop, her artwork explored the idea that another world unfolds at night, made up of stories and particular perceptions inherent in this context. Another former participant claims that while darkness itself has not been a major theme, they are interested in the question of opacity and the idea of the cave, which still resonates when they write poems, fables or other indeterminate forms which borrow a lot from the lexical field of night, cellar, darkness and touch. Another participant recently started a photo series (4 years after the workshop!) "that is completely tied to the stars and the public space.[1] Multiple participants remember the group dynamics in a particularly positive light, despite the difficult conditions at sea that accompanied the workshop.

In general, night art brings specific tools, methods, and ideas to the night studies table and the working methods of Nightfall can serve as models for collective action (both brainstorming and production). The themes addressed by the artwork included sensory deprivation, mapping, displacement, waste, scale, starlight, natural rhythms and tides, sleep and sleeplessness, hydration, and fire/electricity in the night. Dismissing the passive forms of entertainment favored by certain big budget art events, the workshop supported creative research that asked open-ended questions, inviting aesthetic and intellectual engagement with the night sky. The vast majority of art-at-night programming includes commercial "gallery night" events, free public festivals (museums & open-air), or paid spectacles (concerts, Burning Man) that invite the public to unwind and revel. However, for philosopher Joëlle Zask (2014), real participation requires "a critical social and political stance regarding out own norms and habits" (p.16). Night art lends itself to inquiry rather than diversion, ultimately enabling action, rather than entertainment.

Finally, the workshop promoted the use of new technologies/digital tools in the service of Nature and all people rather than for the accumulation of privately-held capital. Participants used GoPro cameras, minidiscs, phone and SLR digital cameras, video editing equipment, projectors,

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[1] This work "reveals the constellations that the streetlamps randomly form in the 'city of light' - lighting that just hides the possibility of seeing the stars because of the light pollution it creates." (Kouyoumdjian, A. Chien de chasse (constellation). Photograph. 2020)

tv monitors and tablets, together with found objects and traditional art materials, to share their experiences of a pristine place, practically "untouched" by light pollution, with a wider audience. Insisting on the night as a time to observe, explore, create, and regenerate with a DIY ethos, the workshop countered overarching tendencies toward bioderegulation, which Teresa Brennan (2003) describes as the technologization and financialization of 'human time' – especially sleep – as productive labour. The night experiences offered to participants were translated for the public at large and shared through their artwork. According to Samuel Challéat (2019), culture can be a means to overcome the technologization of dark ecological networks by inviting the public to become stakeholders and to claim ownership over the importance of the night (p. 233). Collaborating with visual artists can be a way for academics focused on night studies to reach new audiences and to use technologies developed for military, data collection, and analytic objectives in a way that brings people together to reflect on and protect our precious natural resources in the night sky.

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Portland Nightly Protests
Changing Public Space, Property, and Protest During a Pandemic

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Abstract

In the summer of 2020, two major "events" coincided. The first was the ongoing global pandemic, Covid-19, creating widespread stay-at-home/ lockdown orders across the U.S. in mid-March. The second was large-scale protests following the killing, caught on tape, of George Floyd at the hands of a white Minnesota police officer in late May. Across many cities in the U.S., protests lasted for just days; however, Portland, Oregon stood out as the setting of protest for over 100 consecutive days, nearly all of them after dark. Protests in the city gained national and global attention as escalation grew after the deployment of federal forces at the order of then-president Donald Trump. This paper follows these events and considers the reasons and meaning for the after-dark activity. It also ponders who the users of space are and how space is activated, thinking about temporality, ownership status, and relation to the state and its representatives.

Keywords: Public space, After-dark, Protest, Property, Access.

Introduction

On May 25, 2020, a police officer murdered George Floyd outside a convenience store in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Officers were called to the scene after Floyd used a $20 counterfeit bill at a nearby convenience store. What made this killing of a black man different were the multiple videos capturing the events in real-time and close enough to hear his pleas and the exchanges between bystanders and police. Videos depicting eight long minutes of Floyd being forcefully pinned down to the ground before his death began widely circulating online the following day. Four days after the killing, outrage grew to protests across well over 100 cities. Various events marked the first several days of protest, including "die-ins" emulating Floyd's position on the ground for the same length of time as it appeared in the video. Many towns and cities also saw violent clashes between police and civilians and the destruction of private property, including Portland, Oregon. Most events began during the daytime and bled into the after-dark hours. The nighttime narrative commonly appears in reporting, as "in cities across the United States, tens of thousands of people have swarmed the streets to express their outrage and sorrow during the day. That has descended into nights of unrest, with reports of shootings, looting, and vandalism in some cities" (Taylor, 2021). These events are highly linked to the history of both racism as a whole and particularly the crossroads of race and after-dark as well as race1 and protest; however, this work does not assume to address such vital issues comprehensively. Many scholars recognize the problematic nature of studying such events in a respectful and cognizant manner of their social, and especially racial, complexity. Nevertheless, the attempt to examine a specific fraction of the events through the after-dark lens may be helpful in future academic practice relating to the historicized and racialized spaces of public space protest and darkness.

Intentionally using the terms "nighttime," "night," and "after-dark" throughout this paper acts to convey temporality associated with sense-experience related to darkness. While the word night is the more common term, it often fails to directly address the setting and experience of darkness. The distinction between darkness and night is important because it alters the bodily experience with space, changing scale and perception (Morris, 2011). Pinning darkness and daytime (i.e., daylight time) as binary opposites (Dunn & Edensor, 2020; Dunn, 2020) neglects what may be a far more nuanced relationship that can be constructed as parts of a whole or as dynamic socio-temporal pieces. This intentional approach, using "after-dark," is helpful regarding the relationship of bodies to darkness and the socio-historical contexts of nighttime (Dunn, 2020; Shaw, 2017).

Lastly, thus far, little academic work has explicitly "highlighted" after-dark protest. Both darkness and protests are often associated with negative socio-historical narratives, frequently

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[1] It should be noted that Portland, Oregon's Black or African American community makes up only around 5.8% of the city's population (another 5.3% identify as two or more races, yet no specifics further data are provided) source: (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). The city and state have a long and tumultuous history of systematic racism through such mechanisms as redlining, the state constitution, and early state laws.

guided by perception rather than actual events, such as fear, loss of control, and crime (Dunn, 2020). However, after dark also provides opportunities, stemming from the same factors that deem it unstable, compared to daytime. In pursuing this preliminary exploration in after-dark protest, I offer that the nature of after-dark provides the complex setting of often contrasting themes, most evidently seen through the struggles between protestors and direct engagement by the state and policing powers.

The site

In Portland, the night of May 29, 2020, saw large-scale citywide protests and vandalism of Downtown businesses, including a high-scale shopping center located mere blocks from the administrative heart of the city (see figures 1-5). Even though protestors came from many backgrounds and agendas, most media described the protests as left-wing protests.

Over the next 105 days, one of the epicenters of activity was at and around three park blocks in Downtown Portland, forming a temporary newly-reorganized urban common. The surrounding area of these public parks/ plazas plays a key role since nearly all of the adjacent buildings are centers of government operations (including policing) on the city, county, and federal levels. This site at the heart of Downtown offers a large venue, and the buildings surrounding it provide a direct object of protest. Examined themes in this work include recapping some events of after-dark by both protestors and the state (with policing forces) and considering the impacts of the night on such activities using visibility, social norms, and associations regarding darkness and nighttime, as well as the differentiation between the daytime activity and after-dark activity in these spaces.

Figure 1

Lawndale Square, Morning of May 30, 2020

Figure 2

IRS Building, Morning of May 30, 2020

Figure 3

Federal Courthouse sidewalk, Morning of May 30, 2020

Ownership and belonging

In contemporary western liberal societies, the idea of property entails symbolic resonance as well as significant practical implications. A more symbolic concept of property pertains to moral and socio-economic perspectives. It ascribes to ideologies of the self, social interactions, concepts of gender roles and race relations, and other societal power structures. On the other hand, the legal position of property highlights "practical" and formal (legal) systems of ownership (Davies, 2007). Property ownership of buildings and parks plays an integral role in these events, as they dictate access rules, policing authority, and control. Property encompasses property itself and property rights (provided by the state). While "property" is to do with a social understanding of one/s claim to the land (and building on that land), "property rights" are enforced by the state. Moreover, while we often consider private property as the enclosure from the state, the state is the guarantor of those rights (Blomley, 2004).

Furthermore, the rights to personal use of a property are different from the rights to profit from property and may be in conflict (Krueckeberg, 1995). As in the case of the U.S., settler colonization was built upon and continues to use structures and hierarchies where white European men place at the top. Such structures manifested by violence over land, bodies, and social order, in the form of slavery, genocide, and a new take of land-use, property, and accumulation of wealth

(Bonds & Inwood, 2016). This conversation over property is the continued struggle of valuing use versus exchange (Blomley, 2017; Purcell, 2014).

In this case, ownership as a means of control stretches beyond the binary of public and private. It results in further complications by different government ownership types between federally and locally owned spaces. Ownership of these protest spaces became especially significant since, on July 4, the (then) President initiated deployment of federal entities to protect federal property in this protest space, particularly the northeast building of the U.S. District Court. Ownership ramifications of federal property of Terry Shrunk Plaza and the U.S. District Courthouse (see figure 2,3,5) extended to include authorized use of force. They denied access to spaces such as adjacent bike lanes and sidewalks on that very basis. The U.S. District Courthouse, in particular, was boarded up, and the entire city block around it fenced off, using a double-layer of steel fencing and concrete barriers. No other site in the protest zone had this level of physical divide. The double barrier lasted for over a year, well after daily protests in the area had stopped. The federal government's ownership of the southern park-block of Terry Shrunk Plaza had constant implications for on-the-ground protestors, including sporadic closures of the park. Furthermore, no camping tents or makeshift services by volunteers used the park throughout the events. The acute differentiation of access and control between city ownership and federal ownership gives reason to reassess the idea of contemporary urban commons under the American capitalist ownership model and demands further exploration.

The "right to use the city" is different from the "right to belong" or have a sense of belonging. Belonging results from the repetition of the right to use the city; it activates through creating meaning and a sense of place. This paper links to both the right to the city (through the significance of use) and the right to belong (the ability to create meaning over time in space). Racialized experience of public space has further asserted that the experience of the public realm is wildly diverse amongst different identity groups, especially those of visible minorities (Ruddick, 1996). Such experiences are receiving more attention, especially in the era of smartphones, as was in the George Floyd case. The experience of non-white bodies in public space, especially black men, has come to the forefront with a dualistic relationship to fear. They are the object of fear, and in turn, they fear their interactions in public space, knowing they are perceived by others as the subject of fear (especially law enforcement) (Anderson, 2015; Ruddick, 1996). Power dynamics play out in public space in the choice or lack thereof, as in the following exert "white people typically avoid black space, but black people are required to navigate the white space as a condition of their existence" (Anderson, 2015).

Protesting

The notion of the "right to the city" originated in the late 1960s by Henri Lefebvre as a reframing of belonging to a political community, grounded in the right of inhabitance and providing a setting for diversity (Fenster, 2005; Carmona, 2019; Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2014). The right to the city provides agency and decision-making ability to citizens of the city, thus challenging existing capitalist social structures (Purcell, 2003). Use of the city[2] grants this right and acts as an equalizer between property owners and non-property owners who inhabit the city (Krueckeberg, 1995). The subject group who inhabits public spaces makes up "the public," or "oeuvre," which Lefebvre borrowed to express the urban project as akin to collective work(s) of art. Feminist critique of Lefebvre's "oeuvre" identifies his public as predominantly white, western, middle-upper class, heterosexual, and male, failing to contend with identity components such as gender and race, or circumstances of houselessness (Carmona, 2019; Fenster, 2005). This "blind-spot" in the right to the city work is gaining wider recognition amongst contemporary scholars such as Susan Fainstein, Tovi Fenster, Peter Marcuse, Don Mitchell and others . They acknowledge that people and groups who experience the greatest need for access to public spaces are often less mobile and unable to access such opportunities due to age, economic status, and transportation (Thompson, 2002). Despite this significant shortcoming, there is merit in using the city as a human, individual, and collective right.

A decline in public housing and reduced funding of public space by American governments during the last quarter of the 20th century resulted in greater dependence on public space amenities, especially by a growing houseless population (Zukin, 1995). Such needs for free and open access to amenities can fall under the umbrella of the right to everyday life, as borrowed from Lefevre (Beebeejaun, 2017) or the right to every-night life (Harsin, 2018) when pursuing the normalization of nighttime urban existence. Individual access to basic goods and services in public spaces link to notions of social justice, human and bodily rights, and the right to the city. The multiple 5 am evacuations (commonly referred to as "sweeps") of sleeping persons in the parks[3] is a quintessential example of the tension between government scale-back and its consequences of higher dependency. While sweeps of homeless encampments occur outside of the context of protest, they offer further evidence to the circumstances of who has a right to the city.

The right to the city, or lack thereof, is linked to privatization processes accounting for both ownership and management of spaces (Mitchell, 1995; Carmona, 2019). The role of public space in manifesting the right to the city is unrestricted access to space, open to all and free of charge. In turn, privatization in its many forms has resulted in both obvert restrictions (through physical

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[2] The urban dweller asserting a city-based framework of citizenship was referred to as "citadenship" by Purcell (2003).
[3] These events are marked in the timeline during mid and late July.

barriers or rules of use) and subvert restrictions to the use of space (such as physical design and lack of appropriate signage). While restrictions may exist regardless of ownership, private owners and managers of space have superior ability to employ the privilege of ownership to exclude groups, for example, teenagers, restrict access, and impose codes of behavior such as the banning of photography (Carmona, 2019; Fenster, 2005; Zukin, 1995).

Urban public spaces offer a platform for the state's symbolic power through means such as parades and statues; they also serve a similar purpose to its challengers through demonstrations and occupation (Madanipour, 1999). State and local jurisdictions have historically limited speech and assembly rights without much accountability, and the federal government's formal involvement was sparse until the end of World War I (Mitchell, 2013). In the industrialized cities of the 19th century, urban parks offered a scene set up for conformity, an opportunity for lower classes to learn and emulate upper classes (Thompson, 2002).

In the American context, organizing in public space gained recognition at the Supreme Court level in a 1939 case. As part of the court's decision, "the use of the streets and parks for the communication of views on national questions may be regulated in the interest of all … [but] it may not, in the guise of regulation, be abridged or denied " (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005; Mitchell, 2013). This ruling established regulation as the proper tool for asserting power and control over speech and assembly in public space. A question arises, whose interests rank highest and deserve protection when "all" interests and needs fail to align? Following the 1939 ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court developed The Public Forum Doctrine, a typology of places to address this very issue. A set of regulations assigned to each typology such as "traditional public forums " (streets and parks), "dedicated public forums " (plazas, steps of government buildings, specific educational settings), and "public property that is a non-public forum " (military bases, many airports, most government buildings). Thus, during the 20th century, regulation of speech moved away from content censorship to regulating settings (Mitchell, 2013; Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005). Furthermore, political views shifted and challenged what constitutes public space over the last half-century, including pedestrian shifts away from main streets into privately-owned shopping malls (Bodnar, 2015) and increased spaces of ambiguity.

Protest is a combination of action, speech, and setting (including visibility) (Mitchell, 2013; Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005). Protest and speech in public space include active (speech) and passive (listening) relationships to political space. Permits for speech, assembly, and protest in public space, offer management systems that can have the simultaneous effect of silencing dissident voices while performing political inclusivity (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005; Németh, 2012). In effect, the permit system creates prior intervention of the state since it is illegal to hold a protest of significant size without approval. Thus, permitting has become heavily criticized for routinizing an act meant to convey dissent and offer a point of friction with the state (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005). During the

summer of 2020, nearly all of the Portland Downtown protests did not have prior permits; an exception was right-wing daytime counter-protests over three consecutive weekends at the same location.

Physical confinement of speech and protest have been around (in their modern form) since the 1960s with "free speech zones" in college campuses, "protest zones" and "no-zones" in international political conventions during the 2000s, and even "protest pens." Keeping protest and protestors controlled and confined under the guise of keeping public order and safety reduces the effect of speech through space and geography (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005; Mitchell, 2013). Contemporary silencing of dissenting speech employs tactics of regulation that supposedly serve to protect suppressed rights. Dissent and protest in public space take on a different meaning after dark and provide participants control over their visibility and anonymity. It also distinguishes between social classes and the availability of power. As discussed under "after-dark activities" later in this paper, protest at night carries different aesthetic and visual properties.

The events

Situating the project at the crossroads of several unique circumstances: initially the spread of Coronavirus in late winter 2020 and following restrictions, and later ongoing protests sparked by the killing of George Floyd. It captures the space's events, actions, and physical changes over 105 days, especially nights, beginning on May 29 and ending September 10, 2020, due to vast wildfire smoke prohibiting any outdoor activity. The September fires also coincided with a shift in policy from the city's Mayor, banning the use of C.S. gas against protestors. While sporadic protests continued in other parts of the city long after, Downtown protests came to a halt with the September fires. Early on, the explicit subject of protests focused on the relationship of police and black bodies, especially those of black men. For centuries, the link of Black bodies to American nocturnal urban spaces ironically deemed them both the subjects of danger and vulnerability (Gandy, 2017).

Over the summer of 2020, protests in Portland's Downtown were not limited to groups affiliated with the Black Lives Matter movement. On occasion, counter-protests contended for the same space. During the height of the protests, in early July, a protest camp was set up in the two city-owned park blocks (Lawndale Square and Chapman Square), incorporating some donation-based facilities and services. Here temporality is significant too.

Temporality is often conveyed in rhythms, and every public space has its rhythms of use and regulation, frequently changing on a daily or seasonal basis (Amin, 2008). For example, such events would likely not occur in the same capacity outside of summertime since, on average, Portland sees over 150 days of rain annually. Furthermore, many people were working remotely due to the pandemic, and Downtown office hours were less of a factor in the use of space. These spaces created a rhythm of daytime activity of smaller groups and as a preparation site throughout

the summer. Nightfall signaled a change of intensity, and protests turned bigger, louder, and often more fraught as policing also changed from day to after-dark.

There are several ways of identifying the geography associated with this specific case study. It is located in Portland's Downtown, close to prominent government buildings such as City Hall, courthouses, and perhaps most importantly, the "Justice Center" complex, which houses the central Portland Police Bureau (precinct and headquarters) and city jail. Between early June and August 2020, some of the largest protests in the city took place in and around three city blocks, two city parks, and one federally owned park/ plaza (see figures 4-5). The protests faced the Justice Center and the adjacent Federal Courthouse:
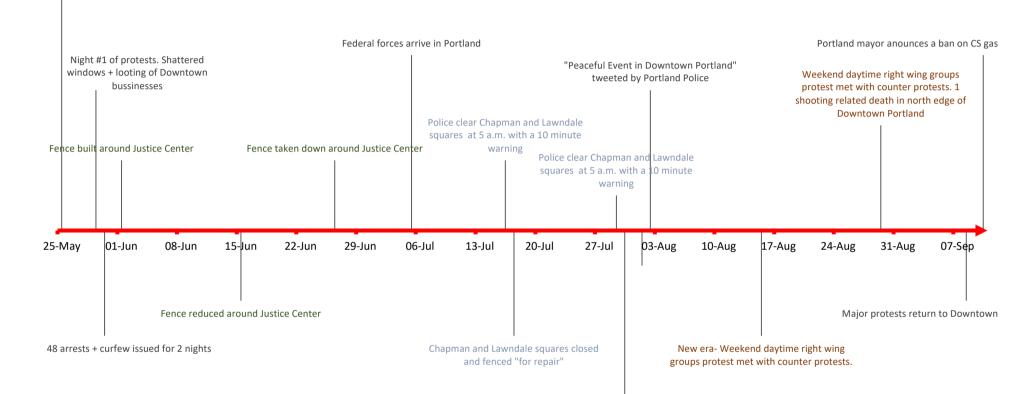
- The Justice Center sits across from Chapman Square, the middle of the three city park blocks, housing the central police precinct and the headquarters of the Portland Police Bureau. It also houses one of two city jails. Since the early summer protests, the entire building has been boarded up and closed off to the public (and still is as of late summer 2021).

- The Federal Courthouse is the northmost building of the three. Beginning in July, especially after turbulent protests on July 4, the building and its surroundings were fenced off and guarded by federally deployed forces as ordered by then-president Donald Trump. The federal courthouse on-site created direct interactions between protestors and federal forces, resulting in fierce clashes beyond the borders of federal properties.

When federal agents took over much of the policing activity in July 2020, they did not release statements to the public in real-time nor disclose nightly arrests. The discrepancy between federal and local police sharing information makes a further case for the ties between property ownership and access control. Nearly all conflict events between protesters and police took place after dark, including the use of tear gas, physical engagement, destruction of property, arrests, and clearing of parks.

The intervention of federal forces created further reactions from protestors, and nightly protests grew larger and larger, from dozens to several hundred during June to thousands showing up on consecutive nights at the height of protest in mid-late July. After reoccurring use of force and gas to clear protestors, the use of C.S. gas had become a dominant narrative in nightly protests as well.

Figure 4 *Protest timeline, Summer 2020*

Killing of George Floyd

Federal forces arrive in Portland

Portland mayor anounces a ban on CS gas

Night #1 of protests. Shattered windows + looting of Downtown bussinesses

"Peaceful Event in Downtown Portland" tweeted by Portland Police

Weekend daytime right wing groups protest met with counter protests. 1 shooting related death in north edge of Downtown Portland

Police clear Chapman and Lawndale squares at 5 a.m. with a 10 minute warning

Fence built around Justice Center

Fence taken down around Justice Center

Police clear Chapman and Lawndale squares at 5 a.m. with a 10 minute warning

25-May   01-Jun   08-Jun   15-Jun   22-Jun   29-Jun   06-Jul   13-Jul   20-Jul   27-Jul   03-Aug   10-Aug   17-Aug   24-Aug   31-Aug   07-Sep

Fence reduced around Justice Center

Major protests return to Downtown

48 arrests + curfew issued for 2 nights

Chapman and Lawndale squares closed and fenced "for repair"

New era- Weekend daytime right wing groups protest met with counter protests.

Federal officers "leave". No longer actively participated in nightly events.

Note. Twitter account postings over these 105 days provided timeline and police activity information. Background data were collected from the official *Portland Police website* and *Portland Police Twitter* account Portland Police Bureau, 2020, and local journalists' twitter account Olmos, 2020; Smith, 2020; Yau, 2020.
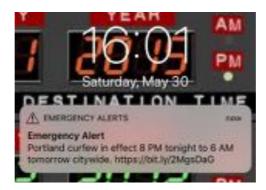
"Early days": controlling the night - The use of curfews and fencing

Following the events of May 29, the local government enacted a citywide curfew. Historically curfews have often served to protect towns from outside aggressors or control specific population sectors. Renaissance-era Venice maintained a Jewish-only nighttime curfew deeming the Jewish population into spatial living segregation in "ghettoes" (Williams R., 2008). More recently, curfews acted to curb unwanted teenage recreational activities after-dark, such as drinking and driving (Williams & Preusser, 1997). Nowadays, softer curfews such as hours of access exist in many public places, including Portland city parks, where restrictions are non-group specific. The city-owned parks/plazas (Lawndale and Chapman squares) of the Portland Downtown site include operating hours between 5 am and midnight, and the federally owned Terry Schrunk Plaza operates between 7 am and 10 pm. During the summer protests, police used such park "closures," referring to hours of operation to remove protestors and make arrests.

