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Practising the Urban Night in Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Rhythms, Frames, Affects, Assemblages and Subjectivities

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Robert Shaw

Abstract

This thesis explores attempts to intervene on behaviour in the urban night in Newcastle, in order to look at the relationship between the discourses and visions of policy-makers and the lived practice of cities. At its heart is an interest in how imagining and encouraging the emergence of new subjectivities has been a central part of the neoliberal 'night-time economy' – a term which I challenge as being too restrictive to describe the urban night. I seek to expand upon previous researchers who have too narrowly focused on the alcohol and leisure industry, abstracted from the rest of the night, which results in an inadequate description of the variety of actants involved in producing the subjectivities associated with the urban night. This thesis thus focuses on the four-way relationship between the built environment, legislation/policy, bodies, and subjectivities, as governed in the urban night.

To do this, I conducted ethnographic and interview research with street-cleaners, taxi drivers, policy makers and bar staff in order to focus on the role of peripheral actors in producing the urban night. As thesis develops, I explore a 'vocabulary of practice' in order to set out the process of the emergence of subjectivities, and the different ways in which these are acted upon: in doing so, I introduce concepts of framing, assemblage, multiplicity, enunciation and affect, amongst others. This, then, draws from a diverse group of theorists, including the work of Felix Guattari, Giles Deleuze, Henri Lefebvre, Gregory Bateson, actor-network theory and non-representational theories. The thesis concludes by suggesting that further work is required on the relationship between policy formation and cities as practiced in everyday life, and that the theoretical approach used in this thesis provides suggestions as to how this might be developed.

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1. The View from the Afternoon: The Urban Night in the UK

Anticipation

Has a habit to set you up

For disappointment

In evening entertainment but[1]

Living for the weekend; the night-out; weekend hedonism; Binge Britain; 'a weekend wasted is never a wasted weekend'. Whatever the slogan, the description, the evocation, the ideal of a Friday and Saturday night spent drinking in the city centre is a pervasive one in the UK. Anticipated throughout the week, indeed 'compulsory' for today's youth, the night-out and the 'night-time economy' drives our entire imagination of what the city centre at night is and what it can do (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009, Jayne et al., 2011). Indeed academic research into the urban night has barely been able to get away from the night-time economy, particularly in criminology, sociology, urban studies and geography. Similarly, our images of night-time cities from the popular press are almost all of clubs, bars or other aspects of the night-time economy, or else artistically lit museums, monuments and buildings. Such experiences of the urban night are repeated, week after week and in place after place.

Yet for many, the city at night is a disappointment. Creative and forward thinking academics once called for a night-time economy that would "stimulate ideas and entrepreneurial activity" (Heath, 1997:194) as part of "a flexible, open-minded, resourceful and creative city centre" (Bianchini, 1995:126). Nevertheless, this anticipatory view of the idea of a 'cosmopolitan' night-time economy as part of a twenty-four hour city and "all its good intentions" have since been "assaulted... leaving it for dead in streets splattered with blood, vomit, urine and the sodden remains of take-aways" (Hadfield et al., 2001:300). John Montgommery, reflecting on the optimism as one of the academics

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[1] Words in italics in this chapter are from the song 'The View From the Afternoon' by Arctic Monkeys

who had pioneered the idea of a night-time economy in British cities at the '*First National Conference on the Night-Time Economy*', held in Manchester (Lovatt, 1993) alongside the city's *Out of Hours* experiment into later shopping and licensing hours (Bianchini, 1995), later stated that:

> "It seemed a great idea [he remembers], and I certainly had visions of elegant cafe society, of British people strolling about civilized streets as the Italians do... It was as though the evening economy was some sort of magic wand which would solve the problems of town centres, but of course this proved not to be the case" (Montgommery in Roberts and Turner, 2005:190)

The night-time economy is not the first hopeful and tentative urban discourse that has been captured, operationalised and shifted by the work of policy makers and it won't be the last. Later in this thesis I will identify a number of flaws in it, not least the assumption that some idealised and empirically unsound (Recasens, 2007) vision of the 'Italian' night could be transported from the imagination of British academics into the complex assemblages of city centres at night. So no wonder a heavily anticipated night-out can result in disappointment – a repetition of the same, another dark and violent night in 'Binge Britain' perhaps?

Yet there's always a 'but'.

> *Tonight there'll be some love*
> *Tonight there'll be a ruckus yeah*
> *Regardless of what's gone before*

The potential for difference to emerge exists within every repetition and in every rhythm (Deleuze, 1994, Lefebvre, 2004). Love may come from even the most structurally determined sites. What's more, the night-time economy thrives precisely on this possibility, of gaining something new, of love in its many forms: sex and lust, voyeurism, flirting (Radley, 2003) or meeting a long term partner (Winlow and Hall, 2009). Never mind what has happened previously, *tonight* will be the night. Besides, even if the excess and play inevitable in the urban night has been reduced to a form of 'calculated hedonism' (Szmigin et al., 2008) within a commercialised playscape, it remains a form of

hedonism, inherently open to difference. Alcohol brings with it excess, both material and affective, and with it certain amounts of unpredictability. Or does it...?

> *I want to see all of the things that we've already seen*
> *The lairy[2] girls hung out the window of the limousine*
> *Of course its fancy dress*
> *And they're all looking quite full on*
> *In bunny ears and devil horns*

Perhaps, then, the repetition of the same old night out is a comfort, a crutch upon which postmodern subjectivities can rely? "Everybody wants to be a fascist" (Guattari, 2009:154), that is, subjectivity always desires its own subjectification. Chain bars and 'pubcos', that is large pub-owning corporations, have benefited precisely because subjectivity wants to be shaped, moulded and placed into reliable and repeating experiences.

