# Place after dark

Urban peripheries as alternative futures

Nick Dunn

#### **Disentangling place and darkness**

Place after dark is often conceived to be in binary opposition with how it is encountered and understood in the daytime. This limits the various ways in which place after dark may be understood as a dynamic that is simultaneously conceptual, experienced, material, and practised. One of the major obstacles in how we are able to consider darkness within the urban night is the significant weight of cultural meanings and values throughout history that still pervade our contemporary interpretations. Darkness remains misunderstood, bound up in negative associations, and frequently represented as both philosophically and physically inferior to light. This binary narrative has dominated much thought as Oliver Dunnett (2015: 622) explains,

the idea of light, both in a practical and symbolic sense, has come to be associated with modernisation and the so-called "Enlightenment project" in various ways ... Here we can also see how the metaphor of light has taken on a moralising tone, seen as an all-encompassing force for good, banishing the ignorance of darkness in modern society.

This adversarial relationship has not gone unquestioned, with the considerable diversity and plurality of light and shadow examined through different critical lenses that suggest a counter-history of the significance of dark places (Dowd and Hensey, 2016; Gonlin and Nowell, 2018).

Perceptions of artificial lighting throughout history have also been subject to this entanglement of the symbolic and literal (Schivelbusch, 1988). Rather than a balanced reciprocity, the diminished status of darkness in relation to light in cities at night in these formulations has endured as Joachim Schlör (1998: 57) emphasises,

Our image of night in the big cities is oddly enough determined by what the historians of lighting say about *light*. Only with artificial light, they tell us, do the contours of the nocturnal city emerge: the city is characterised by light.

This prevailing view negates the spatiality and physicality of urban darkness. It also occludes the considerable diversity of experiences and qualities to be found within darkness, drawing them into the widely held conception of the modern night as a consistent space and time. Concerning this variegation of dark places, their identities, and who they are constructed by and for, Robert Williams (2008: 514) reminds us, 'Night spaces are neither uniform nor homogenous. Rather they are constituted by social

struggles about what should and should not happen in certain places during the dark of night'. Urban dark places are notable in this regard through ongoing strategies to 'deal' with them, typically through infrastructures, policies, and practices to control and manage them. In the context of many city centres in the West, darkness is unwanted, connected as it is to negative cultural and historical associations alongside contemporary perspectives of fear and crime. Although Western in their origin, values of light, clarity, cleanliness, and coherence have since been transferred across global cultural experience more widely, resulting in a worldwide decline of the 'nocturnal commons' to which urbanisation has significantly contributed (Gandy, 2017). This decline is not, however, a recent phenomenon. The changes in attitudes and beliefs toward the night between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe were particularly important in shaping perceptions of darkness that have largely remained to the present day (Koslofsky, 2011). The opportunities for leisure and labour these societal transformations stimulated, in tandem with developments in both artificial illumination and street lighting, recast the night as an extension of the day through around-the-clock shiftwork and other forms of labour (Melbin, 1987). This framing has continued to be reinforced through the ongoing colonisation of the night, which has led to the present situation under the guise of 'progress'.