In various places worldwide, including Portland, the use of night curfews and bans on congregation (or strict limiting of congregation linked to combatting Coronavirus spread) acted to minimize the spread of the virus. Curfews set by the State Governor of Oregon mandated most businesses close by 10 pm, deeming many establishments to even earlier closures and some not to open at all. However, despite broad stay-at-home orders, enforced curfews restricting movement had not been implemented before the protests. On May 30, following a night of heavy protest and vandalism, Portland's Mayor announced a citywide curfew between 8 pm and 6 am, citing public safety and co-opting of genuine demonstrations in favor of destruction and looting of businesses. That same day, the city's Mayor commented, "it was a dark morning in America" (Levinson, 2020), calling back to the negative association of nighttime. Multiple other cities, including Minneapolis, carried out similar measures. An Oregon Public Broadcasting (OPB) article describes the events during the first night of curfew:

> Early Saturday evening, the gathering was focused clearly on memorializing Floyd. Large crowds moved through downtown Portland, chanting in support of Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement, garnering appreciative car honks. Protesters lay face down in front of the Justice Center, chanting "*I Can't Breathe*," the words Floyd uttered shortly before his death. But police didn't wait for the curfew to start dispersing the crowd. A little after 7 pm, officers began blanketing the area with tear gas, ordering protesters to leave (Ellis, 2020).

Notice of curfew sent out to Portland residents on May 30, 2020

The curfews were short-lived, lifting after three nights following backlash from the public and heated exchanges between local politicians. The citywide curfew used as a measure of control, prohibiting free movement, assembly, protest, and hence speech in public space, also coincided with fencing off the entire Downtown protest zone (as outlined in blue in Figure 4).
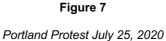
The fence, erected at the beginning of June, closed off access to 16 city blocks. It set up access points guarded by police and denied access to pedestrians and vehicles. After nearly a month of employing fencing to restrict access to the entire area, the city took them down, and tactics shifted to boarding off of buildings and using fencing around a single city block (most notably the Federal Courthouse).

"Mid-days" - The use of masks, clothing, and props (and the role of visibility) amongst growing crowds and conflict

The protests began following over two and half months of stay-at-home orders in Oregon, when many businesses, schools, and offices were shut down or operated in remote and socially distant capacities. Face-covering and maintaining 6 feet distance between individuals had become the new norm, and vaccinations were still months away, resulting in new potentially unfamiliar relationships between bodies of strangers. New negotiations of protesting in changing public space norms required reevaluation to manage the simultaneous need to be amongst masses while operating under demanding Covid-19 related health concerns (see figures 8-9). Large-scale socially distant protest requires planning and coordination, while much of the activity in the Portland protest was dynamic, unplanned, and included movement. The social distancing of 6 feet (or 2 meters) between protestors rarely occurred, based on many images gathered throughout the summer; however, the majority of people remained masked.

Figure 6

Figure 7

Socially distant protest in Tel Aviv, Israel Apr.19th, 2020

Portland Protest July 25, 2020

Note. From *Socially distant protest in Tel Aviv* [Photograph]*,* by Applebaum, T., 2020, Haaretz.https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-over-a-thousand-israelis-brave-coronavirus-fears-to-protest-netanyahu-1.8781869

Note. From *Portland Protest July 25, 2020* [Photograph], by Sanchez, M.J. 2020, KGW. https://www.kgw.com/article/news/local/protests/portland-protests-continue-for-sixtieth-night/283-90c70915-3166-4947-9645-adf6913b3280

Face coverings played an essential part since they facilitated dual roles of health and anonymity. Williams links anonymity with territory affected by darkness in the following way: "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 R. , 2008). Masking began as a precaution against the Coronavirus. However, in clashes with police authorities, masks (in multiple forms) protected from crowd dispersal tactics such as teargas and provided a visual barrier of anonymity for protestors. The use of gas masks during the protests acts has practical value but may also hold a status symbol-signaling of the late-night crowd. Individuals wearing gas masks signal a readiness to face police (or other policing forces) and a familiarity with what had become a nearly nightly ritual by mid-July of declaration of unlawful assembly or riot and use of teargas. The late-night crowds had other physical symbols of belonging, including shields, helmets, and leaf blowers (often ascribed to the older male members of the protests, some of whom at a time identified as the "PDX dad pod"[4] or "wall of dads").

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[4] This group ran independent social media accounts and were identified by local news media such as The Oregonian.

Gathering in public spaces with protest movements is a performance of presence as part of the public (Shaw, 2017). The protests were not made up of one cohesive group but instead included some distinct groups who identified visually and held a general aesthetic for much of the crowd. The visual displays of gear and dress framed a reoccurring nightly visual representation that was both visible on the ground (in the protest) and on captured in pictures/ video. During July, at the height of protests, some groups actively sought recognized visual cohesiveness such as "moms" wearing yellow or white, "dads" wearing orange, uniforms, and healthcare workers scrubs. On the other hand, for many, the lack of identification was the objective.

Figure 8

Wall of Moms protestors in Portland July 24, 2020

Note. From *Wall of Moms protestors in Portland July 24, 2020* [Photograph]*,* 2020, CNN. https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/27/us/us-blm-protests/index.html

Figure 9

PDX dad pod Twitter-post on July 21, 2020

Note. PDX dad pod Twitter-post on July 21, 2020 [Photograph]*,* 2020, CNN. https://twitter.com/pdxdadpod

"Later days": controlling the night ownership and policing

As the downtown area saw weeks and eventually months of daily activity, patterns arose. A local journalist describes how Portland Police and city officials Praise the so-called peaceful demonstrations and criticize violence at the justice center each morning in press conferences and statements. "But demonstrators said that's not an accurate story. Instead, they said dividing protesters and deciding what type of protest is good and what type is bad is a ploy to delegitimize popular uprisings" (Levinson, 2020). During the daytime, the staging area operated to feed people sleeping in and around the parks, and small groups of protestors and counter-protestors would gather sporadically. Around sunset, speeches would commence for 1-2 hours, at the steps of the completely boarded-off entrance to the Justice Center, before large crowds and police began a back and forth of boundary checking that often grew more hostile as the night pressed on. Most

nights, things were quiet by 1 am, but on several occasions, events continued well beyond that, ending with arrests, sometimes teargas, and policing forces pushing crowds out of the area.

Figure 10	**Figure 11**
Nightly speeches on the front steps of The Justice Center, July 21, 2020	Post nightly speeches; some crowd members burn a flag where a now-removed statue once stood

By the end of July, federal forces moved out of the frontlines of confrontation; local and state police set to step up and engage with protestors following discussions between the Democratic State-Governor and the Republican Vice-President. Simultaneously, the city cleared the two city-owned parks (not for the first time) during the early morning hours and fenced them off, as reported by the Guardian on July 31:

> Earlier in the day, Portland police cleared the two parks in front of the courthouse and county jail that served as a staging ground for the protests. Officers then sealed the parks off and marked them as closed. But that ap peared strangely provocative and difficult to enforce. When a few protesters tore down the yellow police tape and began chanting: "Whose park? Our park?" the Portland city officers quietly left the park and were not seen again for the rest of the evening (McGreal, 2020).

Throughout 105 nights, police used multiple means of control, including but not limited to declaring an "unlawful assembly," declaring a riot[5], sweeps and physical removal, and teargas. Based on police Twitter accounts cross-referenced with local journalist Twitter accounts, police declared an unlawful assembly at least ten times, a riot 26 times[6], and dispersed teargas 17 times. Furthermore, police made at least 312 protest-related arrests in Downtown Portland over the same course of time.

After-Dark versus daytime activity at the site

After-dark space has rules and policies distinguished from daylight; they include heightened activity control and access to spaces, such as limiting hours of use in all parks in Downtown Portland. After-dark space offers essential opportunities as a transgressive setting, especially to oppressed members and groups to counter existing social and political structures (Williams R. , 2008).

The use of light as a contrast to darkness has been employed in numerous ways over time by mass gathering. We can envision candlelight vigils or holding up a lighter, and for the past decade or so, holding up a phone's flashlight to create multiple light points, joining together in darkness (as seen in figure 12). As an example, in 2014, proposed changes to the economic regulation of Hungarian internet services resulted in widespread demonstrations, culminating in 10,000 participants occupying public space. The imagery of cell phone lights from protestors in the dark created strong symbolic evidence; it pressured the government into halting the proposed legislation (Bodnar, 2015).

Considering nighttime protest must include conversations about the role of public space at night, its role in democracy, and simultaneously its place as shelter and its use-value amongst complicated structures of power and authority, such as with the different policing exhibited in Portland over the summer of 2020. Further analysis of the right of belonging in these contexts, and through a racialized lens, especially regarding the events following George Floyd's killing, is required in future discussion of these matters.

There is a need for more case study research linking after-dark and protest in urban public spaces. We need to build on not only historicized (history and its ramifications persisting) narratives but instead also learn how contemporary issues fall into place, including technologies, climate change, and even the changing design and use of (open) spaces due to the global pandemic of Covid-19.

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[5] According to Portland Police a riot can be declared when six or more persons engaging in tumultuous and violent conduct (Portland Police Bureau, 2021).
[6] On multiple occasions unlawful assemblies later became declaration of riots.

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Nocturnal atmospheres in representation

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Abstract

The notion of urban night-time environments is facing major transformations. In addition to safety, practical and aesthetic considerations, there are now decisive issues in terms of energy resource management, environmental preservation and the nocturnal identity of territories. Artificial lighting is breaking out of its technical and political dimension to open up to social dimensions, the sensitive proportions of which are now part of the design methodologies.

In France, given these challenges, professional expertise in the field of lighting is experiencing difficulties in structuring itself. The constant growth of skills and knowledge mobilised during a night-time urban project highlights the need for cross-disciplinary training dedicated, beyond artificial lighting, to the conceptualisation of night-time urban atmospheres.

In this paper, we will present a synthesis of the long trajectory of the individual and collective relationship to darkness through historical studies. In addition, we will look at ongoing studies of the individual relationship to darkness in the urban environment, in order to identify the directions to be explored in the creation of a pedagogy of darkness.

We will then introduce a pedagogical project for the theorisation of nocturnal atmospheres in the city, entitled "nocturnal atmospheres in representation". This research project, which takes the form of a workshop with design students, examines the future of night-time city ambiances in a prospective, sometimes utopian, sometimes fantastic way, based on a simple question: what night-time ambiances should be produced in a society in which street lighting has disappeared?

We will present the conceptual and creative proposals imagined by the students. The restitution of their work will allow us to appreciate the current place of light and dark design in higher education in France. Based on these observations, we will open up the structural features of a potential higher education in darkness.

Keywords (EN): street lighting, sobriety, pedagogy, workshop

Introduction

Artificial lighting today in Western countries is the result of a long trajectory of technological innovations and political decisions. Its use in public spaces was initially reserved for law enforcement officers in charge of limiting the nuisance of night roamers (Ekirch, 2006), whom they could identify by the glow of their Bull's-eye lamps, which they had the exclusive right to carry. Gradually, these lamps became sedentary and became streetlights, through successive technologies, from candles to gas, through oil (Ekirch, 2006; Koslofsky, 2011; Schivelbush, 1995). For each of these artificial lighting techniques, an act of lighting, maintenance and extinction is necessary. Following specific lighting and extinguishing paths, lamplighters transform the night landscape on a daily basis: they push back the darkness with the glow of the lamps. Fuels were expensive, and artificial lighting was often regulated according to calendars that took into account the seasons and the phases of the moon1. The arrival of electric lighting at the end of the 19th century profoundly and permanently changed the transition from day to night. The lights emitted by combustion, switched on and off manually each day, were replaced by electrical equipment which, as the electrical network stabilized (Nye, 2010), offered perpetual access to artificial lighting. Synonymous with progress, the immediate availability of this form of lighting transforms the day and night landscape in a lasting way: the public lighting grid becomes one of the densest and most regular in the urban fabric, and its automated parameters of switching on and off annihilate any possibility of a relationship with darkness, at least in urbanized areas. The nocturnal landscape, previously set in motion by the journeys and operations of the lamplighters, becomes mostly static. Artificial lighting determines new cultural representations linked to security and publicity (Deleuil & Toussaint, 2000), and the citizen, although the first actor of street lighting in the 14th century (Paquot, 2000), becomes a spectator and a consumer.

The lighting determinants of these nocturnal landscapes remain recent, and question the individual and collective practices in place with the massive development of electric lighting. What were the daily rhythms, the nocturnal ambiences, the conditions of access to the outdoor space at night? In the Middle Ages, the approach of night was synonymous with a *blindmans' holiday* (Ekirch, 2006), announcing the end of daily work through the relative blindness of darkness. It is also a place and an object of training, for which forms of acclimatization tests are imagined to

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[1] In the 19th century in Nantes, France, the illumination of the city was regulated by a calendar indicating that the lighting would be regulated "from the end of the day until one hour after the moon rises; until two o'clock in the morning, on days when there is no moon and those when it sets before the said hour, so that the streets, quays and squares will always be illuminated from the beginning of the night until two o'clock in the morning, either by the moon or by the lanterns." [URL] : http://www. archives.nantes.fr/PAGES/EXPO/EXPO/vertnantais/notices_eclairage.htm - last consultation on 30/09/21.

gradually accustom children to the darkness[2]. The emergence of illuminated nocturnal landscapes quickly raises philosophical questions about the individual relationship to darkness, as the American writer Henry Beston observed in 1928 (in Nye, 2010) *« Today's civilization is full of people who have not the slightest notion of the character or the poetry of the night, who have never even seen night. »* (p.10).

Nearly a century later, the scale of the lighting park, on a planetary scale, meets issues of a new order: its environmental impact is identified (Sanders, Frago, Kehoe, Patterson, & Gaston, 2021), in the same way as the health risks it causes in humans (Zielinska-Dabkowska, 2018). Its phenomenon of light pollution and regularly observed, growing (Falchi et al., 2016), so much so that some ministries, like the Ministry of Ecological and Solidarity Transition in France, are instituting mandatory regulations for the reduction of light pollution[3].

The scientific and political consideration of the negative criteria of artificial lighting engages a wide range of actors in a new configuration of their software: the Mayor's duty of police, intended to ensure the safety of goods and people, must find a balance between the use of lighting and the preservation of darkness. Industries must offer new ranges of equipment and services, closer to attempts to reduce light pollution. Techniques, services and operating companies must ensure the scientific and technological monitoring necessary to adapt their practices, which have changed little for decades. Architects, urban planners and lighting designers must absorb these contemporary data in order to design projects adapted to the challenges of light sobriety.

The current and future methods of designing urban night-time atmospheres are increasingly cross-disciplinary. Elected officials, technicians and lighting designers gather sociologists, ecologists and geographers to try to understand the stakes of each project and to provide an adequate lighting proposal.

Our work explores this transversality with students in higher education in design. With them, we wish to present and explore the current issues of artificial lighting on public space at night and the methodologies of design of a lighting project reasoned and adapted to its context. To accompany the modalities of their academic journey, we opt for a workshop in 3 steps:

1.	Presentation of the current determinants of artificial lighting,
2.	The experimentation of dark nocturnal spatialities and field survey methodologies,
3.	The cross-referencing of current determinants and localized nocturnal observations in order to propose a nocturnal planning project.

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[2] *« you must create little errands, as if by accident, to send him in the dark, but such as can take up but little time ; and encrease the length of time by degrees, as you find his courage encrease »* in Ekirch, A.R. (2005) At Day Close : a history of nighttime. Weidenfeld & Nicholson, p. 112.

[3] Order of December 27, 2018 on the prevention, reduction and limitation of light pollution - Légifrance. (2018, December 27). Légifrance. Retrieved February 2, 2022, from https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/loda/id/JORFTEXT000037864346/

Through these three steps, we wish to study an approach to nocturnal urbanism through exploration (Dunn, 2016; Edensor, 2015), the identification of spatial, temporal and contextualized indicators of use in order to design a project adapted to the spaces, temporalities and uses of the places concerned. The work is conducted in groups of two students, each of whom has the opportunity to choose the location of their investigation and project site. The students have ten full days to carry out all the stages, until the presentation of a project stage called sketch, giving the main trajectories of the envisaged development.

The project of urban nocturnal ambiences in architectural and urban education

Ambiances nocturnes en représentation, thematic workshop

This workshop is about the production of nocturnal ambiances in urban environments where lighting is absent. We seek to inform future actors in the development of public space about the notions of lighting and darkness.

Our approach takes the form of a week-long workshop with students from the École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Nantes and design students, who are specializing in a teaching unit entitled Ville Durable[4] at the École de Design de Nantes Atlantique. This workshop included eight students, divided in groups of two. It was coordinated by Anaïs Jacquard, pedagogical manager of the cycle, and ourselves. The workshop took place over five days, from the presentation of the content to the restitution of the students' work, which was attended by the head of the public lighting department of Nantes Métropole, Dany Joly. To expand the knowledge and institutional approaches to the issue of the city at night, a moment was devoted to the intervention of the project manager of the Nantes Night Council, Michel Bourdinot. The workshop program was divided into several phases, from the presentation of digital tools to the pre-project phases, including field surveys. The objectives were as follows:

- To evaluate the relevance of digital mapping resources in the identification of areas without public lighting on the territory of the metropolis.
- Identify the students' preconceived notions about the nocturnal activities that can take place in dark territories.
- Conduct a nighttime field survey to identify the actual night activities in these territories at the time of the investigation.
- Identify the uses and the ambiance potential of each territory.

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[4] The Nantes Atlantique School of Design. Presentation of the City Design Lab. Retrieved February 2, 2022, from https://www.lecolededesign.com/recherche-et-design-labs/city-design-lab/

- To develop sketches and preliminary projects for the occupation and activation of places during all or part of the night period.

Through these stages, we seek to determine a method for identifying dark spaces, to identify the representations that students have of them, and then to evaluate their capacity to appropriate the darkness of these spaces. What design projects are they able to bring out of it? What place do they give to the notion of darkness in the design of ambiences? Does the absence of lighting allow for the identification of potentials to be activated, or does it lead to project choices determined by representations of luminous landscapes? How do students, concerned with the themes of spatial planning, take up the question of urban ambiences at night?

Student recruitment process

The setting up of this workshop follows the invitation of the School of Design of Nantes Atlantique, which gives us *carte blanche* for the animation of a thematic week with a part of the students of the Master Ville Durable. We have the freedom to approach the subject of our choice and to open the candidatures to a public widened to the National Superior School of Architecture of Nantes. We communicate the call for applications to all students in the following way:

Dates: from 4 to 8 March 2019,
Location: École de Design Nantes Atlantique - 6 Rue Arthur III - 44200 Nantes,
Application to be sent to: nicolas.houel@crenau.archi.fr - deadline Wednesday 27/02/19.

Context and objectives

Since its appearance, artificial lighting in the city has created a series of precise representations of the public space at night. Illuminated roads, remarkable buildings or luminous artistic installations mark out the trajectories of night owls. On the fringes of these illuminated spaces, there are sometimes places that are deprived of light, whether by forgetfulness, accident or desire. These obscure places where artificial lighting does not penetrate are the subjects of intuitions and beliefs conveyed by daily information sources and urban legends. Now under close scrutiny by the political body, public lighting seems to be moving towards forms of sobriety that have yet to be established. Amongst these, the balance between artificial lighting and obscurity is being questioned. Could we, as users of public space at night, evolve in an urban fabric where lighting and darkness are constructed simultaneously? Historically, the relationship between human beings and the night seems to have undergone slow but regular oscillations between discomfort and comfort, protest and acceptance, fear and desire. The twentieth century has resolutely anchored darkness in a posture of an object to be concealed, paradoxically, by bringing it to light. Through this action, the knowledge of darkness in the city at night seems to be diminished. This context offers the opportunity to contribute to the updating of this knowledge by exploring the vestiges of the night in the city, those places devoid of lighting where the activities, collectively imagined, seem in reality to be unknown.

Entitled *L'observatoire de la nuit* (The night observatory), the workshop which will take place in March 2019 in Nantes specifically raises the question of the mental images linked to the uses that we may have of the unlit spaces of Nantes, and proposes to establish an initial exploration in two stages; the first through the collection of the said mental representations linked to these places, are they imagined as hostile environments with criminal practices, as abandoned and unoccupied spaces, or as reservoirs of unknown wealth yet within everyone's reach? The second is

the in-situ survey, where the beliefs developed in the first instance can be confronted with the reality of the places observed: are the danger and fear founded? If so, by what criteria? Do these dark spaces conceal unexpected elements, and if so, which ones?

The aim of the workshop is to generate new knowledge about the real practices found in unlit public spaces. To analyse and reproduce this knowledge through a variety of media (photographs, drawings, films, sound tracks, materials, etc.). The constitution of a knowledge base on the uses of dark public space is transversal and relates to numerous fields of research and development: urban design, taking biodiversity into account, public health and tranquility, social sciences, artificial lighting practices, treatment of representation media, etc.

In concrete terms, we wish to highlight the confrontation of personal and collective imaginations with the realities of the environments to be explored. Finally, we see in this approach the possibility of opening up numerous avenues of research into the evolution of practices linked to public space at night and to artificial lighting, a nascent discipline which is today the object of an unprecedented educational and professional boom.

The proposed topic and scheduling criteria allow 8 people to participate almost entirely in the workshop. Some people missed one or more half-days, often to meet adjacent school or work commitments. Students are divided into groups of two. Group n°1 is composed of Adèle Baugé and Benoît Charrière, group n°2 is composed of Charles Repic and Timothée Caron-Bernier, group n°3 is composed of Marianne Henry and Louise Bragard, group n°4 is composed of Valérie Bertin and Gabriel Côme. The figures presented in this article are attached to the members of each group, who ensured their realization. To facilitate the conduct of the exercise, we propose, at the beginning of the workshop, an adaptation of the schedule (tab. 1).

The workshop takes place during a week of free time for the students of the School of Design. The students of the School of Design come from several Masters associated with the research section of the institution[5] Urban Design and Mutation of the Built Environment. The objectives presented by the school concerning these two masters are the following:

1. To promote an anthropocentric approach and a citizen co-creation where the questions of accessibility, energy sobriety are imposed as determining factors in the design of the city.
2. To reconcile the objectives of sustainable development with societal and economic changes.
3. To make innovative proposals in the context of digital developments and systemic approaches to the « intelligent city ».

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5 Presentation of the City Design Lab. Nantes Atlantique School of Design. Retrieved February 2, 2022, from https://www.lecolededesign.com/recherche-et-design-labs/city-design-lab/
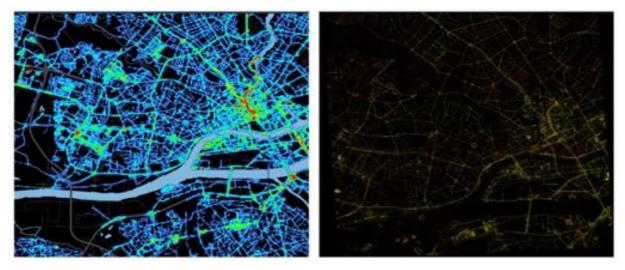
	March 04, 2019	March 05, 2019	March 06, 2019	March 08, 2019	March 13, 2019
9am-midday	Introduction to the workshop: light sobriety and lighting professions (N. Houel) Cartographies: plurality of representations (A. Jacquard)	Analysis of the results: report of the survey with protocol #1	Analysis of the results: report on the survey with protocol #2	Restitution #1 : collective presentations	Project: autonomy
1pm-5pm	Map base: identification of unlit places Formation of groups: urban night-time a priori Protocol #1: which field survey tools?	Study Protocol #2: Increase and Improve Survey Tools	Project: (1) Provision of lighting ambiences, (2) Preservation of nocturnal ambiences	Project: autonomy	Final restitution: collective presentations
Evening/night	Spontaneous visits: observation with protocol #1	Spontaneous visits: observation with protocol #2			

Table 1 - Organization of the workshop week.
This table is an adapted version of the original one.