In the UK, the opportunities for plurality and diversity of urban lighting are currently limited by regulations imposed on street lighting to conform to British Standard 5489 1:2013 Code of practice for the design of road lighting: Lighting of roads and public amenity areas. Meanwhile, the complex demands for place management to ensure vibrant urban centres after dark is reflected in the Association of Town and City Management's (ATCM, n.d.) Purple Flag Programme, launched in 2012, as a means of designating those places which meet set criteria for clean and safe night-time economies. In addition, the appointment of Night Tsars in London and Manchester, in 2016 and 2018 respectively, illustrates the prevalent concerns for places after dark being able to enhance the night-time economy rather than support a broader opportunity for understanding the nuances and potentialities of urban darkness. Regulatory frameworks and codes of practice such as these are common in many countries, which along with the growing trend of appointing Night Mayors as ambassadors for cities at night, suggest that urban centres are highly constrained as official sites for experimentation in the dark given issues of safety and security. The question, therefore, is *where* sites for such exploration may lie if city centre locations are not viable? Given their accessibility, difference, and number, I propose that urban peripheries are suitable places for the diversity of gloom to be encountered and experienced. Such places are usually less regulated than inner urban areas and therefore more open to change, which makes them ideal places where different characteristics of, and relationships with, darkness can be experimented with. Further, I also suggest that at urban peripheries a form of 'composting' occurs concerning their identity. This is because they are allowed to settle and even decay on their own terms across a longer timeframe, tending to be more neglected than their city centre counterparts. Indeed, as Shaw (2018: 65) reflects, 'Paying close attention to the peripheries could produce a nocturnal city that is better for all'. Before encountering the edgelands of Manchester as sites for investigation, it is useful to consider how and why envisioning alternative futures for place after dark is increasingly important.

### Envisioning alternatives and global challenges

How we understand place after dark is shaped by the different readings we are able to make of it. Envisioning alternatives to the way place after dark is portrayed is essential to being able to discern the plurality and diversity of its elements, materialities, and sensations. Visions for place carry and project the concepts and ideologies behind them and, in doing so, it is evident they are not neutral since what they omit can be as important, or even as controversial, as what they promote. The many visualisations produced for future cities are especially relevant to this latter point. Frequently constructed to depict the apparent virtues of coherence, cleanliness, efficiency, and light, visions for future cities rarely account for place after dark. Where darkness is present in such visions, it is typically used to shape the depiction of a foreboding future: dystopic, dirty, and dangerous. Why should this matter? Images such as these are critical in how we construct and share ideas for our collective future, providing portals for how the world might be (Dunn, Cureton, and Pollastri, 2014). They also make a vital contribution to our social imaginary, defined by Thompson (1984: 6) as, 'the creative and symbolic dimension of the social world, the dimension through which human beings create their ways of living together and their ways of representing their collective life'. In their expression of the 'not-yet' such imagery shapes our ideas of, and intentions toward, futures (Polak, 1973). A number of recent photography projects concerning place after dark signal an emerging body of alternative readings.

Thierry Cohen's *Villes éteintes* (*Darkened Cities*) (2012) is a series of photographs that form a vision of global cities without electricity. Through the composition of a photograph of each these cities with an accompanying one taken at a less populated location at the same latitude with greater atmospheric clarity, the images provide a provocation to reflect on our seemingly intractable reliance upon artificial illumination and its infrastructures. A key feature of these photographs is the star-filled sky that sits above the darkened cityscape in each location. This powerful motif across the series reminds us of our connection to the cosmos and the variations of darkness, relationships that are now lost to many urban populations due to light pollution. As a recurrent theme it also symbolises the artificial character of urban settlements, hinting at their precariousness, and highlighting the wider context of our planet and the challenges to its ecologies that urbanisation presents. The series is also suggestive of a future for cities where we reconnect with darkness via more responsible and less environmentally impactful ways of collective living.

William Eckersley's *Dark City* (2011) project meanwhile focusses on London's urban environment at night. All the images are unpopulated, bringing attention to a whole other set of time values and qualities of darkness rarely considered in such a busy city. The series portrays places that are outside of the touristic gaze and, through documenting them after dark, are highly affective of the atmosphere and evolving perception of darkness in cities that Edensor (2015: 436) suggests, 'might be conceived as an enriching and a re-enchantment of the temporal and spatial experience of the city at night'. The project is especially powerful in its description of the built environment with human life decanted from it, rendering urban places after dark as quietly humming with anticipation through these palpable absences (Figure 13.1).



*Figure 13.1* Elevated view down a road with housing blocks, SE2. From the project and publication *Dark City*, 2011. © William Eckersley.