These objectives are consistent with the contemporary challenges of artificial lighting. Its regular technological and digital innovations and the finesse of its spatial distribution make it an ideal support in the urban digital networking, often linked to the notion of smart city. However, some of these notions may still need to be acquired by the students at the beginning of the workshop. The first step is to introduce them to the forms and stakes of the professional practice of lighting and to indicate to them which are the levers today essential to its evolution. In this way, we hope to create a common knowledge base, on which to exchange effectively during the field diagnosis and project sketch phases. Our ambition is to sensitize students, future designers of spaces dedicated to the notion of sustainable city, to consider the city's manufacture in its daytime and nighttime temporalities.

Step 1: The use of digital tools in the determination of urban areas without lighting

The students start looking for an investigation area, on the territory of Nantes Métropole, where artificial lighting is absent. We provide them with access to two cartographic tools (fig. 2), one allowing them to visualize the lighting from the energy consumption of each light point, the other from a night orthophotography.

Figure 1 Nantes Métropole

Map of the distribution density of light points in Nantes Métropole builr trough Qgis (left) ; night aerial photography of Nantes Métropole (right) © Nicolas Houel (left). © Nantes Métropole (right).

The provision of these maps allows us to introduce the students to the importance and the finesse of the public lighting system. We want them to become aware of its structure and scope. The use and crossing of the physical indicators of the two maps allows us to validate or refute the desired absence of public lighting. Orthophotography, which allows us to perceive part of the luminous flux emitted towards the sky by lighting sources, can sometimes be misleading: a bunch of trees or a tunnel is enough to block the ascendancy of the flux, causing a dark area on the image. The light spot density map is then used to verify the real absence of any artificial lighting equipment. The exercise is relatively complex and requires the students to spend almost an entire afternoon before each group has determined with certainty the correct absence of lighting in the identified location. The same evening, each group of students goes to its study site and proceeds to a first phase of physical and sensitive observation.

Step 1: Field observations and collection of physical and sensitive indicators

The student pairs produce presentation elements based on the cartographic tools provided, and then distinguish their work through photographic surveys, graphic representations and audio recordings. Based on these elements, they present the night observations of their project site.

The first group presents a study environment located on a pathway that starts from a leisure port (Trentemoult, France) to follow a fenced industrial park. Their first challenge is to *« Collect impressions, based on the discovery of the place in the chosen context through observation and intuition: we are interested in the place at night, so we discover it this way first without having too many preconceived ideas at the beginning. »*

They are equipped with two smartphones and begin their investigation at 8pm. They proceed to a 30 minutes audio recording that they restitute in the form of a narrative of the visit. Their second challenge is to collect the following about the *« Lighting of the place, noise impact, traffic data, public transportation, bike/bike routes, main car traffic routes, important living places ».*

The place is unknown to them, and they choose to approach it for the first time at night. During their wanderings, the students made encounters that they used to collect the impressions of their interlocutors. This first group (Baugé and Charrière) provided us with a transcript:

> *We meet a family. The mother tells me that she doesn't like the path very much, it scares her and that lighting should be installed. Her son, who is about 18 years old, disagrees and says that, on the contrary, the natural spirit of the place should be preserved and that it should not be lit. Finally, the mother agrees with her son and tells me that no lighting should be installed here. The father asks me what we are doing, I tell him that we are working on the public lighting of places and that today we can do better than simple street lamps. He asks me what does « better » mean?*

> *We question the women at the exit of the sport class of the socio-cultural center. They say that this place scares them, that they should put lampadaires that light up well. They tell me that in any case, even with public lighting, nobody will use the place. I answer them « even if it becomes a bicycle path? » I feel that I touch a sensitive point. 3 other women join the discussion by unhooking their bikes. They explain to me that they have been waiting for 10 years for this bicycle path in Trentemoult which goes along the Loire up to the bridge of the 3 continents.*

We pass a rather tall and muscular man who is heading towards the pontoon. He too lives in a boat in the port of Trentemoult. About 30-40 years old, he has been an architect for 10 years and is taking his HMONP at ENSAN. He likes the atmosphere of the place.

In parallel, the two students are interested in the notions of sound ambiences. Their observation point faces the western tip of the island of Nantes, renowned for its bars and festivities, while the northern bank of the Loire, at the level of bas-Chantenay, hosts an emblematic night club of the city. From their darkened position, they perceive the sounds coming from these two places, reverberated on the surface of the Loire. They also observe the glow of the artificial lighting that illuminates the quays (fig. 2).

Figure 2 Graphic Representations by Study Group 1

Graphic representations of the first field study of group 1. Clockwise: light influences; sound influences; sketch of ground plan, night photographs; map of density of light points. © Baugé and Charrière

The students (Baugé and Charrière), in addition to the graphic productions, offer us the narration of their journey:

After getting on my bike, I head towards the small village of Trentemoult that I like, towards the banks of the Loire. I cross the commercial zone to discover the village, its small stylized houses. I know that I am coming towards the Loire, because I hear the call of the seagulls in the distance. Once arrived on the site, I hear the noise of the waves of the Loire like in the sea. I hook my bike and go to the end of the site to observe the city while waiting for Benoit.

From this outside point, I feel apart from the city, I am an observer. Above my head: an air corridor. The planes come to disturb my tranquility. They come to disturb this calm moment when I want to be in the peace, out of the city agitation. Campers, a camper van have also come to settle on this protuberance. They have come to this small quiet corner to settle down for the night.

Benoit arrives, he came by car. There are 3 lamps on the parking, but they are not lit. What lights us is the building of the socio-cultural center which is very glazed. We can observe the actors who speak through the glass wall. In the distance we can see the Buren rings and the yellow canopy of the light pollution of Nantes. We can see very well the streetlights of the quai des Antilles and the quai de la fosse. Opposite, the CAP44 site is totally dark. From here, we observe that the colors of the city are red, green, yellow and blue, like the rings.

This transcription underlines the resolutely calm character of their place of study, uniquely disturbed by the light and sound emissions of distant environments, beyond the Loire. One notices the role that the student chooses to embody: she is, away from the city, an observer. The point of view is moreover exclusively female. Her partner, Benoit, simply introduces the fact that the three streetlights of the parking lot where he parks are turned off. The artificial light emanates from a place of life, whose uses are projected and staged outside. This identified activity, bathed in light, seems to be the only source of direct visual animation. At a distance, the light installations of the docks mark the horizon of a distant landscape.

The second group (Repic and Caron-Bernier) chose a site in downtown Nantes. The latter includes small streets and stairs that circulate between stone houses. The site is divided between daytime commercial activities and residential spaces. It includes accessible vegetated landings and paved alleys. The whole is illuminated by public lighting sources that contribute to the visual comfort and the enhancement of the vegetation present. The lighting is predominantly functional, but leaves large areas of vegetation in the dark. Their first investigation is exclusively visual and based on photographic and cartographic analysis (fig. 3). At this point in the exercise, the students plan to supplement their approach with micro-trottoir interviews.

Figure 3 Graphic Representations by Study Group 2

Graphic representations of the first field study of group 2. Clockwise: location of the survey site on Google Map, night photographs and textured night map with light points. © Repic and Caron-Bernier

The third group (Marianne Henry and Louise Bragard) chose a site in downtown Nantes. The two students rely on their knowledge of the city to define the perimeter of their intervention. They validate their intuition with the help of the maps provided, and then begin to collect physical and sensitive indicators:

Physical indicators:
- soil: dirt, sand, presence of rain, slush,
- scaffolding, work on the side of the Palais de la Bourse,
- presence of large concrete blocks, impossibility to sit on them,
- a lot of vegetation, big trees,
- many light sources around but of low intensity and different colors, no harmonization (signage of the shops, streetcar lights, street lights),

- concrete blocks for car parking, means of transport, streetcar,
- Bicloo station, daisy chain,
- garbage cans, cardboard, waste, truck (abandoned?),
- little visibility due to trees and reflection on the ground of shadows.

Sensitive indicators:

- sound environment: very noisy / because vehicles, motorcycles, cars, parking lots nearby + main road + streetcar,
- a lot of passers-by so discussions, restaurant/bar terraces nearby,
- no particular odors (construction site + rain),
- feeling of insecurity because of the low light intensity on a part of the square and the reflection of the shadows on the ground.

They carry out a photographic survey which confirms the presence of artificial lighting sources in the surroundings of the square, and the majority presence of darkness within it. They draw up a summary plan, freehand (fig.4 top-right), of the composition of the square. Finally, they are interested in the past and future aspects of the square (fig.4 bottom), through a historical survey and a consultation of the development project entitled Bords de Loire[6].

The physical indicators cited by the students are easily identifiable on the photographs (fig.4, top-left). Concerning the sensitive indicators, their work includes, like group n°1, an observation of the sound ambiences. The latter, if we can situate them in parallel to the considerations linked to lighting, seem for the students to participate actively in the questions of life and nocturnal ambiences. The question of odors is addressed, and we could eventually wonder about the presence of restaurants and the absence of odors. Finally, the feeling of security, perceived as weak, is immediately correlated to the low light intensity of the square and the reflections of the shadows on the ground. These elements, formulated by the two students, accompany the feeling of the interlocutors interviewed by the first group of students in Trentemoult.

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[6] Ville de Nantes. (s. d.). Loire au cœur, Gloriette - Petite Hollande, à la reconquête du fleuve. metropole.nantes.fr. Consulté le 3 février 2022, à l'adresse https://metropole.nantes.fr/territoire-institutions/projet/grands-projets/loire-petite-hollande
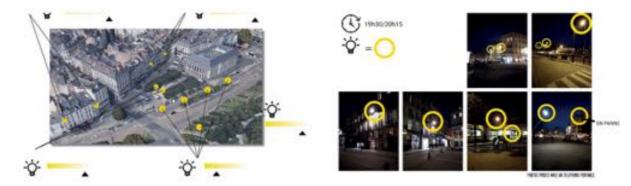
Figure 4 Graphic Representations by Study Group 3
Graphic representations of the first field study of group 3 (Henry and Bragard). Clockwise: photographic survey, schematic plan, historical study, prospective study. © Henry and Bragard

Group n°3 carries out a precise collection of the physical indicators of their project space. The two students locate each light point on a map, and note the approximate temperature of each source, which they indicate schematically on a colored bar of a color gradient representing the temperatures encountered (fig. 5). They complete their photographic survey to present the state of health of the place and indicate each light point and its state of operation.

Figure 5. Graphic Representations by Study Group 3. Measures and Equipment
Graphic representations of the first field study of group 3 (Henry and Bragard). Precise measurement of the lighting equipment. © Henry and Bragard.

The fourth and last group (Valérie Bertin and Gabriel Côme) chooses a site on the banks of the Loire, which is similar to a peninsula. The two students use the cartographic tools presented in the introduction, then carry out a photographic and graphic survey, as well as a brief observation of the uses encountered during their observations (fig. 6). Their observations of the night landscape allowed them to identify the origin of the rare light sources.

They appreciate the lighting ambience by identifying all the forms of lighting found in the landscape. As they have observed, the developed surroundings present important sources of light emissions (Bertin and Côme), *« on the clinic side, important light [...], on the Sèvre side, direct artificial light, aggressive »*, the environment of the Loire offers, as for it, a (Bertin and Côme) *« direct artificial light, distant (less discomfort) »*.

Figure 6 Graphic Representations by Study Group 3. Lightning detected.
Graphic representations of the first field study of group 3 (Bertin and Côme). from left to right: photograph of the light sources encountered on the observation site, brief cartography of the locations of the shots, written commentary on the luminous ambiences observed. © Bertin and Côme. The two students observed no direct lighting on site, and a significant presence of indirect ambient light from street lamps and nearby public facilities (hospital clinic)

The first fieldwork phase of the four groups underlines the ability of the students to engage in a diagnostic work of nocturnal urban landscapes. They used the proposed cartographic tools and then formulated their observations through various media, from photographs to sketches, interviews and sound analyses. The indicators they identify underline the transversal character of the use of public space at night: healthiness, sounds, the feeling of safety, accessibility, materials, lighting sources, historical elements, urban projects voted on or the presence of vegetation are all criteria that they observe and recover from their observations on their site, at nightfall.

Step 2: Collection of sensitive indicators

For this second stage, the four groups are moving towards the collection of sensitive indicators. They give a more important place to the users they meet, and produce the first statistical diagrams of the perceptions that the latter provide them. They rely on online survey tools as Google Form[7] and continue to collect physical indicators specific to their study environment. Since the students produced this first phase of fieldwork independently, we unfortunately do not know the exact number of participants interviewed. As the objective of the workshop was to give the students total autonomy in the construction of their own survey tools and content, the methodologies used to develop the surveys are not known at this time.

Thus, group n°1 completes the observation of the sound environment, which it maps and presents in parallel the lighting ambiences encountered. It is interested in the criteria of accessibility and comfort of the places by the identification of the public transport stops, the bicycle stations and the public toilets. Finally, as a first step in the development project they are to propose, they ask passers-by about their appreciation of the place at night, through three questions (fig. 7):

1. Do you spend the night here?
2. Do you like the atmosphere of the place, why?
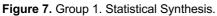3. Do you think the trail needs a light installation, if so which ones?

They obtained five contributions, allowing them to establish the following statistics:

- 40% of the respondents pass by this place at night,
- 60% appreciate the place for the presence of the Loire,
- 40% have a negative opinion because they feel fear.

Responses relating to lighting were mixed (Fig. 7). Some seem to want to keep the « natural look » of the area, others expect « street lights that light well » or « soft lighting » ,a few don't know, and several say « even if there is light we won't go. ».

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[7] Google. Google Forms allows you to create questionnaires and analyze the results for free. Google Forms. Retrieved February 3, 2022, from https://www.google.fr/intl/fr/forms/about/

Figure 7. Group 1. Statistical Synthesis.

Graphic representations of the second field study of group 1 (Baugé and Charrière). Statistical and textual synthesis of the participants' answers through the presentation of graphs from the Google Sheet tool © Baugé and Charrière.

Group n°2 (Fig. 7) engages in a process of surveying the passersby they meet. The two students extract six representations:

1. « This is a shortcut, it must be hard for a girl ».
2. « If I were a girl, I wouldn't go that way ».
3. « Nice dim lights, it's a quiet space ».
4. « It reminds me of a little Parisian Montmartre ».
5. « You see everything here, sex, drugs, alcohol. I come here to smoke my weed ».
6. « The passageway does not inspire me security - talking about the lighting - ».

Figure 8. Second field survey of group 2

Graphic transcription of the second field survey of group 2 (Repic and Caron-Bernier). Geolocation of the testimonies of the interviewed passers-by on a Google Map screenshot. Below, illustration in the form of sketches of the activities found on the site. © Repic and Caron-Bernier

These excerpts seem to verify the individual aspect of the representations of the public night space among individuals, already identified by the first group. Some of them questioned the risks that women might encounter, while others indicated the illegal activities that they encountered or practiced there. The place chosen by the two students, outside the framework of the exercise because it is equipped with artificial lighting, becomes at this point a resolutely relevant representation of the roles that we attribute to lighting and darkness, and of the real forms of spaces and uses that they can take.

Results presented to us by group n°2 (Repic and Caron-Bernier) show that lighting, in certain perimeters of the city, can accompany controversial practices in public space, while presenting a landscape composed of "pleasant subdued lights" and worthy of "a little Montmartre".

Group n°3 (Henry and Bragard) develops a questionnaire for passers-by, which includes the following indicators (fig. 9):

- Frequency of passage.
- Rating of the atmosphere of the place.
- Rating of the lighting.
- Rating of the cleanliness.
- Rating of the number of visitors.
- Score given to the feeling of safety.
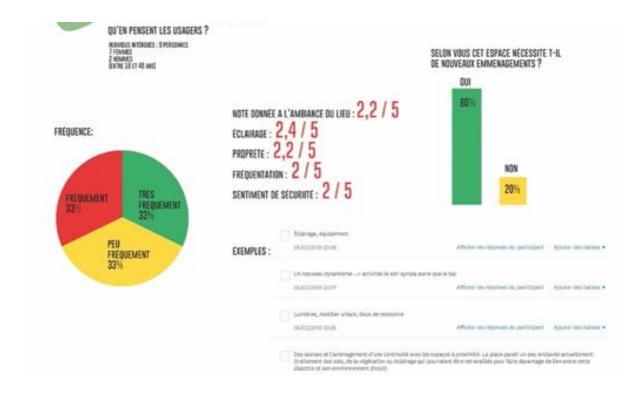- Opinion on the need for new facilities in the studied area.

Figure 9 Graphic transcription of the second field survey of group 3 (Henry and Bragard). Statistical and textual synthesis of the participants' answers through the presentation of graphs from the Google Sheet tool. © Henry and Bragard

Of the four examples put forward by the participants, three include lighting, while all propose the evolution of the uses of the square, through *« equipment », « a new dynamism », « a meeting place »* or *« continuity with nearby spaces ».* Plunged into a darkness accentuated by the cover of the trees, the square studied sees its hollow tooth profile reinforced at nightfall.

The lighting, although it could help to promote a feeling of security, seems to be insufficient to meet the expectations of the users interviewed, who want to find an active and dynamic place. The interest of the study conducted by the students goes beyond the question of artificial light. It allows, through the collection of physical and sensitive nocturnal indicators, the identification of certain problems objectivated by the individual perceptions of passers-by. The relatively inactive aspect of the square during the day becomes exacerbated by the darkness, the frequentations and

the night uses, and facilitates the identification of certain criteria for improvement, which could then be reinvested in a development project thought for both day and night uses, from which could emerge comfortable and dynamic ambiences.

Group n°4 (fig. 10) completes its photographic survey by observing the landscapes accessible from their site, and by the contemplative aspects that their site offers from outside viewpoints. The group attempts to develop a user questionnaire, but the lack of any response seems to underscore the lack of use of this area after dark. This observation complements those of group n°2's restitution (fig. 8): where we could imagine uses of the type of passage and contemplation in a lit environment, and activities more oriented towards illegal practices in dark environments, it turns out that the latter, at least in the case of the site chosen by group n°4, remain inactive at the time of the surveys carried out. Lighting and darkness, in these two specific environments, provide avenues for reflection on light sobriety: if the use of artificial lighting allows the activation of illegal practices, what activations can darkness become the object of?
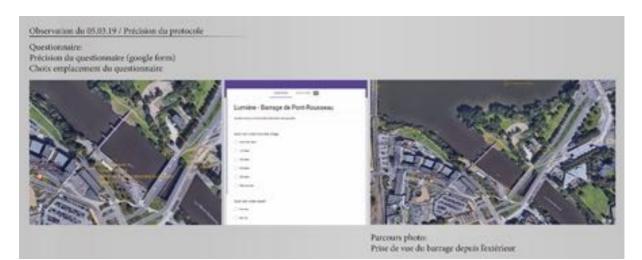

Figure 10 Graphic representations of the second field study of group 4 (Bertin and Côme). From left to right: choice of geographic locations to meet with participants; sample questionnaire (Google Form); geographic indicators of night shots. © Bertin and Côme

Step 3: The use of physical and sensitive indicators in the contextualization of urban development projects

The third stage allows students to develop and argue their urban development projects thanks to the physical and sensitive indicators obtained during the two previous stages of investigation. In spite of a relatively complete presentation of the advanced stakes of luminous sobriety, we find in most of their propositions a strong use of artificial lighting, answering the usual

criteria of functionality, mobility, provision of a feeling of security and enhancement of the built and vegetalized environment.

The first group, installed at the banks of the Loire, proposes an important intervention intended to accompany the soft and nocturnal circulations and which offers punctual contemplative points of view towards the Loire and its surroundings. The graphic treatment, based on 3D representations with reflective materials (fig. 11), makes the understanding of the project and the identification of the treatment of luminous sobriety complex. Of the indicators collected, they keep those in favor of lighting, which they translate by the installation of luminous bollards whose dimensions reduce as the itinerary progresses, but without ever totally disappearing in favor of darkness.

Figure 11. Graphic representations of the development proposal of group n°1 (Baugé and Charrière). The synthetic images show luminous devices of the bollard type, whose height decreases as the path progresses in the forest. These simulations show a daytime view (left) and two nighttime views (right). © Baugé and Charrière

The second group (fig. 12), which is installed in an already lit environment, brings a luminous work of enhancement of the vegetation. If the latter is voluntarily elaborated from photometric criteria among the most respectful of the environment, the additional artificial light brought, which is more oriented towards the enhancement of a vegetated environment and potentially occupied by fauna species, questions the value given to the notion of light sobriety.
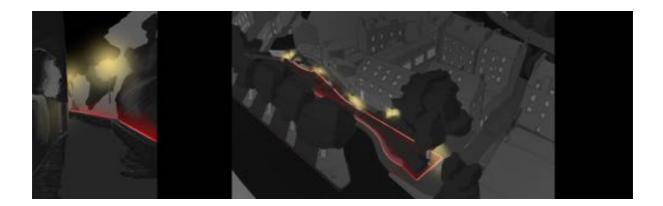
Figure 12. Graphic representations of the proposed layout of group #2 (Repic and Caron-Bernier). The computer-generated images present the lighting ambiances in the form of manual sketches with lighting effects produced by digital editing. On the left, a view at pedestrian height, on the right, an aerial view at night presenting the red lighting around the vegetated area and the candelabras on the pedestrian walkway. © Repic and Caron-Bernier

The third group proposes an approach designed for use over 24 hours (fig. 13). From the indicators collected, it seeks to respond to the needs in terms of activities and dynamism, and is oriented towards the installation of an area for free sports practices. This choice, which is questionable in view of the residential, restaurant and bar uses of the site, is accompanied by a lighting treatment intended to highlight it at nightfall, limiting its use at night in favor of the image it reflects.
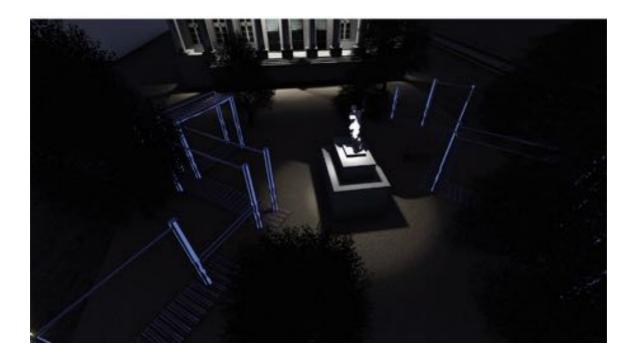

Figure 13. Graphical representations of the proposed design for Group 3 (Henry and Bragard). The synthetic image presents the night vision of the development imagined by the two students. The status in the center is highlighted by a downlighting, the sports facilities are highlighted by a light line that repeats their geometries. In the background, the square of an architectural monument of the city is also highlighted by the light. *. © Henry and Bragard

The fourth group opts for a sober installation intended for contemplation of the existing nightscape (fig. 14). The students develop a nocturnal marker that leads to urban furniture oriented towards the landscape. The furniture, a large comfortable bench, is installed in a way that encourages long standing and observation of the illuminated landscape that faces the project peninsula. Entitled "cap vers les étoiles" the project is interested in observing the distant glow of the city and its industrial infrastructures installed on the opposite bank. The luminous beacons are calibrated so that their color temperature evolves over the course of the evening (4000°K at sunset, 3000°K once night falls) and, if one could have envisaged eliminating them, they nevertheless play an indispensable role in the good identification and wandering towards the point of view, where they disappear to leave the observer in the favor of the darkness. The individual finds himself in a contemplative posture facing a picture composed of the illuminated city, at a distance, and the Loire River left in darkness, in the foreground. This project responds in a sensitive way to luminous sobriety: a path progressively moves the user away from the usual forms of night-time public space (illuminated, serviced trajectories), to engage in a more uneven, less lit space. The painting that he joins places him in front of a usual natural element, the Loire, increased by a second more unexpected natural element: the darkness.