Work such as these two projects demonstrate the potentiality of images to support alternative readings on the present and enable speculation on the futures of place after dark. Conceived from a different perspective, the project Through Darkness to Light (2017) by Jeanine Michna-Bales provides an critical re-reading of how the present and the past of darkness may be reconsidered and understood. Following a route from the cotton plantations of central Louisiana, via the swamps of Mississippi and the plains of Indiana, to the Canadian border, the photographic series imagines a journey along the Underground Railroad as it might have appeared to a freedom seeker. Comprising a route of nearly fourteen hundred miles, the images evocatively depict a considerable array of different places after dark as they may have been encountered by those in search of freedom, an estimated one hundred thousand slaves, between 1800 and 1865. The photographs bring a different dimension to this important period of American history, drawing from written and oral historical accounts, they situate the viewer into the dark, mysterious and daunting possible journey to freedom. They collectively form a necessary document that reminds us of where we have been so that we might better understand both where we are and where we might go.

In projects such as these, as Bruno Lessard (2018: 63) observes, photography is able to 'question documentary media's perennial investment in the diurnal regime of visibility', which he suggests when considered from the perspective of darkness, 'reveals a dark photology fundamentally framed by pressing environmental, urban, and sociohistorical challenges'. This work is relevant in this context for its contribution toward how alternative conceptualisations for place after dark are made. It challenges the fallacy of binaristic framings of day and night (Gallan and Gibson, 2011) and reveals some of the differences to be found within darkness. Different readings of place after dark are essential in their role as stimulus toward being able to imagine alternatives. The use of images is vital to this process of reenvisaging darkness; its diversity and plurality. This is because of the agency of images to offer framings and interpretations of ideas effectively, as powerful communication devices that are both immediate and also rich in the level of information they can contain.

Such alternative formulations are imperative. The need to rethink how we live with darkness is a global challenge that requires urgent attention (Davies and Smyth, 2018; Pritchard, 2017). Key to this is the development of more effective strategies for urban lighting in order to reduce the deleterious and severely harmful effects of excessive artificial illumination upon our health, that of other species and the environment, and the attendant waste of valuable energy resources. Current patterns of use and trends in consumption suggest a very different picture globally as quantity appears to be prioritised over quality (Bille and Sørensen, 2007). Despite the various advancements made in the efficiency of light technologies, both energy usage for outdoor lighting and artificial night-time brightness have increased annually (Kyba, Hänel, and Hölker, 2014). The increasingly widespread installation of LED lighting for urban environments around the globe is a major factor here, being typically used to enable brighter lighting at no greater cost, rather than dimmer lighting at a lower cost. The impact of the bluewhite colour of the light it commonly emits has also been the subject of scrutiny with regard to its harmful biological effects on humans and non-humans alike, though Pawson and Bader (2014) have demonstrated that LED lighting causes considerable ecological problems in all its variations. Clearly, there is much work still to be done in how we might better understand darkness and its complex relationship to place (Dunn, 2019), though the re-emergence of a consideration of the effects and aesthetics of urban lighting as a matter of public debate is encouraging (Meier et al., 2015). The next section considers a number of theoretical approaches through which place after dark may be apprehended and understood.

### Making sense in and of the dark

Thinking about places after dark necessarily raises questions of belonging, identity, demarcation, and appropriation via the reciprocal relationship between the specific site conditions of the place and the behaviours these either promote or prohibit (Cresswell, diversity and plurality of dark places, their differences 1996). The and reinterpretations, recalls Doreen Massey's (1994) discussion regarding the identity of a place as being 'open and provisional'. There are two sets of dynamics at play here, sometimes in tandem and sometimes not. First are the processes and changes, ecological and otherwise, occurring within the place itself which results in its identity evolving. Second are the definitions and reformulations of the place's identity as a result of those that encounter it, move through it, perform or transgress within its boundaries. These two sets of dynamics are interesting in that they may be accretive, mutually interdependent, or unrelated. However, irrespective of their relationship with each other, they contribute to the continual emergence of place during the daytime and after dark.