Figure 14. Graphic representations of the design proposal of group n°4 (Bertin and Côme). The representation is based on a nocturnal photograph in which the design project is inserted, consisting of urban furniture intended to sit and contemplate the illuminated night landscape. © Bertin and Côme

Conclusion of the workshop

The week dedicated to this workshop allows to realize a first overview of the problems linked to the production of urban night atmospheres. During the first and second parts of the workshop, the students were confronted with digital tools for consulting physical lighting data, which they were

quite comfortable with. They then exchange on the representations they have of dark urban landscapes, before physically determining, twice, the real nocturnal ambiances and uses of the environments they study. The aim of the workshop being the proposal of a night landscape design project based on the elements of its context, the students produce their own field survey protocols, intended for the complementary collection of physical and sensitive indicators. They identify certain physical indicators of ambiance, found in the sound and light environments and in the built, river and plant geometries. They verify certain elements relating to the sensitive indicators, particularly with regard to the perception of darkness and the feeling of safety of the users encountered.

The third part of the workshop is dedicated to the production of a development project for the environment studied. In the majority of cases, the student groups opt for the installation of artificial lighting devices. The sketches of nocturnal landscapes thought by these future professionals of sustainable urban planning seem to answer in majority to current aesthetic and functional codes, where light generates ambiences favourable to strolling, contemplation and security. The preconceived ideas identified by both the students and the users questioned are in line with the safety policies of lighting, where darkness remains synonymous with danger. It is interesting to note that these preconceived ideas are only realized in one case, where the students choose a site on the fringe of the proposed exercise because it is lit. Located in the heart of downtown Nantes, France, this site is the object of practices and behaviors that usually seem to be expected in more discreet places. The environment of downtown Nantes, largely illuminated, thus meets unconventional practices, which seem to be made possible by the presence of artificial lighting.

This first pedagogical approach, mixed with the experience of night and darkness other than in a use of mobility and festivity, contributes to the sensitization of the public, here in training to the notion of sustainable city, to the subject of light sobriety. For all that, this workshop-oriented approach, over a short period of time, encounters the agreed preconceptions and formal habits of the representation and design of nocturnal urban landscapes, without totally succeeding in deconstructing them. Artificial lighting is used to secure and enhance. It seems, if not indispensable, simply unavoidable, so anchored is it in the conventional representations of the nighttime public space.

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Media staging:

the production of a tale of fear.

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Abstract

While conducting my PhD research that deals with the dark interstices of the city of Nantes in the west of France, I noticed that feelings of insecurity were exacerbated or even created by discourses based on a form of collective fear. Indeed, one of the main topics during the presidential election campaigns in France was matters and events related to insecurity, which was omnipresent in the media landscape when it comes to the night. This pervasiveness conveys patterns of vulnerability and consolidates negative social constructs regarding night and darkness. There is a degree of catastrophism in media and political discourses on urban violence that builds an entire dramaturgy from events observed through the lens of news media, producing distorted perceptions of the urban night. This story-telling shapes minds and distracts attention. It is this narrative, understood as an alarmist discourse, which I wish to deconstruct in this communication, by questioning more precisely the social realities hidden behind the public statistics. I also question the performative dimension of media discourse. The discursive choices bear witness to some power relations that build its object at the same time it defines it. My presentation can be seen as a contribution to question and even to demystify the collective fear of the urban public space at night.

Introduction

This paper is part of a thesis research which deals with the emotions generated by the dark interstices of urban public space: darkness is the gateway to the city. This research situates its fieldwork at the crossroads of two territories: the nocturnal territory and the territory of Nantes. The methodological protocol creates a research that hybridizes space-time, territories and imaginaries: a heterogeneous geography, which makes up with the shadowy territories of a metropolis located in the west of France. In Nantes, 1% of the population works at night, 2% get distracted, the others stay at home (Etudes n°115 Nantes métropole Insee-Auran, 2013). At the intersection of night studies, feminist studies and urban geography, this research is immersed in the geography of emotions, a theoretical and conceptual approach to a range of individual and/or collective intangible spatial dimensions of social practices, that articulates the methodological protocol and makes it possible to conduct a sensitive field of inquiry at night. The qualitative methodology of this research is based on nocturnal explorations of the most obscure places of the city of Nantes, as well as on a series of interviews and commented tours.

If the night is commonly qualified as fearsome, perverse, deep, dark, deceptive, blind, evil, mysterious; darkness is the reservoir of absence, emptiness, abyss, chaos, it is even color of mourning therefore of death (Bureau, 1997; Cauquelin, 1997; Bertin, Paquette, 2015). Emotions created by social constructs linked to darkness prompt people to flee the twilight. What matters therefore seems to reside more in the social dimension of the night rather than in the luminous intensity that bathes public space in city centers: the night feeds dreams and fears, interferes with spaces and power relations.

Western media are feeding a crisis of *care*. Indeed, one of the main topics conveyed by any media approaching an election, is matters and events related to insecurity, which remains omnipresent in the media landscape when it comes to the night. This pervasiveness conveys patterns of vulnerability and consolidates negative social constructs regarding night and darkness. The demonization of the night is a myth to understand and deconstruct.

With the support of a methodological protocol based on a research field focused on the nights of the city of Nantes (France), on media monitoring work during the year 2021, as well as on the milestones of a doctoral thesis work in progress, this article will first develop the omnipresence of the theme of insecurity within media broadcast that contributes to mythify, and even demonize nighttime, emphasized by Covid-times. Secondly, this article will show how media discourse are constructed according to performative discursive processes that storytells a certain

night. Finally, the text will argue that those narratives impact perceptions and representations of the night induce bias that prevent from fully consenting to the night.

I – The construction of a narrative of fear

Demonization and mythification of the night

Distrust of the night lies in the over-evaluation of the opposition day/night and good/bad, right/wrong. This dichotomy stems from the predominance of visibility over blindness and is the result of the valorization of some behaviors over others, in particular through the construction of the normal/deviant opposition. This binary view supports a system of values established in order to support a certain social order (Bertin, Paquette, 2015). Both day/night, light/dark entities carry very powerful opposing symbols. The nocturnal space-time is demonized by a whole cultural heritage, a Western gaze focused on the dark night. Satan was held responsible for all the spectrums of the night. Western history argues that major inventions are in the light, while the inconsistent, the foreign, the backward and the futile are in the shadows (Bureau, 1977). 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. Moreover, the Christian influence leaves little choice between the Christ, light of the world and the devil prince of darkness. The word "lucifuge" refers to animals that flee the light but also to a demon (Lucifuge Rofocale) who happens to be Prime Minister of the Underworld. The medieval imagination creates a demonic vision of the night, with the figure of the wolf, even of the werewolf, a scavenging enemy (Berguit, 2004). The thinkers of the Enlightenment promote the light of reason against obscure ideas. The culture of tales also recommends maintaining a certain aversion to darkness. Sociology of speech, ancestral oral socialization, the tales generally end with a morality that puts penumbra in the field of what to fear and to flee. Cinderella is about being careful not to venture out at night: midnight marks the passage to an interloper and dangerous night that decorum orders to flee. Flaubert's *Dictionary of received ideas* (1913) sums up the moral burden that weighs on the night by this definition of midnight: "*Midnight: limit of happiness and honest pleasures, all that one does beyond is immoral* "(Flaubert, 1913 p.438)[1].

Thus, night, and even more darkness, are reserves of uncertainty and worry. Night is therefore the metaphor for all that has to be fought; it must be substituted by shadowless clarity,

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[1] Translated by the author

which - since Plato - has been associated with rationality. This shows the way social construct gazes at what remains dark "*it carries a diagnosis of culture*" (Bureau, 1997, p. 100). "*The nocturnal imagination is freed from the fears of the devil and demons to focus on insecurity*" (Berguit, 2004, p. 26)[2] and this creates new myths: the fear of the dark is combined with the fear of otherness, of peripheries, of differences, of alternatives, of encounters, which has many spatial effects. More recently, the curfew imposed as a response to the pandemic crisis is once again helping to demonize the night. It remains a way to overcome the digital weakness of law enforcement. With its implementation persists the idea that the night exacerbates an external danger. During this global pandemic, curfew censors the night as if it were more likely to spread the virus than during the day, as if it were inherently less healthy. This enshrines the unsanitary and dangerous status given to the night, which, to be reliable, must be monitored, illuminated and avoided. It maintains a deleterious vision of the night as an evil space-time from which one must escape in order to survive. The curfew is a tool that allows us to continue to build the mythification of the night, widely constructed and relayed by the media.

Media staging of fear in the city

The illusion that night is more dangerous than the day is tenacious. The fear of what is not enlightened can be related to the fear of insecurity to which it is very close: the illusion that dark is dangerous is also based on the built-in illusion that insecurity is increasing. Fear is culturally produced and socially reproduced by all socializing agents and is reinforced daily by media reports that continuously relays the presence of crime and police crime prevention, which tends to exaggerate violence. This information also conveys very limited narratives of defense and protection which often boil down to retaliation or danger avoidance.

However, over time, crime decreases, but the dissemination of information increases and fuels feelings of insecurity. The nineteenth century brought about a major media shift: the circulation of information was transformed and shifted from the scale of the village to a wider scale with the erection of the press and news items as a national culture (Croix, 2020). Indeed, there is a "*daily media display of the delinquency, either through various facts suddenly transformed into social facts, or by offering a permanent resonance box to the effects of political announcements relayed without distance of analysis* » (Mucchielli, 2010, p. 3)[3]. The taste for spectacle, performance, and news items along with the search for sensation and indignation, are exerted to the detriment of investigation, analysis and explanation. Then, the phenomena of delinquency are

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[2] Translated by the author

[3] Translated by the author

instrumentalized by politicians during the various propaganda operations. For example, during the last election campaigns, the word "insecurity" has been placed at the center of the electoral campaign; and the term "security" regularly used in an improper or even abusive way. During the 2020 municipal election campaign in Nantes, candidate Eleonore Revel contributed to spreading a kind of over-awareness of the feeling of insecurity by placing this theme as the sole motif of the flyer and the political agenda, received by all Nantes residents in their mailboxes.

« My priorities for Nantes

1 – Protect the Nantais from massive immigration and Islamism that plagues our neighborhoods.
2 – put out of harm's way the scum who take the Nantais hostages and sow terror in our streets.
3 – defend the tranquility of the Nantais by massively increasing municipal police personnel and
deploying videoprotection
4 – Remove all social assistance for offenders. Nantes residents don't have to finance the thugs ![4]»

Figure 1: flyer distributed during the 2020 municipal campaign

Other example, the cover of the local newspaper of the city of Béziers (south of France), that titles « 2019, Bad news for the scum. We will double the surveillance cameras ».

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[4] Translated by the author

Figure 2 : Journal de Béziers (2019, "Bad News for the scum, we will double the surveillance cameras" Front page of the issue n°88

Figure 3 : The Maryville times (1926), "Night Marauder kills woman aged sixty", Front page of the July 12, 1926 issue

https://www.maryvillecollege.edu/news/2021/maryville-college-class-revisits-unsolved-night-marauder-murders/

Figure 4: Los Angeles Times (1989), "Night stalker gets death", Front page of the November 07, 1989 issue
https://www.rarenewspapers.com/view/675366

Figure 5: La Opinion (1985) "the Night Invader" identified"[5], Front page of the August 31, 1986 issue
https://boyleheightsbeat.com/participant-remembers-night-stalker-richard-ramirez-capture-in-east-la/

[5] Translated by the author

Figure 6: La Charente Libre (2016) « Night of horror in Nice » Front page of the July 16, 2016 issue. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/faits-divers/terrorisme/attaque-au-camion-a-nice/en-images-l-attentat-de-nice-a-la-une-des-journaux-du-monde-entier_1547893.html

Figure 7 : Chicago Tribune (2016), "Night of terror", Front page of the July 15, 2016 issue https://www.francetvinfo.fr/faits-divers/terrorisme/attaque-au-camion-a-nice/en-images-l-attentat-de-nice-a-la-une-des-journaux-du-monde-entier_1547893.html

These titles inform emotion rather than reason and feed the public dramas with their procession of victims, aggressors and heroes, who can only arouse movements of identification or rejection having the effect of suspending all critical thinking. These discourses of fear highlight the figure of the unpredictable and malicious stranger. Plus, advertising shows where you need to be a what you need to get through the night. At night, activities are channeled through public lighting and advertising: the commercial streets are brighter than the side streets. "*The debate on 'insecurity' is always driven by political actors who believe that this is of electoral interest, both nationally and locally. These are primarily political parties, but sometimes also pressure groups that may seek to dramatize issues to promote their "cause*". (Mucchielli, 2010, p. 3)[6]. Thus, a kind of story-telling machine, a story-telling of insecurity, shapes minds and distracts attention. This helps to shape a stereotypical and caricatural reading of the night as the place of either excessive partying or crime. It is this narrative, understood as an alarmist discourse, which would benefit from being deconstructed by questioning more precisely the social realities hidden behind the public statistics. The discursive choices bear witness to some power relations that build its object at the same time as it defines it.

[6] Translated by the author

II - The production of the discourse formats a story-telling

The mechanics of the media discourse production

In *The Order of Discourse*, Michel Foucault examines the logics of discourse production: the procedures of control and restriction of different statements define what is thinkable and sayable in contemporary societies. Thus, a discourse is understood as a set of statements controlled according to a valid normativity at a given time (Foucault, 2009).

The media are ideally at the service of public opinion by providing information on events taking place in public space and by contributing to social and political debate by staging the confrontation of ideas. They also operate according to a pragmatic logic of capturing the public. In fact, in order to survive, any information organization must take into account competition in the information market. This leads it to try to address as many people as possible by implementing strategies of seduction that contradict the concern of providing good information rather than a good story. The media communication is built on a discursive question in the public sphere. The object of a tale involves different linguistic operations: notably definition, nomination and characterization. It operates a selection of events to be transformed into news which ends up producing a focusing effect that acts on ready-made representations, on pre-existing cultural schemes, with the help of which each reader filters, categorizes and articulates reality. They are based on topoi[7], collective beliefs, that function as general principles on which reasoning is based. They constitute argumentative backgrounds. Also, the production of a discourse brings into existence the relationship between society and language. The language is simplified by using simple syntax and vocabulary and subsequently simplifying reasoning. This process responds to a need to simplify reality, too complex to be understood in all its nuances. "*Discourse is not simply what translates struggles or systems of domination, what we struggle with and struggle for, the power we seek to seize*" (Foucault, 2009, p.12)[8].

Thus, the discursive strategy of the media consists in selecting dramatic and extraordinary events, as if everything that is not excessive or tragic at night was insignificant. The result of which is that we are given a partial and distorting vision of the world.

« While a number of fear discourses exist, constructed at the local and national levels and employed for different purposes, people's identification with these discourses and their impact

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[7] All recurring themes, situations, circumstances.

[8] Translated by the author.

on everyday social and spatial life present a tangible social problem worthy of academic and policy attention » (Pain 2000, 367).

When telling a good story, this story produces emotions: angst, disgust, fear. Then, a good story-telling sets up an emotional roller-coaster.

The performative power of media discourse

The media are a privileged field of influence, especially since they rely on a performative effect of the narratives of the night they elaborate. Performativity is the fact, for a linguistic sign to realize itself what it states. Then, using one of these signs makes a reality.

By way of example, the *trame noire*, modeled in France on the green and blue infrastructures, study a plan for preserving the layout of darkness. Woods, parks, urban wastelands, rail networks, the *trame noire* delimits areas of partial darkness to find lighting solutions related to photo-pollution and improve the quality of the night in protected areas. This initiative seeks a complementary union between night and light, between urban life and the maintenance of darkness and questions the validity of the retreat of night. For example, in the city of Lille, the *trame noire* proposed a significant reduction in energy consumption linked to public lighting. Then, it seems to be enough for a territory to say that it is implementing a *trame noire* for it to be considered as existing, realized, defined (Challéat, 2020). As another example, In Nantes, the city council draws up positive assessments of the management of security, emphasizing abundantly the investments made in the CCTV. It thereby, uses the word "video protection" rather than "video surveillance". It is a discursive choice which testifies to an exercise of power that constructs the object at the same time as it defines it. Therefore, it questions the performative dimension of media discourse "*in the sense that their recurrence and the legitimacy of the speakers to denominate, to categorized, participate in the construction of their object* "(Foucault, 1982, p. 120)[9].

The Tinkerbell effect describes things that are supposed to exist only because people believe in them. Tinkerbell is the fairy of Peter Pan, revived thanks to the public belief. We have experiences with this effect all the time, as the brain creates and fills in information to speed up perception and decision making. The brain's ability to fill in information in lacking areas is the basis of the Tinkerbell phenomenon. It may skew people's perceptions of world issues and convolute the relationship between theory and reality regarding nighttime dangers. The Tinkerbell effect highlights an important flaw in the cerebral system of reception and interpretation of visually

[9] Translated by the author

available information: they are not directly representative of reality. With the overwhelming amount of information, the brain summarizes it by filling in what it cannot comprehend: it is an act of imagination. So, this is in line with the idea of a socio-cultural construction that places the imagination before the rest.

Thus, the feeling of insecurity does not result solely and strictly from the application of policies that are intended to secure but rather seems to be the result of a multitude of media co-constructions that are spatially translated. It is generated by social injunctions and cognitive biases which lead to believe that the drama which has just occurred, in the night, can only happen again. Media mechanics orient the cultures of the gaze which directs the cultures of security towards a folklore of fear and produces normative behaviors. *« The sensing of space is culturally shaped by the ways in which the powerful inculcate the prioritising of particular modes of apprehension and the values associated with specific sensations »* (Edensor, 2013, p. 461).

III - Dismantling the narratives

Between conditioning and alienation, a night of distorted perceptions

The media broadcast a very intense emotional charge carried by obscurity, which seems to be able to take the lead over the work of reason. Indeed, while the trend is to reduce the luminous impact of cities, darkness is becoming more and more frightening. This fear, participates in the development of the imagination: "*any strange phenomenon takes on a disproportionate dimension in this substrate that is darkness and gives the imaginary material to navigate*" (Challéat, 2020, p. 49)[10]. Previous events can become ghosts and can resuscitate during the nocturnal urban experience to haunt the relationship to space (Oloukoï, 2016). Also, the fear of the night, and even more so the fear of the dark is the fear of the unknown, of otherness. However, the brain would be programmed to be suspicious even before reason allays the anguish. What then seems frightening, remains above all in one's own anxieties. On the night of August 11, 2020, in Cannes, in the South of France, a crowd movement that left 44 injured was sparked by rumors that a shooting was underway. It was just a rumor that spread quickly, when someone shouted "gunshot!". In fact, there was no gunshot.

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[10] Translated by the author

Figure 8: Screenshot of an amateur video on social networks that filmed the panic movement of the crowd https://www.huffingtonpost.fr/entry/cannes-fausse-fusillade-images_fr_5f323fd0c5b6fc009a5cd720

Figure 9: Préfet Alpes Maritimes (@prefet06). (2020, August 11) Twitter post from the local prefecture contradicting the rumour of an attack @whashingtonpost (Thumbnail with link attached)(Tweet)

The previous tweet says: "incident in Cannes. Removal of doubts carried out by the national police: no shootings or gunfire. This is a panic movement. DO NOT SPREAD FALSE RUMORS!". It is undeniable that the construction of rumors has to do with myths and beliefs of a community and even more broadly with the construction of collective identities. Rumor, as an information circulation tool, can be a full-fledged very performative media and a very old one. By relaying rumors that they present as information, the media provide frameworks for the development of rumors, which will then be recycled as information (Taïeb, 2001).

The collective anxious concern that constantly occurs when I evoke my fieldwork is confronted with a stereotypical vision of the urban night in Nantes which is subjected to a continuous conditioning of opinions and thoughts by the media, which can alienate the object "night". "*Night of distorted perceptions for adults, who will build a whole dramaturgy based on innocuous events, on nocturnal "news items" observed through the lens of the news media (...) which make night the actress of the worst crimes and the worst disappearances* " (Challéat, 2011, p. 184)[11]. Surface knowledge can also create a false sense of security. Gazing at people and places can label or objectify. Media support the day / night and good / evil binaries that legitimize a form of conservation that values the implementation of procedures such as curfews. "*This binary vision would allow, by perpetuating this segregation of the night, to strengthen and support a value system established for the sake of maintaining a social order. (…) There are therefore politico-*

[10] Translated by the author

social reasons for maintaining a segregation of the night" (Bertin, Paquette, 2015, p. 17)[12]. These media discourses produce patterns of vulnerability and prevents from making darkness a choice rather than inevitability

Demystification of the collective fear of the urban public space at night, regaining confidence in the night

The night affects the exercise of the means of control in spatial terms, it threatens to de-rationalize the social order (Pain, 200). Fear and feelings of insecurity are socially differentiated constructs that are not only a consequence of crime but also provide insight into the power systems that shape public space and behavior (Mosser, 2007). In a way, media soft power exercises a form of surveillance that remains a major mechanism of social control in various forms. Night spaces are continuously shaped, negotiated and renegotiated by media, governments, police, business strategies and social codes of conduct. These codes are contested by those who use the darkness to pursue their alternatives; they are more easily broken at night, as the importance of gaze decreases.

The charge in value and experience of nighttime spaces is thus a social construct that must be deconstructed. It is crucial to question, and even to demystify the collective fear sent back by the nocturnal urban public space in order to be able to enter into an experience which leads to consider the city through darkness, an experience that recognizes the perception of the urban landscape as shaped by the cultures of the gaze. In that way, it may also allow to develop the negative capability, that is to say the ability to hold antagonistic ideas in mind without deciding on one side or the other, and more broadly, the gift to dwell in mystery and doubt without worrying about reason or facts, to give way to surprise. Braving the night, working on night and darkness, sometimes working in the dark, is first to take up the challenge of consenting to the dark. It is confronting your fears, turning to the interstices. To this end, it seems important to remember that attacks do not necessarily take place during the night. According to Marylène Lieber (2008), although the night rekindles fantasies of fear, the majority of assaults take place during the day and in familiar places (90% of rapes take place in enlightened spaces). Darkness has the ability to facilitate counter-hegemonic spaces (Williams, 2008) and helps to develop a counter-image of the city. To have a taste for the night is to have a taste for the unknown. Entering also into the darkness of Nantes in order to undo the apprehension of Nantes culture of the nightly public space.

[11] Translated by the author

Thus, in order not to live in a paralyzing fear, little inclined to boost self-esteem and well-being, and to fight against fear and violence, caring for oneself and for the city must become an ethical and political issue so that forms of cooperation can be organized facing the feeling of insecurity, that may allow a mutual empowerment of night owls and more widely of night residents.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there is a partial disconnection between the feeling of insecurity and the empirical facts of delinquency, a paradox between the reality of a decrease in violence and the feeling of the opposite. There is a degree of catastrophism in media and political discourses on urban violence that builds an entire dramaturgy from events observed through the lens of news media, producing distorted perceptions of the urban night. In other words, nightscapes are shaped and the night/Darkness-related fear is also produced and reproduced by scholars : since the birth of night studies in early-1980s up to mid-2000s, the dominant epistemological approach in our field has been based in a criminological/regulatory perspective (alcohol, drugs, violence, disorder, road accidents, negative impacts on health, …). The feeling of insecurity is exacerbated, perhaps even created in some respects, by some media discourses which lean on a form of collective fear by relying on a conditioning of opinions that conveys collective representations or stereotypes. As a control device, the media have an easy way to relay and produce a certain desire of running away from fearful nocturnal public spaces. The culture of security brings representations and practices of urban nighttime closer to an institutionalization of paranoia in which reason does not weigh in the face of imagination. However, deconstructing the media production of the tales of fear and consenting to enter the night is, in a way, paying attention to otherness: an exercise of care towards people and places as part of a rigorous search for gentleness, meticulously attentive and reflexive, that sinks into the shadows by building hybrid and creative methods to consent to the obscure.

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Just Coffee? Nocturnal Tension of Creative Class in a Post-Secular Neighbourhood: The Case of Balat, Istanbul, Turkey

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Abstract

The increasing number of urban transformation projects in Istanbul have been associated with gentrification. This inevitably changes everyday life and creates a city that is experienced as constantly under construction. Balat, as one of the most traditional neighbourhoods in Istanbul, has been experiencing culture-led gentrification for over a decade in part due to an ongoing influx of the creative class, and in part due to government led regeneration. As a result, the neighbourhood has become a popular destination for new residents seeking what can be referred to as neo-bohemia (Lloyd, 2010) and nostalgic gentrification (Mills, 2008) as evidenced by the introduction of new vintage cafés, second-hand shops, and art galleries.

Much literature on Istanbul highlights that in certain neighbourhoods, alcohol and night life can create a tension between the gentrifiers and the locals and this is very much the case for Balat. The neighbourhood's conservative and religious majority aligns well with the government's post-secular, Islamist approach and the forms of consumption that can materialise are therefore limited for the creative class. This limitation can manifest itself in not serving alcohol in a majority of the new businesses and/or closing early in order to avoid night life activity. Balat attracts a specific type of consumer, but it is a for a form of consumption that cannot be thought of within dominant models of understanding gentrification due to growing post-secularism in Turkey. Having chosen Balat, the gentrifiers therefore avoid creating situations that create tension. The creative class in Balat have had to de-secularise their business to be able to fit in and this has led to a specific form of consumerism such as third-wave coffee shops over bars that sell alcohol. What we therefore

see, is a form of night-time governance and experience which is again different to Western Secular experiences.

The methods employed in studying nocturnal tension in Balat consisted of participant observation conducted over 3 months as part of a micro-ethnography. This paper will extend thinking about the relations between the newly emerging creative class and post-secularism through the significant changes seen in Balat where the processes of culture-led gentrification are re-shaping the dynamics of the neighbourhood and its night-time offer.

Introduction

The increasing number of urban transformation projects in Istanbul has had multiple and various impacts on the city, resulting in gentrification, changing the neighbourhoods and everyday life, all the while introducing new lifestyles in old areas (Bozdogan and Akcan, 2012; Dolcerocca, 2015). Istanbul's transformation has intensified since the early 2000s with the election of the current national government, the AKP led by Erdogan, and its increasing interest in the construction sector (Can, 2013; Erdi, 2018; Ergun, 2004; Mutman and Turgut, 2018; Oz and Eder, 2018; Yetiskul and Demirel, 2018). The current government in Turkey is known to have embraced neoliberal policies, applied them to laws regarding urban transformation whilst gradually shifting towards a more post-secular society (Akkan et al., 2017; Adaman et al., 2017; Denec, 2014; Eraydin and Tasan-Kok, 2014; Akkar Ercan, 2011; Keyder, 2010). This, for example, is evident in the implementation of six urban laws between 2002 and 2012. The government made urban transformation a key policy outcome and put Istanbul at the heart of it by attempts to further embed the city within globalised networks, increase tourism and expanding the construction sector as a key source of employment (Karaman, 2013). The laws have evolved over time and can be explained in three waves. The first wave between 2002-2005 witnessed the introduction of three laws: Law no. 5162 (the Amendment of the Mass Housing Law), Law no. 5216 (Metropolitan Municipality Law), Law no. 5366 (Protection and Renewal Law) and Law no. 5393 (Enactment of Municipality Law). This wave focused on the restoration of old historical buildings in order to preserve, conserve and attract further investment. The second wave between 2005-2012 was marked by Law no. 5609 (the Amendment of the Illegal Housing Law) that focused on the mass housing including resettling poorer residents to the outskirts of the city and preparing inner-city for wealthier newcomers by a combination of forced eviction and rebuilding new residential housing. The third wave from 2012 onwards was prompted by Law no. 6306 (Urban Transformation Law) and resulted in the expansion of construction projects to anywhere and everywhere in the city

under the name of urban transformation. The laws not only made urban transformation a possibility, they also presented construction as a necessity for the sake of 'safe housing 'whilst transforming practices of everyday in neighbourhoods.

Due to these urban laws, urban transformation in Istanbul has gained speed and the majority of urban transformation projects in the city have started to result in gentrification (Erdi, 2018; Ergun 2004; Ertuna-Howison and Howison, 2012; Mutman and Turgut, 2018; Oz and Eder, 2018). The ways in which gentrification materialises in Istanbul has many features such as increasing financial gain and creating investment opportunities, but these happen with an ideological shift from a secular to post-secular society. As this paper argues, there have been some cases where gentrification in Istanbul can be understood as driven by the creative class (artists, intellectuals, and the LGBTQ community). In the case of Balat, for example, culture-led gentrification has made the neighbourhood popular amongst the creative class. However, it has so far managed to preserve its traditional and conservative social fabric and created a new form of consumerism that cannot be thought of outside Islam. Therefore, night-time activities that might centre alcohol consumption are deliberately repressed in order to avoid nocturnal tension.

Objectives

In this paper I will discuss the ongoing urban transformation of Istanbul in relation to culture-led gentrification, how it impacts on night-time activities, and how it shapes the overall approach towards alcohol. Drawing upon fieldwork that was conducted in Balat, this paper highlights the increasing de-secularisation of Istanbul, and the ways in which it has been reshaping night-time activities and access to alcohol. In addition to these objectives, this paper also describes the forms of nocturnal tensions that have emerged as a result and ways in which they are dealt with.

Methods

The methods employed in studying nocturnal tension in Balat consisted of participant observation conducted over 3 months as part of a micro-ethnography undertaken during PhD fieldwork. The research was a qualitative multi-method approach that entailed examining three case studies, analysing of urban laws related to housing and regeneration, and a micro-ethnography of observational, visual and sensory analysis (Eberle and Maeder, 2016; Low, 2015; Pink, 2006, 2012, 2013, 2015; Rose, 2016). The case study featured in this paper is based on micro-ethnographic fieldwork that was conducted in Balat. During the fieldwork, over 3 months was spent in Balat and consisted of visiting the neighbourhood and spending time there on a regular

basis. For fives a week, observation was conducted across two different time slots; 10.00am to 1.00pm and again between 3.00pm to 7.00pm. Notes were taken paying particular attention to the effect of the construction the use of public space, and gathering observational, visual and sensory data. The aim of the participant observation was to be able to observe the actors in real-life and examine local environments (Bryman, 2016; Yin, 2012). Visuals, in the form of photographs of life in Balat were taken to support the research. Sensory data, informed by the work of Degen (2008; 2010), May (2013), Yelmi (2017), Low (2015) and Rhys-Taylor (2013), was collected using the five senses to describe sound, smell and vision of different areas in the city.

Balat: A Post-secular Neighbourhood

Balat is one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Istanbul, located by the waterfront. It used to be home to ethnically and religiously diverse communities mainly Jewish and Greek Orthodox groups (Akin, 2015; Turkun, 2015). Due to its diverse background, it has a rich and historical architectural character. Before its rediscovery by the creative class (Florida, 2014) it was known as a traditional, conservative, and low-income neighbourhood. It is important to note that Balat still keeps its conservative and low-income groups whilst it has been transforming by the creative class. This represents a common feature of gentrifying areas where both established and poorer residents live alongside the new arriving middle and middle class. This is demonstrated in recent demographic and electoral data. Balat's population has gradually decreased from 17.106 in 2009 (Turkiye Nufusu Il Ilce Mahalle Koy Nufuslari, 2019, np) to 13.091 in 2019 (TUIK, 2019, np). This might be a result of increasing rent and property prices in Balat and can be understood as a common impact of culture-led gentrification. The results of November 2015 general elections where the votes were 75.25% in favour of the conservative religious AKP government (Secim Atlasi, 2015, np). However, more recent local elections of June 2019, saw significant changes for Istanbul with the municipality of Fatih, where Balat is located, voting 49.51% secular republican CHP and 49.37% conservative religious AKP (NTV, 2019, np).

Drawing upon Bridge (2006), Ley (2003), Lloyd (2010) and Zukin (1987) the culture-led gentrification model seems to fit the case of Balat the best, and yet there are some important differences that needs to be clarified. Firstly, Balat was historically a non-Muslim area and now it has changed considerably, but the old narrative of a multi-religious, multi-ethnic Istanbul can resurface in historical neighbourhoods as such, and it can reconcile the very nostalgia sought. As a result, its 'rediscovery' by the creative class can be defined as 'nostalgic gentrification' (Mills, 2008). By this, I am drawing Mills' account which is highly useful in understanding the increasing number of vintage, second-hand shops and the overall theme of nostalgia in Balat. The neighbourhood's ongoing transformation has been slow and mostly led by the creative class

comparing to the other areas of Istanbul where the majority of transformation are top-down and initiated by the government.

Rather than just being bottom-up and led by the creative class, there were deliberate policies coming from government which drove this process. The neighbourhood's transformation gained speed after 2005 with the law no. 5366, law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use, which is also known as the Urban Renewal Law (Dincer, 2011; Gunay and Dokmeci, 2012). As a historical neighbourhood Balat can be considered as the test bed for urban laws (Islam, 2010). The purpose of Urban Renewal Law is to protect by renewing historical and cultural areas (Sahin, 2015) and Balat was selected as one of the transformation areas in 2006 (Gunay and Dokmeci, 2012). It is important to emphasise that this ambitious urban renewal project was initiated by the government, a government which has a de-secularising agenda, and it had the potential to change Balat radically by causing displacement due to increasing property prices. The creative class, the promotion of a specific form of historical nostalgia, laws introduced to regenerate the area and its post-secular intentions have to be seen in conjunction.

What's seen here clearly recalls the work of Lloyd on neo-bohemia and a 'grit as glamour' aesthetic (2010). The inner-city location of Balat, affordable rent, and the idea of living and/or working in 100-year-old buildings has encouraged the creative class to relocate to the area. Glass, ceramic, creative writing, and barista workshops are commonly held in Balat throughout the week. Some workshops also have coffee shops to accommodate visitors. Vintage cafés, second-hand shops and coworking spaces are making Balat ever more popular. Many eateries and bistros are designed to attract hipsters that are living in Balat or sometimes visit the neighbourhood for an experience with an overall theme of nostalgia and neo-bohemia. This emphasis on neo-bohemia is further evident visually, such as the graffiti which appears across the neighbourhood. The theme of nostalgia, the historical architecture and the perceived 'authenticity' of the neighbourhood has also been attracting tourists to visit Balat.

Fig 1. Café in the neighbourhood of Balat. October 2018. © Elvan Can

Although Balat has become associated with culture-led gentrification and a neo-bohemian hub, unlike Western examples its transformation is following a post-secular pattern. It is important to note that the shift towards a post-secular society is sharper and stronger in some neighbourhoods than others.
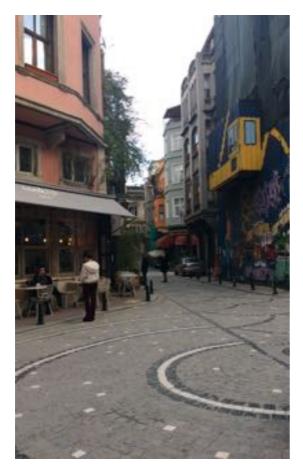

Fig 2. Café in the neighbourhood of Balat. November 2018. © Elvan Can

Fig 3. Café in the neighbourhood of Balat. October 2018. © Elvan Can

If a neighbourhood is religious and conservative like Balat, consuming alcohol, public displays of affection, and the visibility of women and LGBTQ people is usually not common. Although Turkey is still a secular country, the public realm has become increasingly de-secularised with the encouragement of the conservative Islamist government. As Komecoglu (2016) and Rosati argue this shift can be explained as 'the making of a post-secular society' and the 'transformation of the notion and practice of secularism' (2016, p62).

This shift has been impacting various aspects of everyday life in Turkey and in relation to the night-time, it has manifested as controlling, regulating, and limiting alcohol consumption. This has gradually reshaped businesses and the ways in which the businesses can be run. One of the significant shifts was the implementation of Law no. 6487 in 2013 in order to regulate the sale, promotion and advertisement of alcohol products and its reflection on everyday life was in the

shape of banning the purchase of alcohol from shops between 10pm-6am. This has undeniably created a new approach towards alcohol consumption and reshaped practices for obtaining alcohol in the night. This form of regulation was certainly a challenge in a city like Istanbul, which has traditionally been home to shops, restaurants, coffeeshops and kiosks with their own timetables that can sometimes serve customers 24-hours. Depending on the neighbourhood, night-time in Istanbul can be highly diverse and recalls some aspects of Amid's account of Mashhad where 'everyday activities might seem as equally normal taking place at night' (2018, p86). However, by limiting the hours of selling and purchasing alcohol in Istanbul, activities traditionally associated with the night-time are being challenged. Regulating the night-time in Balat is clarifying and sharpening the boundaries between daytime and night-time activities.

This is significant in understanding how activities are being regulated and it overlaps with how redevelopment in Istanbul has been making spaces more clearly public or private. By this, I mean the ways many new developments in the city have much clearer boundaries, whether that be through enclosed balconies, or the erasure of this in-between spaces which are used for both public and private activities. Balat Park can be used as an example of an in-between space where the relationship between public and private can blur. The park is used to consume alcohol and despite this is a common practice in public spaces of Istanbul, it is not common in conservative neighbourhoods. However, by enabling alcohol consumption, Balat Park seems like an unregulated space. Due to the limited number of pubs and bars in the area and a few shops selling alcohol, consuming alcohol is not a typical social activity. Instead, it has become privatised, personalised, and gendered, albeit in public parks by men rather than in outdoor cafes. As a semi-private space, Balat Park is used to conduct personal activities that could not be conducted elsewhere in the neighbourhood, functioning almost as an external lounge room. The in-betweenness of the park would allow spontaneity and create looseness around alcohol consumption. The erasure of in-between spaces in Istanbul would then mean erasure of spontaneity and looseness in the activities that can be conducted in the city. In other words, transformation in Istanbul is not only about transforming building stock and reconfiguring public spaces, but it is also about regulating life and just as there is a strengthening of public and private spaces, daytime and night-times are also being more structured.

This indicates a significant difference with the Western model of gentrification and nightlife, which is understood in terms of a vaguer sense of 'increased consumerism'. Here, consumption and consumerism are important, but are much more regulated and reflect the Islamist tendencies of the current government.

Just Coffee?

Alcohol consumption, alcohol licences and public drinking are regarded as important indicators in Turkey to comprehend the social and political tendency of a neighbourhood, as well as its secular to post-secular transition. Therefore, each neighbourhood's experience with and reaction towards the control over night-time activities and alcohol consumption is different in Istanbul. However, as an already conservative neighbourhood, Balat's case aligns with the government's agenda. The neighbourhood is gentrifying, and the lifestyle is changing, but the inhabitants are mostly religious. And Balat is still home to many original businesses that are not gentrified. The most traditional of all are old tea/coffee rooms known as *kahve*. *Kahve* meaning coffee is used to describe local coffee rooms that are regularly visited by men. These places can be thought of as cheap social clubs in low-income areas for unemployed and/or working-class men to socialise. Although *kahves* are not gender specific by law, they are traditionally known to serve male customers only, so the expectation of male only customers still exists. It is significant to see that everyday life in Balat is built around coffee for the locals, the creative class, and the tourists. The newcomers are reshaping the traditional coffee culture that already exists in the neighbourhood by introducing a more hipster, more middle-class third wave coffeeshops that are not gender specific. Third wave coffee has become an important commodity in Istanbul in the last few years. These coffeeshops are 'boutique' venues that serve freshly brewed, high quality, artisanal coffee mostly produced on site (Istanbullu et al., 2016). The idea of supporting local businesses and feeling a sense of belonging and being 'known' are understood to motivate their popularity (Hubbard, 2016; Uluengin, 2016).

It can be argued that there is a dilemma and duality in Balat with different types of coffeeshops now existing alongside. Whilst gentrification has enough potential to distort the authenticity of the neighbourhood, it can also offer non-gendered businesses. It is important to note that even though new coffeeshops are open to everyone as they are not gender specific, not everyone can afford to visit these places as they are undeniably class specific with much higher prices than the *kahves* in the neighbourhood. However, thanks to new coffeeshops that are mostly owned by the creative class, the newcomers can exist and experience the neighbourhood but still to an extent the locals would *tolerate*.

Fig 4. *Kahve* in the neighbourhood of Balat.
October 2018. © Elvan Can

Fig 5. *Kahve* in the neighbourhood of Balat. October
2018. © Elvan Can

Fig 6. *Kahve* in the neighbourhood of Balat.
October 2018. © Elvan Can

In other words, the activities and the forms of consumption that can occur in Balat are limited due to the neighbourhood's conservative Islamist majority. As mentioned earlier, selling, and consuming alcohol seems like an issue that can create a tension between the locals and the gentrifiers. Having chosen Balat, the gentrifiers therefore would avoid instigating situations that can create any form of tension and they would act accordingly. *Acting accordingly* would often materialise as de-secularising businesses, that would mean *choosing* not to serve or sell alcohol in the majority of shops, restaurants, and bistros in Balat.

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Closing businesses before 10pm in order to avoid the tension of selling alcohol or making sure the neighbourhood is alcohol-free has become another common practice in Istanbul especially in more post-secular neighbourhoods like Balat. This has undeniably impacted the ways in which tourists experience the city and in the case of Balat, the overall experience mostly has to consist of having a coffee and leaving the neighbourhood once the businesses close down. The non-existence of night-time activity would then almost function as an unwritten curfew.

In other words, the creative class in Balat had to de-secularise their business to be able to *fit in* and that led to a specific form of consumerism, allowing a specific type of consumer and it was a form of consumption that cannot be thought of outside of Islam.

Final Comments

Gentrification in Turkey is not exactly the same as gentrification in the West, especially in terms of how it is understood in literature exploring the links between nightlife and urban change (Eder and Oz, 2015; Gokarisel and Secor, 2015; Oz and Eder, 2018). As described earlier, Balat has become associated with culture-led gentrification but unlike Western examples, its transformation must be understood in relation to the government's ideology of neoliberal conservative Islamism. There are aspects of gentrification that are linked to commercialisation and hipsterism, but it is also leading to a greater sense of sharpening the divide between the public and private or what I refer to 'interiorising'. By interiorising, I mean a slightly different sense of the public and private as well. While in some cities, nightlife spills out onto the street, and in some parts of Istanbul did used to, here we are seeing nightlife retreating more into indoor spaces. Tables and chairs come in, signs disappear, and alcohol signage and advertisements are banned.

In the case of Balat, the religious nature of the neighbourhood is more a reflection of the communities that live there. As it is still predominantly a conservative, religious neighbourhood, Balat can be understood as a post-secular place hence the government's interventions are complex. On the one hand they prompt displacement and gentrification, but on the other hand are bound up in already existing local religious ways of inhabiting space. The number of different ethnic and religious communities living together in Balat is high, but daily life is not very convivial (Gilroy, 2005), and the neighbourhood can be described as a patchwork with many invisible boundaries. Balat is not a homogeneous neighbourhood when it came to habitus; different groups with various class, gender, race, ethnicity, and religious backgrounds are living together, which effectively makes the area even more popular amongst the creative class. This diversity has been gaining the attention of the creative class, increasing Balat's popularity as a 'rediscovered' nostalgic

neighbourhood but the locals' and the government's Islamic approach will ultimately determine and shape the lifestyle that can be experienced by the newcomers.

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'Sex, Drugs and Parties'

The Reshaping of Young People's Nightlife's Leisure and Risky Behaviours in Berlin during the Pandemic

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Abstract

The paper analyses the effect of the COVID pandemic on the social life and leisure/risky behaviours of young people living in Berlin, Germany, with special regard to the night life. It is based on a theoretical and empirical study drawing on leisure studies, cultural studies, youth studies and urban sociology. In particular, the paper refers to highly insightful semi-structured interviews with youth in Berlin before, during and after lockdowns. This qualitative fieldwork focuses on young people leading hedonistic lifestyles (sex parties, drug use) in the underground clubbing scene.

The goal of this paper is to explore the effect of the Coronavirus restrictions on the leisure patterns of this young population in comparison with their former (pre-pandemic) habits and their reflections on the aftermath of the pandemic on their lifestyle and their hedonistic culture. This study brings an understanding of the behavioural patterns of these young people and both their desire and need for nightlife-related experiences.

Keywords: nightlife, urban sociology, young people, hedonism, leisure, underground culture

Introduction and Background

Berlin is renowned for its vibrant and boundary-breaking nightlife. For decades, young people from around the world have flocked to the German capital to quench their thirst for experiences and hedonistic leisure. However, the global pandemic COVID-19 has obliged people to reshape their professional, social and private life. This is especially the case for young people that deliberately moved to Berlin as a dynamic and international hub. Lockdowns and curfews have had an impact on young people both as workers and consumers in the tourism, nightlife, and night industry sectors. On the one hand, there have been job losses for night workers, as well as artists working at night-time, while on the other hand, hedonistic lifestyles have been remoulded. It is therefore interesting to analyse the nature of these changes and how they affected these young people.

This paper relies on the data and findings of the author's research project. This project titled *Young British and Australian subcultures in Berlin: their relationships with drugs, hedonism and cultural identity*[1] focuses on young people coming from the United Kingdom and Australia who decided to move to Berlin for an indefinite period. The study is aimed at understanding the choices of their move, the hedonistic patterns and behaviours these young people participate in, and the correlation of this subculture with their own cultural identity.

This paper discusses one aspect of my research project and seeks to answer the following research questions: To what extent has the COVID-19 pandemic affected the nightlife sector, and thus the risky and hedonistic behaviour of young people in Berlin? What are these effects? How can these risks affect the nightlife sector and how can young people be supported in the post-COVID period?

In a first section, this paper focuses on the impact of the pandemic COVID-19 on these young people's behaviours. It discusses the different ways COVID affected these young people, particularly young migrants that initially moved to Berlin for its hedonism and nightlife by enunciating the methodology used throughout this research. In the paper, the voices of these young people are heard through a series of interviews carried out by the author about this specific topic. This section also focuses on the impact of the pandemic on tourism and entertainment sectors, on the nightlife industry in general, as well as on young people's personal and social life. In the second section, the focus is on findings of these interviews and the multiple solutions found by these young people to approach the effect of the pandemic and how they managed to maintain

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[1] Provisional title. The research is led and written by the author of this article and supervised by Dr Sarah Pickard (MCF HDR).

a form of normalcy in the social life, as well as the ways party organizers and club owners managed to still work in this sector. Finally, this paper concludes with the post-pandemic future which the Berlin nightlife industry to which its youthful clientele will have to adapt.

Methodology

This paper is based on interviews with 15 participants that took place between March 2020 and August 2021. Whilst these interviews were held in Germany, the author had to adapt facing the legal and ethical issues in regards to Personal Data Protection and legislation at the EU levels. As this research is conducted by a doctoral student at the University of Sorbonne Nouvelle, the interviewee had been informed that the legal and ethical framework of this protocol was that of French university research legislation in accordance with the criteria of the research ethics commission. He/she/they accepted this framework by signing the consent form.

It counts 9 Australians and 6 British people. It was important for the richness and diversity of the testimonies to vary the demographics of young people (varying between 20 and 31 years old): it comprised of 3 female identifying people, 11 male identifying people and 1 non-binary identifying person. Six of these participants work actively in the nightlife sector as an event organizer or an artist, and all of these participants have an ongoing connection with this sector: as clients or as workers. The interviews were held either in person respecting the social distancing rules (in the latter part of 2020) or via Zoom meetings. Each meeting lasted between 30 minutes up to 75 minutes depending on the content the participant wanted to share. All of the interviews were based on the voluntary participation of these young people and ethical consent was obtained.