Key here is the 'who' in such processes. Jacques Rancière (2009 [2000]: 13) explains how making sense of a sense is inherently political since it concerns, 'what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time'. When transposed to a place after dark, this perspective enables the mobilisation of the variety of belongings that are situated in, relational to, and may also co-exist within a specific context. It is also important to remind ourselves of the non-human actions and routines that co-constitute the identity of a place. Nocturnal behaviours and rhythms of flora and fauna inscribe themselves, largely undetected, into the character of a place after dark, their patterns, frequency, and intensity dependent on the climate and ecology of a situation and its surroundings. Building upon this perspective and the implicit notion of non-human speakers in Rancière's work, Bennett (2010: 106–107) suggests,

a political act not only disrupts, it disrupts in such a way as to change radically what people can "see": it repartitions the sensible, it overthrows the regime of the perceptible. Here again the political gate is opened enough for nonhumans (dead rats, bottle caps, gadgets, fire, electricity, berries, metal) to slip through, for they also have the power to startle and provoke a gestalt shift in perception.

It is because of elements such as these that the identity of nocturnal places often appears distinctly more contemplative, eerie and enchanting than in the daytime. They can feel strangely out of kilter with the rest of the world, where humans construct a sense of order through patterns and behaviours. This is because places are partly defined by the social relations that occur both in and across them, which at night are far less frequent as many spaces are devoid of people. In their absence, other creatures are freer to go about their routines undisturbed by humans or may take temporary ownership of such places if they are nocturnal species.

The originality and value of the nocturnal landscape for thought and creativity to flourish has been the subject of recent attention (Dunn, 2016; Foessel, 2017; Stone, 2018). Michaël Foessel (Ibid: 151) refers to the potential for a different 'regime of sensory experience' when out in the dark to support such processes. Walking in gloomy landscapes, urban or otherwise, offers a useful practise to experience and understand place (Bogard, 2013; Edensor, 2013; Yates, 2012). At the edge of the city, artificial illumination is less able to compete with the firmament of night. Due to the relative reduction in direct and diffuse light compared with inner-urban areas, there is typically a wider array of dimness and darkness, which in turn may render the identity of a place to feel smudged. This palpable looseness is co-constituted by the multi-sensory experiences of the nightwalker combined with the liminal zones of the city. This hinterland between what is known and visible and that which is not also supports walking in gloom as a means to speculate on the future. There is a distinct character to the outlying areas of cities, the not quite urban which blends effectively with the not quite dark. Within these peripheral urban places after dark the overlapping thresholds of personal identity and that of place can powerfully shape the notion and experience of the 'nocturnal sublime' (Stone, 2018). This entanglement is not simply physiological but also psychological. The rules and regulations of the city appear to dissolve here, a world beyond which always hovers at its edge: tangible but somehow always just out of reach. The process of becoming is never fulfilled but is one of continual emergence; a deep and tangled relationship between identity and place,

open and provisional, in part due to non-human others. This 'staying with the trouble' (Haraway, 2016) amidst the silhouetted and crepuscular flora and fauna is very much concerned with being alive and alert to one's surroundings. By reconfiguring the sensible, edgeland places after dark provide multi-sensory experiences of dimness and darkness that offer glimpses of how we might better account for such diversity with design.