Throughout the process of collecting data for the research, a series of interviews with the 15 participants were helpful to understand the different aspects and the interests of the nightlife industry and the social behaviours it attracts. From a process of word-of-mouth and spontaneous meeting at events and cultural gatherings, these young people interviewed volunteered to be a part of this study. These participants were asked questions regarding their relationship to the city of Berlin, the reason of why they decided to move there in the first place and any benefits this move has brought to their personal, social or professional life. Another series of questions was asked regarding their involvement and participation in hedonistic parties and social events, as well as their potential risky behaviours (i.e., drug use). These questions were to specify what kind of illicit substances were used and in what context, the financial impact on their life and the regularity of their use. Furthermore, the last series of questions of these interviews was regarding the impact of the global pandemic COVID-19 on their life.

The impact of COVID-19 on young people's social and personal life

As most of these participants were foreigners, i.e. emigrants to Germany, it was insightful to know whether the pandemic was a reason to leave and go "home" or if their life in Berlin made it worth staying. This part of the interview allowed clarity on the impact of COVID-19 on their social life (not being able to see their friends or to go to parties, bars, etc) and on their drug consumption: Were they still using? What drugs? How often?

For many young people, the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis was a time of uncertainty regarding their future in Berlin, and Europe for some. Indeed, in the case of the young participants interviewed, many are still on a long-term yet temporary visa allowing them to live for an extended period of time in Europe.

When the COVID-19 crisis' incidence rate started to alarm the German government in March 2020, an immediate and national lockdown was put into place. As witnessed in many cities of the world, populations panicked and felt the need to run to the supermarket and stock up on canned goods, toilet paper and non-perishables in case of a long-lasting lockdown. It is interesting to see that young people thought of collecting another type of *necessity* that soon might become impossible to access: illegal substances (Solomon, 2020). Solomon sheds light onto the fluctuation of the illicit substances market at the beginning of the pandemic in Berlin. The journalist reports that according to drug dealers, a revenue was doubling or even tripling in the first few weeks of lockdown. One of them confirmed having sold his largest order, going up to €1,500 for one customer only. They also have noticed prices increasing due to the closure of numerous borders. As such, consumers felt the urgency to make larger purchases, in case of a drugs "drought".

Berlin is, for young people, a cultural epicentre, magnetically attracting artists, musicians, dancers, designers, or simply queer folks feeling safe and "at home". Many would argue the German capital is considered the European capital of the techno music genre and lifestyle. With these, entails a culture based on hedonism, leisure activities and, of course, the love for music and dancing (Garcia, 2015).

The nightlife industry in Berlin is one of the most prominent industries and a pillar of the tourism sector of the country. The capital of Germany is known globally for its importance as a cultural hub: home of an underground clubbing scene widely known and for its lifestyle, attracting many tourists but also young people to visit and settle there. Cheap rent, affordable cost of living, international place, similar Western culture, many of these examples can be counted as factors of motivation. Furthermore, Berlin is known for being a capital of LGBTQA+ youth culture, it is recognized as a space of freedom and safety for young people seeking a place to explore their sexuality and identity, through the medium of events, subcultures, and interactions with like-minded people.

However, the financial stability of the nightlife industry had been suffering already long before the COVID-19 crisis broke out at the beginning of 2020. For instance, author Ramello et al. (2020) have expressed:

> In the past decades clubbing was already undergoing a worrying and complex transformation: financial pressure and gentrification processes, socio-cultural stigmas, competition, lack of institutional support and difficult conversations with regulating bodies have put many music clubs in a precarious position and led to waves of closures. (p.7)

This statement shows the inevitable challenges the industry had to face from the beginning of the pandemic after the governmental decisions and regulations to close every venue of its country until further notice. Whilst many clubs in Berlin had been threatened to close, others eventually had to permanently shut their venue or imagine solutions to remain open, due to the financial pressure they were undergoing. That is the case for the famous fetish club Berghain, which opened its doors as an art gallery and open its garden in the summer 2020 when regulations allowed it (Barrel, 2020).

The young participants of this study, feeling a part of the Berlin nightlife community, reflected from the beginning of lockdown and of the administrative closings of nightclubs in March 2020 and raised questions regarding the future of the nightlife industry and the outcome of these young people's social and personal lives. For many of the young Anglo-Saxon immigrants that had moved to the city seeking experiences and taking part in the hedonistic nature of its nightlife, COVID-19 became a challenge, putting at risk their future professionally, financially and socially. Was the city worth staying in during the pandemic, as nobody knew how long it would take for the world to recover from it? Some participants, especially non-Europeans, feared not being able to see their family for a long time or their financial comfort being challenged. However, for most of the participants, staying seemed to be the most logical option, partially for the multiple opportunities of maintaining a form of social life through illegal raves and open-airs throughout the pandemic.

While discussing parties and nightlife, the concept of *escapism* occurs naturally. Indeed, this desire to divert one's emotional or mental state and health through entertainment and in the case of the participants of this paper; through risky behaviours. One could argue the direct correlation between a desire for escapism and the participation in leisure activities, particularly of the hedonistic manner. As the notion of 'leisure' has changed over the past generations, Joan Abbott-Chapman and Margaret Robertson (2009) give a definition of that concept, specifically regarding young adolescents, however this definition is still applicable in the case of this paper's participants. Leisure is then the "use [of] unprogrammed 'time out' to relax and maintain social

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relationships or to withdraw and make sense and meaning of the barrage of sensations and information which daily bombard their lives." (Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 2009, p. 243) Applying this definition to the young people of this paper, it is valuable to draw a correlation with the different form of drug use and abuse reported by the young participants. Sonia (25 y/o female, Australian/German) expressed throughout her interview the danger of outdoor and illegal raving that occurred during the pandemic. She evoked her worry regarding the lack of safety for young people to use drugs freely outside of entertainment establishments:

> "Once we were at a rave at a lake, and somebody had a seizure, and the ambulance took at least 15 minutes to come. That's what scares me; all of these people on a bunch of drugs, without any help within 10 kilometres at least."

She also expressed her frustration and fear on the subject of people pushing their drug use and putting their health at risk:

> "My (girl)friends and I are fine because we know our limits and we don't want to put ourselves in a situation where we need to be looked after. But for others, it scares me: one day, I will see somebody *collapsing*[2] and dying in front me because of drugs, and it will traumatize me forever."

Testimonies, like Sonia's, allow us to understand the different perspectives and points of view experienced regarding nightlife and hedonistic patterns throughout the pandemic.

Findings

The solutions found to maintain "normalcy": the impact of COVID-19 on young peoples' social and personal life and the study case of the organization of a sex party

For young Australians, like James[3] (23 y/o, male), the question was not only whether they could stay in Europe, but if they stayed, how long would it be until they would see their family and friends back home: "It was scary to think whether I would go back to Australia or not. I've been away from my family a long time. But it was an opportunity to make new friends. Socially, it's been good." James, like 6 others of the 9 young Australians interviewed, decided to stay in Berlin instead

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[2] The term *collapsing* is slang to define a GHB or GBL overdose.

[3] The name of all the participants have been changed for anonymity.

of flying back to Australia. It has been therefore over almost two years now that these young people have not seen their relatives because Australia has still, until now, its borders entirely closed except for people agreeing to quarantine for two weeks in a hotel costing them AUS$3,000 per adult in the case of Victoria state.[4]

Due to the heavy regulations put in place throughout the world regarding social-distancing and gatherings, young people and night time workers tried to maintain a form of 'normalcy' during the many months of lockdown. Berlin was not an exception. From attendance at small parties to organizing illegal parties and raves, many young people found ways and solutions to shape their social life.

It is interesting to notice from the young participants' insights a change in their habits, particularly their drug use: "I take more drugs now than before Corona," confirms James. He noticed a change in his consumption, usually taking drugs with his friends at nightclubs or at house parties on the weekend, he started using them more often at home, in parks, forests and illegal raves and parties. Throughout the multiple lockdowns held in Berlin, he managed to sustain a form of social life, making friends going to house parties: "Around 7 up to 30 people parties. Nobody would get tested. It would be day and night party and then move to another house. Playing music, chatting, doing drugs." Other participants noticed a change in the type of drugs they were using. For a majority, substances such as cocaine, psychedelics, and ketamine were the most mentioned. GHB and GBL, MDMA and "speed" have been majorly used in social settings rather than personal and alone use. 100% of the participants feel like the pandemic has caused many people around them or themselves to consume more drugs and more regularly. For some of them, it has become a source of anxiety and fear for their close friends struggling with addictions. As music, dancing, clubbing and interacting with other people became, throughout the coronavirus crisis, a desire, and a form of endorphin release particularly missed and needed, it is valuable to understand the reason.

This paper sheds light onto different sides of the spectrum to try to understand the behaviours of young people during the global pandemic and the consequences of this pandemic on a cultural, financial, social and psychological perspective. It could be argued that young people have shown lack of interest and support throughout the pandemic and have shown a dysconnectivity with other generations with selfish actions and refutation with the restrictions (i.e. media coverage). As the author Andy Furlong (2009) noted it: young people are often discredited and "portrayed as distasteful, dangerous or threatening and as signalling a decline in moral standards" (Furlong, 2009, p. 241). The media coverage of young people organizing and attending gatherings in large

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[4] According to the Victorian Health Government website.

groups and parties during the periods of lockdowns and the demonization of these people seem to confirm this statement. With headlines such as "Coronavirus: Young people breaking rules risk 'second wave'" (Rosney, 2020) or arguments such as "Young people in Leeds are being urged to take responsibility for controlling the spread of coronavirus following an increase in house parties in the city" in the article "Coronavirus: House party concerns amid rise in cases" (BBC News, 2020).

On the other hand, one could argue that this form of soft rebellion coming from the younger generations might be reflecting another perspective felt by this youth. For instance, the lack of financial support is a point often mentioned from interviewees, as well as a feeling of ungratefulness from governments towards young people and the sacrifice they felt they needed to do. Among these sacrifices, we could count a sense of anxiousness for young people with their future, their financial and emotional stability, their mental fragility, the risk of facing multiple financial, housing and social crises, adding to the fear and insecurities of policymakers' lack of engagement facing the impacts of global warming. "Of course, I want to take the edge off," expressed Kevin (29 y/o, male, Australian) when asked the nature of his risky behaviours; "I've studied more than 6 years, I should be earning enough money by now to buy my own place, maybe settle down with somebody, pursue my hobbies and thrive career-wise. But now, all of these plans just flew right in front of me, so if I want to see friends, listen to music, dance a little and relieve some stress with a sniff or two, then it's a done deal."

It is interesting to notice that 100% of the participants of the study agreed on never having participating in an illegal rave (whether in a hangar, bunker, forest, or lake) in Berlin until the summer 2020, the first summer during the COVID-19 crisis and its restrictions. The majority of the types of parties these young people would have attended to would have been techno parties in nightclubs. In the case of James, for instance, after the first wave of restrictions in March 2020, he mainly attended house parties and *afters*, open-airs in the summer and illegal raves, in the hope of enjoying his youth and his social life in Berlin. However, he noted that throughout the summer of 2021: "I go to less open airs, they are overpriced (from 15 to 25 euros), they are too short (from 12 p.m. until 10 p.m. the latest) and the crowd is also not ideal for me." For many participants, finding the parties was a fluid process; house parties would be only between friends and illegal raves would be from word-of-mouth or simply through the direct invitation of the organizers or artists. When it comes to the future of nightlife and the impact of the pandemic on this sector, 100% of the 6 nightlife workers and professionals interviewed, believe that the *scene*[5] has been largely impacted: "I believe that clubs will never fully recover" says Thomas, 31 y/o, male, Australian, DJ.

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[5] The *scene* is the world-widely used term to define the underground nightlife culture. It can refer to Berlin's subculture to the techno subculture in general.

One of the participants of the study gives throughout her interview and experience a great insight regarding the work of organizing a party during the global pandemic; a sex party in this case. Maria is a young DJ and party organizer who moved to Berlin in 2012 at the age of 18. She discovered her passion and the hedonistic nightlife industry that the city has to offer, leading her now to playing in clubs all around Europe, organizing club nights and sex parties. After participating in private sex parties a few years ago, she realized that the organization offered was not satisfying her need and made her feel uncomfortable. There were about 50 participants at the parties with "a room filled of people who knew each other, so you create small groups, and nobody meets other people. If you go there by yourself and it's your first experience, so you're very shy, and you are forced to introduce yourself to people who are already in their social groups. It's very dry," Maria explains. The lack of fluidity and the directness of the atmosphere disturbed her.

Creating a concept of a sex party where people would feel comfortable and safe started to become a dream of hers. Discussing with a friend and future business partner (who organizes social experiments on human behaviour with figures of authority), both of them decided in summer 2020 to organize a sex party based on this concept. It was important for them to create a place that was not a chem-sex fuelled space, "I'm actually pretty against it. I can see how this system can be so dangerous. And sex is one of the purest things in life and I don't want to ruin it" she says, referring especially to GHB and GBL. Every participant had to go through a 15-minute interview where their answers were processed into an algorithm to decide on which night of the weekend (Friday or Saturday) and therefore which group they were put into. At the party, each participant had orders given to them which enabled them to create a contact and an interaction with somebody else. The actions (that were not invasive or constraining somebody's consent according to Maria), were in order for people to feel comfortable, to let go of their boundaries and fears and connect with somebody else. Everybody had a choice to go further or not, on their own decision. The party could be found by participants on dating apps focused on sexual encounters only, such as "Feeld".[6] It shows then an interest from a group of young people still seeking for a form of connectivity with one another in the heart of the global pandemic. The sex parties were organized with the COVID-19 regulations, allowing an under 50 people capacity (the parties had a maximum of 30 people per night) and a mandatory COVID test or proof of vaccination before going to the event. The organizers were waiting for the end of lockdown (July 2021) as "we didn't want to take the responsibility of being a cluster," said Maria.

As well as most of the participants, COVID-19 impacted Maria's professional career. As a DJ, she went from playing almost every weekend, to never, throughout the first six months of the pandemic, from March 2020 until August 2020. Even though she eventually received financial

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[6] "Feeld" is a dating app for couples and singles that advertises open-mindedness with sexualities and gender identities.

support from the government (freelance relief and "Kurzarbeitergeld")[7] As per, she tried to find another way to work and to entertain herself, if not with regular parties, with other kinds. Despite being an artist through the uncertain times of COVID-19, she feels confident about her future and the nightlife scene around her: "I want to believe that it's going to be amazing, it's giving the motivation especially working for the music. I don't know when though. I know some DJs who are in their 40s who worry because they don't know when they'll play again, and they feel frustrated because of their age and the time flying."

Many artists and amateur musicians and clubs found a solution to maintain some digital visibility throughout the pandemic. From the beginning of the pandemic, following the closing of spaces and therefore the cancellation of artists bookings, the concept of *livestreaming* became globally known and used. For instance, in Berlin, where the cultural platform "United We Stream" (supported by global platforms such as ARTE and by the German Senate Department of Culture: https://unitedwestream.berlin) was created, the support received by viewers managed to sustain a form of professional validation for these artists. Some of them gain popularity over the pandemic through this process. For the viewers, it allowed them to participate and experience music in the comfort of their home, without the interactions with others (de Paor-Evans, 2020).

Comparing the summer 2020 and the summer 2021, most of the participants have noticed an improvement of the organizations of illegal parties: raves have now most of the time a bar, shuttles to the closest station, different recycling trash systems and consistent request of proof of recovery, vaccinations or recent negative tests. Sonia (mentioned above), however, had noticed a lack of awareness regarding drug taking and felt uncomfortable with the ease some party goers had with using a substantial amount of drugs in public. She said feeling unsafe, and was anxious of accidents and overdoses and of the lack of responsibility from the organizers.

Throughout the process of interviews, the name *Hasenheide* came up repeatedly. It is the name of a park in the centre of the city which was mostly an underground queer area known as a *cruising* area where queer people would meet sex partners. However, during the summer of 2020, the park was used as well by others, to party, meet people, take drugs and socialize. According to James, it is now "a place you go to when you have nowhere else to go and it's way straighter and younger. It's more drunk and heteronormative now." Hasenheide Park seemed to have played an important role in the shaping of young people's nightlife in the summer of 2020, as it created a stagnant and central space, where they would be able to meet.

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[7] "Kurzarbeitgeld" is the short-time work benefit the German government allowed to its workers who temporarily had their work hours reduced due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

As aforementioned, many clubs were threatened to permanently shut their doors and so they had to come up with creative solutions to survive throughout the pandemic. Besides Berghain, the other fetish club KitKat opened its doors to act as a COVID test centre (*The Economist*, 2021), other venues held open-airs in the summer, respecting the regulations of the Berlin state.

A post-pandemic future: what does that entail?

The findings also show the importance for governments and policymakers to put in place solutions for a post-COVID life, aiming to support the arts, the nightlife, tourism, and entertainment industry, as well as showing empathy and recognition to young peoples' struggle during this period. This necessity for solutions had been established at the beginning of the pandemic (Dümcke, 2021). Dümcke quotes Tobias Knoblich, President of the German Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft who had already in March 2020 published a paper establishing the future need for cultural infrastructures and the arts in Germany will be requiring in the post-pandemic future, and reminding of this sector's validity among others (economic, social, etc).

As well as policymakers, university researchers and people working closely in or with the nightlife sector have been trying to find long-term solutions to help the relief and recovery of this economy. Ramello (2020) enumerates the different areas of attention that need to be brought onto the stress undergone by party organizers, venue managers or club owners. Taking into account, the imminent re-opening of indoor clubs throughout Europe, including Berlin, it is necessary for the workers of the nightlife industry to prepare for the multiple challenges they will face. For example: reducing the capacity of the venues, creating an online ticket purchase system which therefore comes with the entering of personal data in case of a COVID-19 outbreak, or adapting to regulations on artist travel, test events and use of outdoor space.

Through the results of the data found in the process of research of this project, it is interesting to recognize the similarities in the behaviour of the young people interviewed. In other words, the way young people have managed to shape and maintain their social life, their support to the nightlife industry and their upkeeping of their risky behaviours through the multiple lockdowns and the regulations regarding the COVID-19 crisis.

As far as the governmental regulations put in place and the new solutions found for cultural spaces and events to sustain a "living with COVID-19" system, the most prominent and popular one would be the installing of systematic "proof of health" pass. From August 31 2020, the Berlin Senate voted on the reopening of indoor clubbing with a consistent checking at the entrance of a proof of recovery from COVID-19 or of a vaccination (berlin.de, 2020). This decision is also allowing face masks to not be compulsory anymore, although it is advised to wear it freely. These

new regulations are therefore allowing young people, tourists and nightlife workers of Berlin a soft "return to normalcy" period, of which's future will be depending on the evolution of the pandemic and the controlling over potential new variants.

In the aftermath of the COVID-19 crisis, clearly, the nightlife's sector is an economic necessity for the economy of a city and country, as well as for the beneficial social and personal outlet it creates for its consumers. It is studied as a culture focusing on community creation and bonding between people, and necessary for one's wellbeing (Nofre, 2021). In the case of the young participants interviewed in this study, participating in the nightlife of Berlin, is an outlet given that allows to receive support and care from like-minded beings looking for a form of escapism, through hedonism or else.

Conclusion and Discussion

Reflecting on the findings of this research and the data collected throughout the many lengthy interviews with the participants, we could question the alternatives to what could have been found during the evolution of the global pandemic COVID-19 in Berlin. The different causal possibilities when trying to understand the evolution of regulations since the beginning of the global crisis regarding the impact of the pandemic on Berlin's nightlife and its participants. We can see a correlation with how young people have been perceived throughout the pandemic (Arnett, 2007). Arnett describes how young people have been targeted through the mainstream media and policymakers as selfish and portrayed a lazy youth. This also can be referred to the case of young people that continued their hedonistic and leisure-based behaviours and would not intentionally respect the social-distancing rules during lockdowns in Berlin. Was this situation showing a lack of interest from young people to "take one for the team" as Sonia mentioned in her interview, because of their selfishness and general *ennui* when thinking of their future that urged them to break the rules and meet throughout the pandemic? Or, was it a situation caused by a lack of attention of policymakers regarding these questions: what about youth and culture? Whether it is through escapism and risky behaviours due to them being *self-focused* (Arnett, 2007), or through coping with the pandemic at whatever costs, one can recognize the sacrifices that young people and nightlife professionals and participants had to overcome since the beginning of the global crisis.

This paper has looked at young people living in Berlin during lockdowns and the impact on their night-time practices. The main findings are that they generally felt outcasted from the political sphere and asked to sacrifice a part of their self-growth as young adults in the midst of the COVID crisis in order to avoid outbreaks of cases. However, the multiplicity of the lockdowns and the lack of communication regarding the outcome of the nightlife industry worried them, and their fragile

perspectives enabled them to participate in risky behaviours in order to enjoy their youth in the hedonistic city of Berlin.

From my observations, during the multiple lockdowns in Berlin from March 2020 to August 2021, a reshaping in young people's mindset occurred characterised by the understanding of the necessity of nightlife and cultural events as an outlet to thrive socially and emotionally. With the uncertain yet immediate post-pandemic future ahead, we can wonder on the reshaping of nightlife itself and the progress of relations with governments and the community. The bettering of these relationships and communications would benefit the awareness and work that still needs to be done to prevent from more drug-abuse incidents. It is necessary for a bond of trust rather than fear and threat to be created. One can only hope but to heal the fragmented relationship between young people and policymakers in order to create a fluid progress in the battle against COVID-19 being a global and ongoing pandemic. Perhaps, through the medium of arts and culture, an understanding could be found.

Acknowledgments

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Dangers in the night:

Archaeological case studies of the ancient Mayas of Mesoamerica

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Abstract

Throughout human history, nighttime has often been perceived as a dangerous time. The perspective of the archaeology of the night employs material evidence, art history, epigraphy, and the judicious use of ethnohistorical and ethnographical materials to allow us to envision how ancient peoples faced the dark nights of the past. Darkness constituted an essential component for arousing fear of the night, so much so, that darkness was considered sacred. For the ancient Mayas who thrived in the neotropics of Mesoamerica, the primordial night was equated with the time before creation, while the nights of human experience held equally great symbolic value. To cope with drastic nocturnal changes, people created rituals, myths, tales, and technologies to comfort and keep themselves in safe places. A different cast of characters emerged at night, some of whom were innocuous while others were harbingers of fear and fright. For the ancient Mayas of Mexico and Central America, the landscape thrived with crepuscular creatures, such as jaguars, bats, owls, poisonous snakes, and scorpions, all of which were imbued with powers to harm humans. Deer, rabbits, and stray dogs emerged as dusk settled in, devouring crops and destroying the livelihood of the people. It was not advisable to be out alone walking the trails at night: *wahy* beings brought disease and destruction upon all who came upon them. Sorcery was best performed in the dark, making an encounter with a nocturnal being perilous. Religion and ritual helped mitigate such dangers. The Moon Goddess's routine was well noted with sophisticated lunar calendars: rulers and farmers alike synchronized their livelihoods with her phases, while the Nine Lords of the Night presided. From humble houses to royal residences, the material and the spiritual were utilized to great effect to ward off the dangers of the night.

Keywords: archaeology; Mayas; danger; darkness; Mesoamerica

Section 1: Introduction

One of the greatest challenges in studying the night is that we humans are a diurnal species. One must stay alert from dusk to dawn while maintaining keen observations and participating in nightlife. While the inquiry into ancient nights does not have that constraint, it presents its own hurdles since the objects of our interest lie buried in the past and literally in the dark in the ground. However, I, and many other archaeologists (Gonlin & Nowell 2018a, 2018b; Gonlin & Reed 2021; Gonlin & Strong 2022) have successfully accomplished this objective by utilizing a perspective that I created called the "archaeology of the night." We employ the robustness of the material record and insights from art history and epigraphy with the judicious use of ethnohistory and ethnography to reliably envision how nights long ago were lived. This orientation falls under the broader umbrella of the anthropology of the night (Galinier et al. 2010) that additionally encompasses sociocultural anthropology, biological anthropology, linguistics, and applied anthropology.

Studying the dangerous side of the dark involves emotions and senses, both past and present (Fleisher & Norman 2016; Tarlow 2012). Throughout human history, nighttime has often been perceived as a dangerous time as the sun sets, the temperature drops, the air grows heavier, and darkness envelops the landscape (Figure 1). Sensory archaeology serves as a critical part of comprehending these changes (e.g., Claasen 1997; Day 2013; Hamilakis 2013; Houston & Taube 2000). The primordial night is equated with the time before creation, while the nights of human experience hold equally great symbolic value. To cope, humans created rituals, myths, tales, and technologies to comfort and keep us within the confines of our homes. While the taming of fire enabled ancient people to go about their nocturnal business, it was not business as usual. A different cast of characters emerged at night, some of whom were innocuous while others were harbingers of fear and fright.

Figure 1: The world appears very different when the night sky is dark and the stars and moon shine brightly. Nighttime view of Chichen Itza, Mexico, a Terminal Classic/Postclassic Maya city. Photo: R. Cobos.

In this article, the ancient Mayas who lived in Mexico and Central America (Figure 2), are highlighted to illustrate that the dangers of the night are by no means a modern phenomenon. A note of consequence is that today millions of descendants of the Mayas have persisted through wars, colonialism, and ongoing struggles; they have generously allowed us archaeologists to intrude into their current lifeways to help us better understand the lives of their ancestors (Gonlin 2020a, 2020b). The living Maya descendants, like all of us, now experience a different night sky and world than our ancestors before us. Electricity and light pollution have drastically altered the nightscapes as we now know them.

Figure 2: Mesoamerica is designated by the green irregular shape that extends from northern Mexico through the Pacific coast of El Salvador. It encompasses the modern countries of Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador. The Maya peoples, past and present, live in southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. The Basin of Mexico in central Mexico was home to the Classic Period Teotihuacanos (non-Maya) and the Postclassic Aztec empire centered at their capital of Tenochtitlan. Original map Modified by N. Gonlin from © Sémhur / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-3.0, or Free Art License.

Section 2: Dangers in Ancient Maya Nights

There were numerous dangers the ancient Maya peoples faced on a nightly basis. The homelands of the ancient Mayas encompassed the neotropics that thrived with crepuscular and nocturnal creatures that formed part of the cultural landscape (Reed & Gonlin 2021). Jeremy Coltman states that "The forest wilds were under the domain of primeval night and were home to some of the most powerful and dangerous beings conjured up in the ancient Maya religious and philosophical imagination" (Coltman 2021, 214). Jaguars, bats, owls, poisonous snakes, spiders, centipedes, scorpions, and other potentially dangerous

animals (Figure 3) were imbued with powers to harm humans (Taube 2003). Animals emerged as dusk settled in, devouring crops and destroying one's livelihood. Guarding cornfields comprised an essential task in this agrarian society, though not without risk. Deer, for example, were long regarded as tricksters in the Maya origin myth, the *Popol Vuh* (Graña-Behrens 2014, 16).

Figure 3: The jaguar (*Panthera onca*) is a nocturnal predator that was associated with rulers in Classic Maya societies. Photo modified from: WorldLandTrust.org.

Night hunting was sometimes necessary and desirable to acquire nocturnal beasts and to traverse this other-worldly landscape (Jorgenson 1993,78; Looper 2019, 29; Wisdom 1940, 71). Pictured in this polychrome vase (Figure 4) from the Late Classic period (600-900 CE), deer are featured against a black background with star glyphs around the rim, symbolizing darkness and night. Deer were a favored food, (e.g., Pohl 1994, 459), but sometimes were much more. Their beings could be co-opted into something evil. For many Indigenous peoples, the social world was one that included humans and non-humans alike (Weismantel 2021, 7).

Figure 4: Rollout of a Classic Maya pottery vessel (K5204) showing deer and a skyband with star glyphs. Photo: ©Justin Kerr. (Note: the "K" number designates photos from Justin Kerr's online database: http://www.mayavase.com)

It was not advisable to be out alone walking the trails at night as one's own senses were tested as well as the dangerous metaphorical darkness. Supernatural beings called "*wahy*" brought disease and destruction to those who came upon them, and they frequented the night. Portrayal of *wahy* beings have survived on Classic Maya polychrome vessels (Figure 5). They were phantasmal combinations of animals, such as deer, and demons, something beyond nature (Velásquez García 2015). David Stuart (2021, 193) has evaluated *wahyob* (plural of *wahy*) and found that "… the ancient *wahy* beings represented the animate dark forces that were embedded in the complex power structures of ancient Maya society."
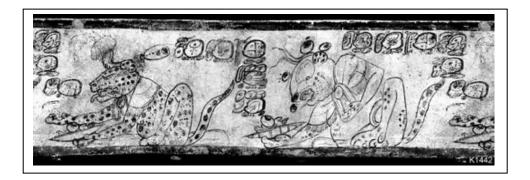

Figure 5: *Wahy* beings were demons that roamed the night, carried disease, and preyed on humans. Pictured on this pottery vessel are jaguar and rodent *wahyob* feasting on human body parts (K1442). Photo: ©Justin Kerr.

Stuart (2021, 196) associates certain *wahy* with individual royal houses and further concludes that "the *wahy* beings more accurately represent demonic forces, frightening spooks, and agents of disease, all closely tied to the exercise of coercive influence among high-ranking Maya elites." Classic Maya kings conjured the powers of sorcerers and may have served in this capacity, merging royal privilege and duties with the cosmos. Rulers' powers were enhanced through their alignment with dangerous beings and practices.

Sorcery was best performed under cover of darkness, making an encounter with a nocturnal being perilous. One never knew who sorcerers were, as they appeared as normal beings during the day. Ethnographers observed in the Yucatan of Mexico where "the bush is a dangerous place where witches take animal form" (Coltman 2021, 211). Employing wicked power, sorcerers could transform themselves into animal shapes and bring death to their victims, as recorded for numerous Mesoamerican peoples (e.g., Lucero & Gibbs 2007, 47; Sandstrom & Effrein Sandstrom 2021, 82).

Other dangers of the night further emanated from one's fellow human being in the form of warfare. Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos records that the origins of warfare related to "a primeval confrontation among the stars" (Chinchilla Mazariegos 2011; 2017, 75). Some battles may have occurred at night or perhaps at dawn, when the element of surprise would have been greatest. Murals from Bonampak, a Classic Maya city in Chiapas, Mexico exemplify this strategy. Structure 1 (Figure 6A) conveys a narrative of the designation of an heir to the throne in Room 1, a battle in Room 2, and a celebratory dance in Room 3 (Houston 2018, 140). Mary Miller (Miller 1986, 2001; Miller & Brittenham 2013) has decoded the scenery, figures, and writings. She wisely cautions that these lifelike paintings "are not a depiction of 'what happened.'" With that caveat in mind, we can emerge with certain general impressions of Maya warfare. Our focus is on Room 2 (Figure 6B), a battle scene dated to July 19, 786 CE (Miller & Brittenham 2013, 67). King Yasaw Chan Muwaan of Bonampak and soldiers attack and succeed in obtaining captives. The darkness of the background and symbols of stars and constellations likely indicate that this skirmish occurred at night (Houston 2018, 203, note 10).

Temptations at night are different sorts of danger that ancient Maya people faced: the moon and tobacco are intimately associated with nocturnal desires. Numerous Maya myths recall the origins of tobacco and how they connected to Moon, the daughter of the Earth Lord (Pickands 2019). Seduction and trickery are part of the scene: Moon represents temptation. She brings light, but also represents indulgence. "Moon is the mother of intoxication whether by sweetness, sexuality, sorcery, alcohol, or tobacco" (Pickands 2019, 34). Tobacco was a powerful, dark, desired substance, that heightened one's powers. In Maya iconography, smoking is a cue for the night (Houston 2018, 106) (Figure 7)

Figure 6: A) Structure 1 at Bonampak, Mexico is a 3-room building where the Classic Maya recorded events in colorful murals painted on the interior walls of each room. Photo: N. Gonlin; B) A battle scene was painted in Room 2, south wall, Bonampak, Mexico, Maya, AD 791. Reconstruction, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Bonampak Documentation Project, illustrated by Heather Hurst and Leonard Ashby. Courtesy of Mary Miller.

Figure 7: The scene painted on this pottery vessel (K0625) features the ruler and his subject smoking. Cigars signal the advent of night. This ruler employed a polished stone mirror to see into the future, as well as directly behind him. Photo: ©Justin Kerr.

Apart from portrayals on pots, archaeologists now rely upon residue analysis to uncover the contents of vessels (Loughmiller-Cardinal 2018, 2019). Jennifer Loughmiller-Cardinal (2019) analyzed

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several small pots, known as snuff bottles or flasks (Figures 8A, 8B), that were used to store this dried tobacco. The domesticated *N. tabacum* was widely grown and used throughout the Americas before European conquest (Loughmiller-Cardinal & Eppich 2019, 1, 4). The Copan Valley of Honduras, home to a Classic Maya city (Webster et al. 2000), was, and still is, known as an excellent area for growing tobacco (Figure 8C). Its fine quality, distinctive taste, sweet flavor, and high potency were as remarkable in the past as they are today (Eppich & Navarro-Farr 2019, 215). Chewing tobacco or snuff was an offering to the deities, and religious specialists often employed tobacco as part of their ritual toolkit to petition gods (Loughmiller-Cardinal & Eppich 2019, 6). Maya shamans utilized intoxicants to great effect to commune with ancestors, spirits, and beings of this world and beyond. Overindulgence, however, had its consequences. The dangers of tobacco are well-known today as well as the pleasures of smoking. Nicotine stimulates the pleasure center of the central nervous system, releasing dopamine (McBride 2019, 107). Overuse and over ingestion, however, can lead to nicotine toxicity or even poisoning, a situation that can cause death (McBride 2019, 108). It is little wonder that this potent plant was afforded the respect it deserved by the Mayas.
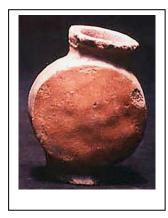

Figure 8: A) Clay flask (Surlo plain type) that possibly held tobacco recovered in the burial of a woman interred at 8N-11, Copan, Honduras. Photo: R. Widmer, courtesy of D. Webster; B) Clay tobacco flask, possibly from Copan. Library of Congress, Kislak Collection. Photo: J. Loughmiller-Cardinal; C) Tobacco plants growing in the rich alluvium of Copan, Honduras. Photo: N. Gonlin.

Other dangers of the night were in the form of alcohol (Figure 9). The Maya invented numerous types of beverages (Spenard et al. 2020), some of which were fermented, such as pulque from the sap of the agave, *kakaw* from cacao beans (Figure 10A), coyol wine from the sap of the coyol palm, manioc beer from the tuber, balché from honey and the bark of the balché tree, and other plants (Balick 1990; Bruman, 2000; Dixon 2013; Lentz 1991; McGovern 2009; Tokovinine 2016). Some of these beverages bubbled and foamed, a clear indication of divine presence (Stross 2011, 478) (Figure 10B). Such effervescence could come from within due to the fermentation process or it could be created by beating or pouring, as shown

on this Classic Maya vase that depicts a woman pouring a cacao drink from great heights to achieve a top layer of foam (Figure 10C).

Figure 9: The scene on this roll-out of a Classic Maya vessel (K1092) is referred to as "The Drunkards." Indulgence is clearly portrayed. Photo: ©Justin Kerr.

Figure 10: A) Cacao tree with pods, Finca Chontal, Tabasco, Mexico. Photo: N. Gonlin; B) A ruler sits on his throne and enjoys offerings of tamales (below his seat) and a cup of foaming cacao, just to his left (K6418). Photo: ©Justin Kerr. C) A woman pours cacao from a height to froth it (K0511). Photo: ©Justin Kerr. Princeton Art Museum. Museum purchase, gift of the Hans A. Widenmann, Class of 1918, and Dorothy Widenmann Foundation.

Enemas of pulque drink (Houston 2018, 53) had the quick effect of intoxicating any who partook, as depicted on this vessel (Figure 11A). Substances were absorbed into the body at a quicker pace than drinking and enhanced the intoxicant's effect. Gods and mortals alike indulged, as this pot features God A'

with a container full of a fermented beverage and an enema clyster in front of him. Note this unique ceramic shape (Figure 11B), which was used as a clyster. Such vessels have been recovered archaeologically, such as those from Copan, Honduras (Figure 11C).

Figure 11: A) Men receiving enemas with the assistance of women (K0596)). Photo: ©Justin Kerr; B) Administration of an enema using a clyster. Note the shape of the clyster vessel (K1550). Photo: ©Justin Kerr.
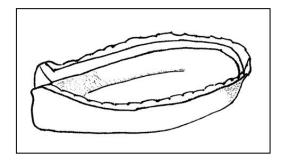

Figure 11: C) Possible clyster vessel from the urban neighborhood of Copan, Honduras. Redrawn from Willey et al. (1994, Fig. 71).

The dangers of the night for the ancient Mayas were numerous and comingled the natural and supernatural. Nocturnal predators on the prowl, risky activities such as hunting, *wahy* beings roaming the landscape, sorcerers working their magic, soldiers involved in nighttime raids, and temptations from intoxicants and hallucinogens made facing the night a dark business. Yet most people survived and thrived to prosper another day. Strategies to face these dangers head on were adaptive, comforting, and necessary in a world without the luxury of lighting round the clock.

Section 3: Mitigating the Dangers of the Night

Nocturnal dangers faced by the ancient Mayas were countered by practices created to lessen or eliminate the ill effects of evil forces and temptations. One way to keep at bay what lurked in the dark was to illuminate it by torch or hearth. Torches are portrayed in various media, but archaeological evidence comes mainly from protected locations, such as caves, where the Classic Maya performed a variety of rituals. Iconographic evidence is plentiful and the Maya wrote about torches too, creating a symbol that resembles the torch itself (Figures 12A, 12B). Nocturnal palace scenes are cued by the presence of torches to brighten the interiors of stone palaces, chase away the dampness, and to better read one's political allies (Figure 12A). Torches were necessary equipment for the nocturnal hunter who performed nighttime rituals before setting out for a successful hunt (Wisdom 1940, 71-72) to surprise a deer in the torchlight.

Figure 12: A) TAAJ glyph, symbolizing "torch." In Stone & Zender (2011, 161). Drawing: Marc Zender. B) Torches indicate a dark palace interior, perhaps a scene that took place at night, as cued by the figure on the far right who is smoking (K1728). The manipulation of shadows would be carefully executed by the ruler. Photo: ©Justin Kerr.

Remains of the three-stone hearth occur in the archaeological record in the form of lenses of ash, but in rare cases, the actual stones (Figure 13), symbolically and functionally valuable, were left behind. Such was the case at the Classic Maya community of Joya de Cerén, El Salvador (Sheets 2006), where a volcanic eruption surprised inhabitants of this farming village on a hot summer night in August in 630 CE. The hearth held great symbolic value as the center of activity and the universe (Pitts 2011, 12). Its light and warmth went far to lessen the dangers of the night, whether the hearth was a permanent one at a residence or a temporary one in the field built by those on nocturnal guard duty (Wisdom 1940, 48).
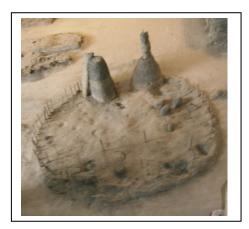
Figure 13: The remains of Household 1's kitchen with its 3-stone hearth (inside the circular structure, upper right), at Joya de Cerén, El Salvador. Hearthstones are rarely left behind, as they are valuable materially and symbolically. The outline of the kitchen and its adobe doorway were preserved by volcanic ash. Photo: N. Gonlin.

Nocturnal blooming plants often sport white flowers which are highly visible in the night, attracting pollinators such as bats and moths. In-depth knowledge of plant life was utilized to great effect by ancient and modern Maya peoples alike (Slotten 2021). Numerous plants of the night were employed to combat illnesses, such as the application of the "night-herb" (*Blechum pyramidatum*) to abate night sweats or night fever in children (Slotten 2021, 62). The ingestion of plants falls under proscriptive treatments that specifically require nocturnal consumption, such as *Hamelia patens* for stomach ailments: this species has been recovered in ancient sites throughout the Maya region (Slotten 2021, 64). Assistance with sleep could be achieved through the aptly named "sleeper plant" *(Mimosa pudica)* (Slotten 2021, 64-67) (Figure 14). One can even arrange one's sleeping area and compose it of plants that will help one sleep; and wood from the *Zanthoxylum* plant was prescribed to ward off evil winds (Slotten 2021, 67).

Figure 14: *Mimosa pudica* can assist one in sleeping. Photo: V. Slotten.

Mitigating warfare could take many different forms. One of the most obvious and prominent on the landscape is the construction of fortifications, embankments, earthworks, fences, and walls. One such enormous defense dates to the end of the Preclassic Period in Mesoamerica, around 100-200 CE at the Maya site of Becán in Campeche, Mexico (Webster & Ball 2021) (Figure 15). The walls of this earth work were several meters high and enclosed a space that was large enough to protect at a minimum those who lived within the enclosure, perhaps a thousand people. Other such defensive constructions have been found in the Maya Lowlands and date to the Classic Period (e.g., Dos Pilas [Houston 1993, 51]; Naachtun [Arredondo Levia 2010]; Tikal [Webster et al. 2007]). The selection of defensive positions on the landscape was another way to help secure one's safety, and many a hilltop are known to contain remains of ancient settlements.
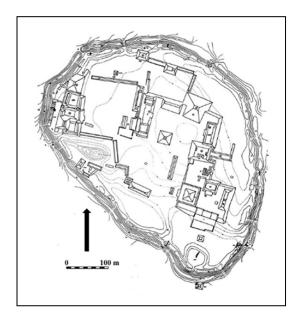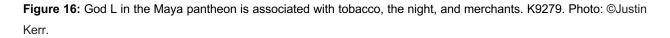

Figure 15: The Preclassic/Early Classic Maya site of Becán, Campeche, Mexico showing the major structures inside the large embankment that surrounds this settlement. Such fortifications helped to mitigate the dangers of warfare for those fortunate enough to be inside the enclosure. Drawing: D. Webster.

Sentinels for alerting the population of an imminent attack were likewise constructed in these ideal locations. It has been hypothesized that the placement of stone monoliths or stelae throughout the Copan Valley by the long-reigning twelfth ruler of Copan, Chan Imix K'awiil, was strategic in nature (Schele & Looper 2005, 365-371); fire or smoke signals could be conveyed from these ideal locations and seen by those living in the surrounding area and the royal core of Copan.

Religion and ritual helped alleviate nocturnal dangers. The Moon Goddess's routine was well noted with sophisticated lunar calendars; rulers and farmers alike synchronized their livelihoods with her phases (Landau et al. 2022), while the Nine Lords of the Night presided. Throughout Mesoamerica, the phase of the new moon was an ominous time, notably for the Moon Goddess and fertility of plants (Klein 2021, 299). Timings of events were carefully aligned to ensure propitious outcomes. Other deities in the Maya pantheon figured prominently in the nighttime. The Moon goddess appears in depictions of God L, establishing a relationship between these two entities.

God L is a deity found in portrayals during the Classic (250-900 CE) and Postclassic (900-1519 CE) periods of Mesoamerica. According to Karl Taube (1992, 79-88), this deity was one of the Principal Lords of the Underworld and often portrayed as aged, with black body coloration, smoking a cigar, and wearing a wide-brimmed hat in which an owl rests. His dark color may signify rain since God L also conjures rain and lightning (Taube 1992, 84). As a "merchant god," he "often appears with a merchant bundle and a staff or spear" (Taube 1992, 88). Avatars of God L are the jaguar and moan owl who are creatures of the night and darkness. If one were a Maya merchant traveling at night, as the later Mexica traders (*pochteca*) did, one would conjure his name for safety's sake and waft tobacco smoke, warding off *wahy* beings and other harmful creatures (Figure 16). Tobacco afforded protection, provided one used this powerful substance with the required respect.

Figure 16: God L in the Maya pantheon is associated with tobacco, the night, and merchants. K9279. Photo: ©Justin Kerr.

Tobacco is connected to shamanism in Mesoamerica and generally in the indigenous cultures of the Americas (Hull 2019; McBride 2019). It was the savvy ruler who also performed as shaman for divination and prophecy. Commoners and kings alike may have utilized this nicotine-laden plant in similar ways. In contemporary Maya societies, one typically rubs a tobacco-lime preparation over the body to counter danger (Groark 2019, 70). Tobacco serves as a mediator between darkness and nocturnal perils: "The tobacco snuff preparation is said to defend (-*poj*) the user: curing illness, repelling evil forces, blinding witches and earth lords, paralyzing snakes, dissipating storms, protecting from lightning strikes, ransoming captured souls, and conferring an afterlife of rest and repose" (Groark 2019, 69). For numerous substances of the dark, whether tobacco, pulque, fermented cacao, coyol wine, manioc beer, or balché, proscriptions and proper procedures for ritual consumption helped to regulate ill effects and misuse.

Section 4: Concluding the Night

Across the globe and in different times and places, ancient peoples generally feared, revered, and respected the night (Gonlin & Nowell 2018a, 2018b). They utilized it to their advantage for covert activities and they also hid and protected themselves from the dangers of the dark. Among the ancient Romans, some citizens reveled into the night, making much noise as they went about their merry-making while others took advantage of such situations for illicit actions (Storey 2018). Noisy nightlife is not unique to modern humans, nor is pilfering, soliciting, or robbing in the dark.

Many used the night for carrying out dangerous economic activities. For example, during the Iron Age (AD 200-1900) of southern Africa, hazardous economic tasks were performed at night when cooler temperatures made it ideal for smelting metals (Chirikure & Moffett 2018). Smiths found that the advantages far outweighed the dangers of the night and were willing to brave the darkness for superior results. Bryan Palmer (2000) relays how the night was utilized in Medieval Europe for plotting and politicking, as well as baking bread and other commercial activities that helped to set the stage for the dawn of a new day. Polynesians, past and present, are well-known for nocturnal navigation with the help of the stars, their vast knowledge of the sea, and the blessings of their deities: "…stars are the islands in the sea of the night" (Van Gilder 2018, 161).

Others who lived in the area we now call Mesoamerica shared some practices with those of the ancient Mayas. People with means to combat the darkness fared better than those with meager resources. The urban dwellers of the central Mexican city of Teotihuacan (50 BC to AD 650) had numerous uses for wood, a precious commodity that may have served to stratify these inhabitants in their nocturnal activities (Widmer 2021). Some strategically used the night to conduct rituals, read the stars, or hide covert behaviors while others heated and lit up their homes with modest cooking fires, the aroma of which permeated the cityscape.

Later in time in central Mexico, the Mexica conquered surrounding territories, incorporating millions of people into what is today referred to as the Aztec empire (AD 1300s to 1521). The New Fire Ceremony already had a long history in Mesoamerica but this stunning ritual came to be most associated with the Mexica who leveraged its popularity for political purposes (Farah & Evans 2022). The sacred cycle of fifty-two years symbolized the meshing of a ritual calendar and a solar calendar which was just cause for apprehension as well as celebration. Similar to how the Mayas had used religion and ritual to mitigate dangers of the night, so too did the peoples of the Aztec empire. On the eve of the New Fire Ceremony, all fires throughout the empire were extinguished and all was in darkness. Only the greatest of sacrifices could satisfy the gods and put things right again: "And then at midnight as the Pleiades passed overhead, on a sacrificial altar atop a hill south of the great urban center Tenochtitlan, flames were coaxed from a bit of smoking tinder, a fire sparked in the chest cavity of a sacrificial victim. This event signaled that life and light had been reborn and would be shared in a magnificent spectacle as lit torches brought the fire to hearths and braziers – and to other torches. And thus, fire pulsed through the whole great region around the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan (later known as Mexico City)." (Farah & Evans 2022, 224).