## Walking after dark to experience and understand place

Over the last six years I have spent many hours walking through various urban centres and peripheries after dark, interested in how my physical and psychological relationships with place alter amongst variations of dimness and darkness. This set of experiences has led to a very specific and personal view. However, it is presented here as a contribution toward a growing body of work that has argued for a broader range of perspectives on gloom, daylight and illumination (Edensor, 2017; Gallan and Gibson, 2011; Shaw, 2018). In contrast to the more controlled and regulated night-time environments of city centres, urban peripheries are usually far less planned, managed or populated. As a result, I contend that these places after dark are able to offer what Tim Edensor (Ibid: 125) describes as, 'previously unanticipated ways of apprehension, soliciting perceptions that expand the capacities for imagining and sensing place otherwise, such approaches extend the compendium of ways of seeing'. In order to capture some of the different atmospheres and ambiances of place after dark, the following section presents a combination of my auto-ethnographic fieldwork (in *italics*) and images of specific sites to assist the reader's understanding of the experience (Figures 13.2 - 13.5). These describe four places along a walk of Manchester's urban periphery after dark, taken on 4 April 2018. Leaving my house just after 11:00 p.m., the fourteen-mile walk lasted about six hours.



Figure 13.2 Sale Water Park, 4 April 2018. © Nick Dunn.



*Figure 13.3* Banky Lane, Carrington, 4 April 2018. © Nick Dunn.



*Figure 13.4* Bridgewater Way, Sale, 4 April 2018. © Nick Dunn.



Figure 13.5 M60 motorway underpass, Worsley, 4 April 2018. © Nick Dunn.

Walking out of the city's inner suburbs, I follow a rough arc between the meadows and the woods, less precise than the orbital motorway in the distance. Across Jackson's Boat Bridge, I become immersed again in woodland, the path moist and smeared underfoot. Emerging from the nearby field, the dark mirrored expanse of Sale Water Park stretches out ahead and either side. It appears to pull the surrounding landscape toward it, trees and hedgerows all hunkered down together in charcoal hues. The only exception to this gloomy forcefield are the electricity pylons; their angular filigree and overhead cables resisting the earth. The sky is awash with dark greys, murky blues and yellows. Waterfowl ruffle about near the water's edge, aware of my presence. What is evident is that, although very dim, there is enough light to be able to navigate around, to see and be seen. The vastness of the space makes me feel exposed, my straggling silhouette out of sync with the flat landscape. I walk along the concrete jetty and watch my own dark and oscillating reflection try to look back at me before threading under the motorway and into the roll and tumble of Priory Gardens.

Following the sodium-fused perimeter of Ashton upon Mersey replete with its rhythmic orangey glows, I head towards where the Box and Cox arrangement of outer suburbia yields to the landscape of agriculture, meadows, and sports clubs. Upon arrival, the nocturnal atmosphere along this seam feels uncanny, as if parts of two maps of different scales have been stuck together. At Banky Lane, the low buzz of the nearby substation hums steadily, a white noise lullaby for the two HGV drivers asleep in their cabins some yards away. The one illuminated signpost leaches the green from nearby flora into view, a sharp juxtaposition against the blanket of pinks and purples of the clouds above. The serene ambiance is disrupted by the oncoming noise of a motor car behind me. Shifting gears, it slows down to take the corner, crunching on the gravel underneath. The two occupants briefly staring dead-eyed at me before driving to the lock-up garages further down the lane. Retracing my steps, I head towards the canal. As I walk along the Bridgewater Way, the canal sits calmly by my side, a parallel strip of sky framed in the ground. The sandy and stony path powders my boots in visual protest to their crunches. Geese slide silently against the canal's opposite edge. Launching out of the barge in front, two Jack Russells have a lot to say about my being here, guarding the invisible boundary of the territory they have decided is theirs to protect. Skirting around their domain, I am drawn into the undertow of where the canal passes beneath the motorway. The experience of illumination here is one of distinct contrasts; sharp yellows from the highway lighting slicing into the black underneath, the whole array suddenly reconfigured then reassembled by the headlights of a passing car overhead. The deep colour of the illumination, and lack of it, seems to be almost hewn from the materials it touches, a temporary sculpture carved by place and time as infrastructures overlap. Losing oneself in the slow time of such moments, the identity of place merges with the body, as if trapped in amber. It takes some determination to move on from such a beguiling display.

Continuing along the canal towpath, I weave through industrial estates, retail parks, and eventually back into the outer suburbs to the north of the city. Along the way, the firefly ends of cigarettes dance, belonging to a huddle of nightshift workers in the floodlit corner of a factory's car park. Beside this, all other movements and sounds aside from my own are either non-human in the foreground or the rumblings of unseen and distant vehicles. Striding up into Worsley Woods past the Old Warke Dam, the trees crowd into view on either side, leaves and mud slither against my boots, a trail of soft squelches left behind. Walking downwards between a field and woods, the lane pulls my feet towards the powerful glow of an underpass. Against the bruised peach-blues of the sky above, this otherworldly tunnel of light is solid and precise. Walking between the sentry of spindly trees and gloomy undergrowth either side, I enter the mass of colour, dissolving in its yellow-green tones as if it were a James Turrell installation. The unintended interplay here between darkness and light offering a different identity to the place and a new way of seeing it.

### **Designing with darkness**

The methods presented here are part of a foray into examining and experimenting the reciprocity between our senses and place after dark. It is a nascent body of work that seeks to build different knowledges and understandings of the complex identities of place after dark, their distinct qualities and their coexistences. However, it is also important to remember that our senses are culturally conditioned, alongside with how we perceive darkness, since they are bound up in specific historical, geographical, and social contexts. Coincidental to the frequency of my walks after dark increasing in early 2014 was the announcement that Manchester City Council (2014) was to carry out a comprehensive replacement of fifty-six thousand street lamps with new LED lights. Several years later this process is well underway, and it is evident that the character of many areas of the city has already changed. Of relevance here is that this new layer of lighting technology will obstruct, or at least hinder, direct experience of a wider variety of sensible qualities of darkness that are currently accessible. This raises questions about the kind of experiences available in our urban landscapes and whether there are better ways to design with darkness.

In their book *Nightscapes*, Armengaud, Armengaud, and Cianchetta (2009) explore how night redefines the framework of thought and action in the realm of the imaginary, of territorial planning and of the practice of landscape. For their investigation, they ask (Ibid: 16), 'What is a specifically nocturnal public space? On the basis of which principle does one develop a project? If night means the ephemeral, the fragile, the spontaneous, how does one construct this element without distorting it?' As many cities like Manchester employ lighting techniques to extend their commercial offer, they promote particular atmospheres and ambiances that occlude alternatives. Our experiences of such places after dark powerfully shape our perceptions of gloom and in many ways reduce our ability to comprehend the diversity of elements, materialities, and sensations that darkness enriches. We know that such energy usage is not sustainable given the serious impacts urban lighting can have, as discussed earlier.

This situation has not gone unnoticed. The Dark Art Manifesto (2014) by Lowe and Rafael aims to create 'a lighting design philosophy that promotes a balanced view of light and darkness to enhance freedom whilst incorporating rational standardisation'. More recently, Roger Narboni (2017) has made a plea for cities to make use of 'dark infrastructures', to protect and preserve darkness and support green spaces and blue areas such as parks, canals, and rivers, by focussing their attention away from illumination toward a 'nocturnal urbanism'. Whether many cities are ready and willing to adopt the 'greenouts' as described by Nye (2010: 205–232), voluntary and temporary reductions in power consumption which provide a dim rather than dark urban environment, remains to be seen. What is clear is that faced with the challenges that are already changing the nature of place at a global scale, the need to better understand different histories, cultures, and practices for place after dark is more pressing than ever. Framed in this manner, I have aimed to show how, through the images of place after dark produced by an emerging body of contemporary photographers and my own ongoing experiences with the potential of urban peripheries as sites for experimentation and imagination, new conceptualisations and visions are possible. This is of critical importance if we are to develop wider and deeper knowledges of the situated, relational, and practised nature of place after dark, and evolve alternative futures for its preservation.

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