Danger clearly shaped ancient cultures in numerous ways. For the ancient Mayas, how well nocturnal risks were dealt with could affect one's well-being, livelihood, and success in society on a daily and long-term basis. The allure of danger, however, was ever present in forms from substances to sex. Forbidden fruits were offered to royal guests, visiting elites, and others to lubricate diplomatic dealings. Night was an active time for the ancient Mayas, filled with plentiful perils from animals to supernatural entities. The Maya people cleverly devised mechanisms to mitigate such risk through the darkness of night. Today, many Maya peoples have adapted to changing nights and mitigate them in different, but no less effective, ways than their ancestors did.

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Nocturnal Urban Natures

Multispecies encounters in the pandemic city after dark

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Abstract

The coronavirus pandemic has manifest itself spatially in various ways through forms of lockdown, restriction, and curfew. This has significantly disrupted the activities and rhythms within many urban places after dark, especially in relation to the night-time economy. In the UK, this has meant cities at night have temporarily become the preserve of designated key workers, with a degree of this labour operating precariously. Frequently exhausted and overworked, some of these workers have sought to find restoration and recuperation in spaces of the nocturnal city that pre-pandemic would not provide such respite.

By contrast, sites of urban nature which were previously occupied by individuals and groups after dark, each with different, sometimes competing, interests upon the demarcation and use of these places are noticeably devoid of human activity. Access to green space, meanwhile, has been a prominent feature of stories concerning health and wellbeing during lockdown yet this has nearly always been framed as a daytime activity. This paper, therefore, examines the appropriation of spaces in the nocturnal city for those undertaking nightwork while simultaneously investigating temporarily abandoned sites of urban nature to understand their character when their usual human occupants are absent.

Drawing on a series of nightwalks across the city of Manchester, UK, to illustrate the entanglements between light and dark, work and respite, presence and absence, humans and non-humans, this paper considers how urban places change when dynamics of human movement and occupation are profoundly altered. In doing so, it explores alternative futures for the city and urban nature after dark by giving expression to how we might engage with multispecies places at night to present a preview of the post-pandemic nocturnal city as a landscape that is in a process of becoming.

Keywords: nocturnal cities; urban natures; temporality; multispecies places; nightwalking

Introduction

The coronavirus pandemic has manifest itself spatially in various ways through forms of lockdown, restriction, and curfew. This has significantly disrupted the activities and rhythms within many urban places after dark, especially in relation to the night-time economy. In the context of the UK, this has meant cities at night have temporarily become the preserve of designated key workers. A notable proportion of this labour has been working precariously through the gig economy to fulfil the demands of the city and its people while under lockdown. Although there have been newcomers to gig economy work, evidence on the impacts of COVID-19 upon this workforce remains limited, fragmented, and uneven (Fairwork, 2020). Often exhausted and overworked, a number of these workers have sought to find restoration and recuperation in spaces of the nocturnal city that pre-pandemic would not provide such respite. They have identified safe spaces where they can rest, leave their bikes as appropriate, and support one another.

By contrast, sites of urban nature which were previously occupied by individuals and groups after dark, each with different, sometimes competing, interests upon the demarcation and use of these places are noticeably devoid of human activity. Access to green space, meanwhile, has been a prominent feature of stories concerning health and wellbeing during lockdown yet this has nearly always been framed as a daytime activity (Slater et al., 2020; Pouso et al., 2021). This paper, therefore, examines the appropriation of spaces in the nocturnal city for those undertaking nightwork while simultaneously investigating temporarily abandoned sites of urban nature to understand their character when their usual human occupants are absent. Drawing on a series of nightwalks across the city of Manchester, UK, to illustrate the entanglements between light and dark, work and respite, presence and absence, humans and non-humans, this paper considers how urban places change when dynamics of human movement and occupation are profoundly altered.

The paper is divided into five sections. The first section provides this introduction to the premise of the paper. The context for the fieldwork conducted during the pandemic, the city of Manchester, is presented in the second section, along with a rationale for the selection of the site of urban nature studied at night, the first part of the Irk Valley. Images are provided to aid the reader's understanding of these places after dark. The third section outlines the 'pandemic nocturnal praxis' undertaken as a methodology and explains its relevance to comprehending the different characteristics of place at night, at locations within the city centre and sites of urban nature. To illustrate how nightwalking can be applied in this way, the fourth section gives a condensed account of a five-hour nightwalk taken on 10 February 2021, which traversed the city centre before walking around the adjacent section of the Irk Valley. The fifth and final section of

the paper concludes by reflecting upon the how this approach might enable us to rethink urban policy and design practices. Through this process, the paper hints towards alternative futures for both the city and urban nature after dark. In giving expression to how we might engage with multispecies places at night, it aims to present a preview of the post-pandemic nocturnal city as a landscape that is in a process of becoming.

Presence within Absence

The pandemic city has been subject to multiple forms of reorganisation across different temporal scales due to enforced lockdown, restriction and curfew. Many headlines have been generated in relation to how different cities are, especially at night, when emptied out of their usual rhythms and civic buzz. As a result, numerous cities around the world have been noticeably quieter, cleaner, and calmer. The lack of people, traffic, and the urban choreographies usually found in a busy urban centre have led to greater attention being possible upon those aspects of the city that have endured or even become more pronounced. This 'presence within absence' is particularly evident as various forms of labour which would operate in the background, supporting the city with vital services, maintenance, and repair, or responding to the fluctuating demands of its citizens through gig economy work, are more explicit since many other people are no longer accessing the urban night. In addition, places of urban nature close to the city centre, which typically would have been populated by those living nearby, were also much less visited by humans during lockdowns and restrictions. This has meant that hitherto barely detectable presences of non-humans have become more prominent through the reduction of anthropogenic activity.

Throughout the three national lockdowns I continued my practice of nightwalking in my home city of Manchester to understand how these different measures were impacting upon the city at night. Across the second national lockdown, 5 November to 2 December 2020, I conducted twelve nightwalks around and through the city centre. The absence of the usual night-time business and people were palpable (Figures 1-3). Instead, occasional pockets of activity would appear then fade, all the more curious and conspicuous without the background hum and thrum of the city at night. During the third national lockdown, I conducted a further eight nightwalks between 3 February and 29 March 2021 along the first two-kilometre section of the Irk Valley nearest to the city centre (Figures 4-6). The rationale for selecting this section of the Irk Valley is two-fold. First, it represents an area which is very much neglected and, at least on initial appearances, unremarkable in terms of its non-human activity. Compared to other sites within the Irk Valley that have significant biodiversity, including that of nocturnal creatures, and are established and protected, this section is very much in flux. Second, it forms an important part of a major regeneration strategy, the Northern Gateway (2017) masterplan, which makes documenting its current status even more relevant before it undergoes significant change. Encountering this section

of the Irk Valley at any time of day, it is hard to ignore the qualities that suggest a place to quickly move through rather than spend any time. Flora is overgrown, the environs are strewn with litter, unmanaged coppices, burn-out vehicles, and abandoned domestic and trade waste occupies multiple sites.

The multiple and uneven distribution of darkness across the urban landscape at night offers cover for the latent, subcultural, and marginalised to be manifest in ways that are distinctly different from the quotidian routines and confines of the daytime. Such transformations are psychological, physical, and symbolic. People are able to move around differently at night, perhaps under less scrutiny than during daylit hours and outside of the roles and responsibilities they may be committed to in the daytime. When transposed to a situation of the pandemic city, where there is a heightened presence of absence, these nocturnal urban conditions offer a distinctive spatio-temporality that can reveal insightful yet often hidden rhythms, interactions, geographies, and patterns. In this way, exploring the pandemic city after dark when greater attention can be given to the built environment, largely devoid of people, also allows us to reimagine "how articulations of architecture – envelopment, permeability, scale, edge, recess – influence nocturnal spatial practice" (Downey, 2020, p. 16).

Investigating the pandemic city after dark, therefore, presents a rare opportunity to observe and document how its various elements and dynamics are profoundly disrupted. Given the lockdown rules and restrictions that were in effect during the three national lockdowns, it was not possible to engage with people at night beyond fleeting exchanges. Although a number of short conversations with bicycle couriers, cooks, drivers, health workers, security guards, streetcleaners and other service providers were encountered, apprehension amongst the pre-vaccinated population regarding transmission of COVID-19 was understandably a major concern, including from my own perspective as the researcher, and it was not possible to engage with the usual formalities and protocols of ethnographic research in a practical way. In order to think through an appropriate way to explore this unusual period – to date – for the urban night, it is worth considering how a pandemic nocturnal praxis might be formulated and applied.

Figure 1. Nightingale Hospital North West, city centre Manchester, 8 November 2020. © Nick Dunn.

Figure 2. Deansgate, city centre Manchester, 8 November 2020. © Nick Dunn.

Figure 3. Sacred Trinity Church, Salford, 8 November 2020. © Nick Dunn.
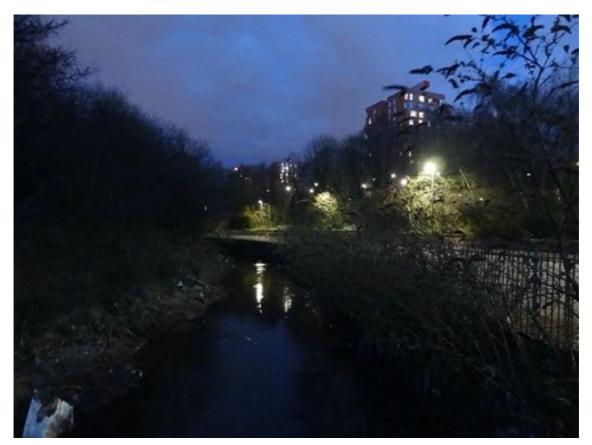

Figure 4. River Irk, looking towards Collyhurst, Irk Valley, 25 March 2021. © Nick Dunn.

Figure 5. Post-industrial coexistences, Collyhurst Road, Irk Valley, 25 March 2021. © Nick Dunn.

Figure 6. Illegal waste dumping, Smedley Road, Irk Valley, 25 March 2021. © Nick Dunn.

Pandemic Nocturnal Praxis

Over the last eight years, I have spent many hours nightwalking through various urban landscapes after dark. I have been particularly interested in how my physical and psychological relationships with place alter in relation to different coexistences of light and dark. This accumulation of experience has framed a specific and personal view of the urban night. However, over time it has also become apparent to me that nightwalking offers a useful spatial practice through which it is possible to gain knowledge and insight into places through direct encounter and recognise how the identity of places changes throughout the timeframe of night in relation to the day. Inquiry initiated in 2014 was preoccupied with recording how the comprehensive replacement of 56,000 sodium street bulbs with LED lights by Manchester City Council was altering the night-time ambiances within the city and the wider borough (Dunn, 2019). This fieldwork has resulted in several thousand hours of nightwalking in different urban conditions after dark and the production of an archive of photographs, maps, and autoethnographic notes.

The COVID-19 pandemic has undoubtedly changed the ways in which we relate to one another and interact with the places we live, work, and play. Yet, even pre-pandemic, I contend that the city after dark is always in a process of becoming, with nocturnal urban places providing spaces of possibility. In this manner, nightwalking contributes to the ways we might rethink how to undertake sensory ethnography (Pink, 2015) and support more-than-human participatory approaches (Bastian, 2017). Night redefines the framework of thought and of action, proving a fertile realm for the imaginary, the speculative, territorial planning, and the practice of landscape (Dunn, 2016; Stone, 2018). It also raises critical issues with regard the multiplicities of night, in particular notions of safety and security, and understand how we might deconstruct the fears associated with urban darkness to provide alternative and empowering experiences of the city (Vincent 2020).

Exploring the multispecies city after dark is potentially insightful since night "offers and interesting lens because of the ways in which it straddles the social and the natural. ...The natural and social elements cannot be untangled; they work in unison…not always in harmony" (Shaw, 2018, pp. 2-3). In addition, it is useful to acknowledge that nightscapes are "neither uniform nor homogeneous. Rather they are constituted by social struggles about what should and should not happen in certain places during the dark" (Williams, 2008, p. 514). I suggest that the practice of nightwalking provides a means through which overlooked and neglected sites of urban nature can be recognised as an ecological formation (Barua and Sinha, 2020), and help detect the multispecies city inhabited by manifold, often unseen, inhabitants. Nightwalking, thus, forms part of an experimental approach which seeks to make legible certain characteristics of the pandemic city, including the nocturnal urban biome (Griffiths and Dunn, 2020).

There is an emerging body of work on walking as a methodology to investigate the more-than-human world (Springgay and Truman, 2018), to date this has only been applied during the daytime. Through engaging this approach at night, it is my intention to contribute to such methods. It should be recognised that my practice of nightwalking is inseparable from my identity as a white adult male moving through urban space after dark. Therefore, I recognise that my experiences are subjective and far from universal as gender and race, for example, may influence how other people encounter nightwalking both physically and psychologically. Through this inquiry, I aim to stimulate further research by a wider range of researchers to better understand the diverse spectrum of experiences that nightwalking as a methodology can disclose concerning the entanglements between human and more-than-human, bodies and landscape, and place and time.

Nightwalking is therefore offered as integral to a pandemic nocturnal praxis of mixed methods, which, in conjunction with autoethnography and photography, can make legible certain characteristics of the city under lockdown. To convey the embodied and embedded aspects of this approach and describe how the pandemic city after dark appears and alters by moving through place, I share an extract from an autoethnographic account of one of these nightwalks in the next section. This specific nightwalk took place on 10 February 2021, starting from the southern edge of the city centre, moving around its various areas, then traversing the adjacent section of the Irk Valley. It commenced at 10pm and lasted approximately five hours.

Nightwalking the Pandemic City

I walk along the canal, its black molten surface gently wobbling reflected lights from adjacent apartments. My feet stake out their progress along the towpath. The damp and chilly air of early February is embellished down here by the water. It is very quiet. Behind glass on high, domestic lives are largely in slumber but the occasional window flickers with the utterances of a television set. Passing under a bridge, an articulated lorry stretches its low rumble above before blending away with the night. I take the incline of a ramp to street level and step out onto dark grey-brown baldness of cobblestones. Back down near the water a tent quivers in the gentle breeze, its material pegged into the earth of a forgotten piece of the city.

A streetcleaner cuts through the calm, its whirring brushes hungrily gathering the dirt and debris out of the kerbside. Manchester Central, former railway station converted into a conference centre and as of 13 April 2020, the NHS Nightingale Hospital North West ready to accommodate up to one thousand people with COVID-19. Outside the main entrance in a small cabin, a security guard watches the night unfurl slowly around him. Moving alongside The Midland Hotel, its expressive Edwardian Baroque hulk bides its time waiting for future guests. Around the corner and St Peter's Square unfolds ahead. Three health workers chatter their way across the plaza after a late shift. The brightly-lit public realm appears all the more eerie for its lack of people. Under the

arches of the town hall extension, a lone and empty drink can shares its death rattle. It is the nocturnal city in miniature, a hollow vessel with just the merest remains of its previous contents left inside. Weaving between the urban blocks, the shadow of narrow side streets and unkempt collages of packing materials, waste bins and other detritus offer a secluded gallery of the city's backsides. Closed bars and pubs stare back blankly on street corners, ghost saloons for a crowd that has long since gone. The usual warp and weft of aromas from Chinatown are barely detectable.

Piccadilly Gardens. Pre-pandemic this was a smorgasbord of urban life: workers and loiterers, dealers and dependents, clubbers and cleaners, homeless and well-healed. Now its arena anticipates the performance of a distant tomorrow when the flows and frictions of the city play out across its stage. The fountain does not font. The lights blaze. Former bit-parts actors of the urban night are suddenly cast centre stage. No understudies here. Each individual committed to their role and the city beyond that relies on them. A tired driver leans against his bus, dissolving into a plume of smoke from the waist up. Bicycle couriers take a brief respite from the beck and call of digital devices dotted around the city. They do not speak. Eyes closed and limbs folded up, temporary statues as testament to consumer conveniences, the supply and demand of urban life. The clink and clank of a truck as its operator punctuates his way across the city to empty waste bins ahead of their daily replenish. A pair of idling taxis gently thrum together, their black bulbous carapaces waiting for passengers of the future. Their tick tocking engines slowly fade away as I make my way along a side street towards Angel Meadow and the Irk Valley.

Standing at its perimeter, Angel Meadow Park tumbles down into the night. This former pauper burial ground now sits revamped and fending off the looming towers that increasingly attend to its edges. Sloping down Aspin Lane and into the dark volume under the viaduct (Figure 7). This is the gateway to a very different nocturnal city. Urban nature stretches far away and the urban grain loses its hold around here, a contested patchwork of development from yesteryear, wasteland, and wide pockets of broken ground ready for the next phase urban regeneration. Walking along Dantzic Street and the land rises quickly on either side, the city almost disappears. This is the Irk Valley.

The blues of television screens ensconced in caravans from the traveller settlement flicker into the night, their muffled stories inaudible. Silhouetted against a brick wall, my shadow suddenly slips onto the bridge crossing the River Irk and the gathered filigree of St Catherine's Wood holds the sky at bay. A few months ago, common pipistrelle bats would have been swooping around here at dusk but they are hibernating now, much like the majority of humankind amidst the pandemic. Below, a rat parades along a series of displaced bricks by the waterside. It stops to sniff the night's scents before merging with the shady fronds of overhanging flora. Turning around 180 degrees and Canada geese are drifting quietly along the arc of the river as it bends out of sight. A small cloud of moths flutter around the LED blaze of a streetlamp. Smedley Road peels away from

the main thoroughfare, steering my feet with it. Household and trade detritus spew out of swollen hoarding, fences, and brick wall. Nocturnal kin are not the least bit hindered by such interventions. They pass above, between, and under them. Insect wings hover up and over split plastic bags and a mattress. Rodent feet scratch their path across cardboard. Vulpine pads silently thread around a washing machine. Invertebrates worm their way underneath this palimpsest of abandoned building materials and obsolete domestic appliances and furnishings. The metaphor is sharp and explicit. The entangled urban future of the artificial and the natural appears less delirious at night. The compost city awaits rebirth and reclamation.
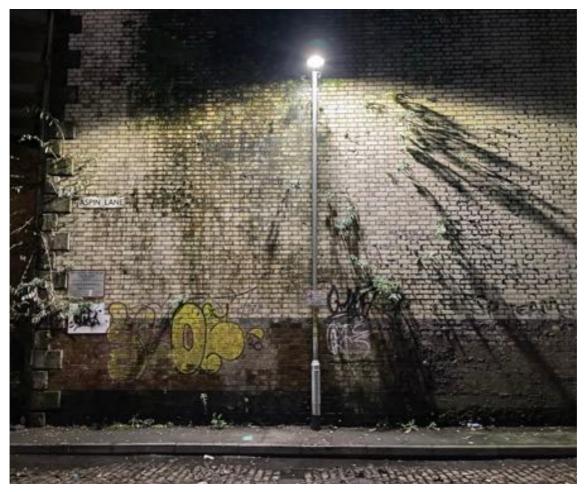

Figure 7. Aspin Lane, gateway to the Irk Valley, Manchester. 10 February 2021. © Nick Dunn.

The Post-Pandemic Nocturnal City

The pandemic city has placed particular emphasis on access to green space and sites of nature during the daytime. It has also revealed a different version of the city, emptied out of the activity with which we are so familiar. During the periods of lockdown, a quieter, calmer, and cleaner city has often emerged, being as it is far less populated by humans. Although such a city

may have attractive qualities, it can also resonate with dystopian ideas where people are no longer a dominant characteristic of what constitutes a city. This notion has been pivotal to numerous works of fiction, wherein a pandemic has devastated the human population so it is unsurprising we find it uncanny, even frightening. Yet, it also represents an opportunity to pay attention to those aspects of the city that are often relegated to the background. Specifically, I am referring to, on the one hand, the labour of key workers and, on the other hand, the movements and behaviours of non-humans. In both cases, their presence manifests itself in a variety of ways, albeit very differently and occasionally in a novel manner, due to the general absence of human bodies in the city at night.

Through this research, I have sought to demonstrate how the different qualities of places after dark in the city of Manchester during lockdown present significantly different experiences than pre-pandemic. It is also my belief that within these shadowlands, the glimpses of the future city might be detected. By presenting us with a preview of the nocturnal city that is less in thrall to the non-stop, always-on culture that has pervaded contemporary urban life and stretched the consumer-driven aspects of the daytime deep into the night, if not completely around-the-clock. This work has illustrated that when the dynamics of human movement and occupation are profoundly altered, a different nocturnal city is revealed that might offer signals for thinking through a multispecies urbanism that is also more human in its shift towards inclusivity and equity.

Although I was fortunate enough to have a series of brief exchanges with bicycle couriers, cooks, drivers, health workers, security guards, streetcleaners and other service providers while conducting my fieldwork in Manchester, the restrictions on social activity combined with genuine concerns about COVID-19 meant these were informal and undocumented. However, my conversations with a number of different people working through the night during this period did suggest that the different dynamics of the city after dark enabled them to produce a different kind of mental map of it than was possible before the pandemic when the urban night was much busier, especially in the city centre. Clearly, robust evidence rather than anecdotal accounts is needed to substantiate such views but it does point towards an increasingly urgent matter. Labour conditions for a large amount of night work are frequently connected to dimensions of low socio-economic status, including poor pay, precarious work, and impacts upon health that result, both directly and indirectly, from having to work after dark. Therefore, by understanding how nightscapes are used differently by various people, this study presents an initial exploration into much-needed research that might usefully challenge existing approached to designing for the city at night. This is of critical importance if we are to recognise the multiplicities of experience that cumulatively compose the urban night, and provide us with the ability to rethink and reclaim it as a time and space that considers accessibility, inclusivity, and equity. As the character of places re-emerge post-pandemic, in different ways and at different speeds, the dynamics of the nocturnal city can be

supported through an ongoing process that adopts a more temporally sensitive approach to urban planning and design (Gwiazdzinksi, 2015).

In relation to the more-than-human aspects of the pandemic city after dark, I have also tried to illustrate how we might look at neglected sites of urban nature anew. This is move towards multispecies urbanism is important and valuable since it "shifts our vision to include other modes of urban creation and fields of political contestation and can alert us to the ways that urban nature itself helps us to locate and site the city" (Sharma, 2021, p.2). By focusing on an unkept area of urban nature, I have deliberately explored a section of the Irk Valley in Manchester that is considered by many as wasteland, effectively empty, and unproductive (Gandy, 2013). Despite there being an increasing demand for acknowledgement that such untamed natures exist, can add value, and have a right to the city, their qualities can provoke dismissive, derogatory, or even hostile responses from humans. Furthermore, they are very rarely considered at night outside of issues pertaining to safety and security. Current practice typically ignores such places until it becomes profitable for them to be regenerated, a process which will have ecological consequences, good or bad, depending on the new scheme in relation to extant flora and fauna.

I therefore suggest it is useful to turn our attention and open up sensitivities to those elements that are often underrepresented or excluded from design. Framed in this manner, it is possible to consider how we might account for our 'unexpected neighbours' (Stoetzer, 2018) and develop suitable practice-based methodologies that align with emerging theory concerning more-than-human approaches for rethinking nature in cities (Houston et al., 2018; Maller, 2021). By applying what I have termed in this paper as a pandemic nocturnal praxis, a mixed methods approach of nightwalking, autoethnography and photography, I have aimed to conduct some initial investigations into ways through which we might document and communicate the underrepresented and marginalised places of the pandemic city after dark as a means to rethink how we might design for a wider array of needs and behaviours, human and non-human.

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