And these experiences inevitably include judgements at a molar level – age, sexuality, identity, gender, among others. In the 'night-time economy' there is a complete fascination with the behaviour of women (Leigh, 1995), who are viewed on the one hand as disgusting and debauched, and on the other as alluring and as objects of sexual desire. Women must "always [be] prepared" to have to justify [their] presence" (Scholvin, 1985:6 in Schlör, 1998:168) on night-time streets, against accusations of either prostitution or improper behaviour. The urban night remains a dangerous place for women (Valentine, 1989), whether due to attacks and sexual assault, or more mundane heckling and voyeurism (Leyshon, 2008). Very recent political and media debates set off by the comments of a Toronto police officer that "women should avoid dressing like sluts" in order to avoid being raped and the international response of 'slutwalk' protests have revealed the various ways in which women's bodies in the urban night become a site of public commentary and debate. Whilst men still make up the majority of alcohol drinkers and the majority of binge drinkers (Shelton and Savell, 2011), imagery of city centre drinking tends to be centred around women and it is their behaviour, above others, which is viewed as an issue for governance and regulation. That said, some of the changes in the urban night have arguably improved the environment for women. Many of the lamented standardizations of pubcos and bars have in part been a move away from spaces of

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[2] A slang term indicating people who are both drunk and loud

hyper-masculinity. The 'traditional pub' implies significant amounts of surveillance, which can be a problem for women, either because of the discourses above which restrict the legitimacy of their behaviour, or due to the association between surveillance and the voyeuristic masculine gaze (Leyshon, 2008). By standardizing and removing difference from bars, some of the possibilities for unexpected negative experiences are also removed.

Given the ubiquity of imagery of women drinkers, it is not surprising that the narrator of this song chooses "lairy girls hung out the window of the limousine" as his first example of a typical sight in the urban night. Hen (and stag) parties dressed up in uniform epitomise the collective experience of the city centre at night as a time for both play and for reaffirming subjectivity. They have also become emblematic of the worse of the excesses of the urban night: Roberts states that the city centre at night has seen a "descent into a booze sodden destination for stag and hen parties" (Roberts, 2006:332). It is true that large single sex groups are viewed by many as one of the more intimidating aspects of the night time city, but the rise in hen and stag tourism has also formed a significant part of the economic aspect of the night-time economy, bringing large groups of people to key destinations: London, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Leeds, Edinburgh, Blackpool and Bristol amongst others. Indeed, an entertaining diversion at train stations on Sundays in these cities can be to spot the ragged, hungover groups attempting to negotiate the city in the cold light of day.

> *Anticipation has a habit to set you up*
> *For disappointment in evening entertainment but*
> *Tonight there'll be some love*
> *Tonight there'll be a ruckus yeah, regardless of what's gone before*
>
> *I want to see all of the things that we've already seen*
> *I want to see you take the jackpot out the fruit machine*
> *And put it all back in*
> *You've got to understand it you can never beat the bandit, no*

Because the night out *does* consist of more than just drinking and dancing. Smoking, chatting, playing fruit machines, eating, queuing, taxi or public transport journeys, walking, arguing and more all form integral parts of the experience of the city centre at

night. Yet academia has been relatively slow at investigating these, and slow particularly at looking at non-drinking practices in relation to the night-time economy (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). A reflection on such 'para-drinking' activities might help expand our image of drinkers as a group, and counteract the rather homogenous depiction that it has been suggested is created in some research (Jayne et al., 2008a). Potentially, these para-drinking activities might be one of the ways in which different groups of drinkers or drinking experiences begin to become differentiated: a night in which the fruit machine plays a significant part can be very different from a night spent queuing outside exclusive clubs (Jackson, 2004).

And she won't be surprised and she won't be shocked

When she's pressed the star after she's pressed unlock

And there's verse and chapter sat in her inbox

And all that it says is that you drank a lot

And you should bear that in mind tonight

Bear that in mind tonight

You can pour your heart out for some reason it will block

Owt[3] you send her after nine o'clock

The receiver of the text message in these lyrics has to first unlock her screen, in a now-dated reference to the unlocking mechanism of the Nokia phones that were once ubiquitous. On it, she receives a translation (Routledge, 2008), a mediated moment of the excess of the night-time city. Screens have come to proliferate in society (Baudrillard, 1995, Latour and Hermant, 1998) to the extent that they "are now so pervasive that we hardly notice their existence" (Thrift, 2003:90). Typologically in the urban night, there are two forms of screen which we meet. The first are those such as the mobile phone, which translate and mediate the excess of the night-time economy, spreading it to new sites. In taxi offices, police stations and behind bars, different actors look at different screens which represent certain aspects of the night-out which interest them. People in bars don't just text their drunken thoughts and feelings: they constantly view the bar through the screens of digital cameras, recording and transmitting images of the night. The excess and heterogeneity of drinking experiences is simultaneously captured and spread, in a series of different forms through these screens. Secondly, this excess also travels through

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[3] Anything

the screens which fill bars. In the urban night these screens beam out to those inside the bar the sort of night that they are (meant to be) having. They show drinks promotions and instruct customers as to how they ought to behave. These screens attempt to produce certain forms of subjectivity by manipulating behaviour in the night-time economy.

Anticipation has a habit to set you up
... [repeat verse]...

And she won't be surprised and she won't be shocked
... [repeat verse]...

You can pour your heart out around 3 o clock
When the 2 for 1's undone the writer's block.

Drinks offers – the '2 for 1's' - have been one of the major points of policy contestation in the urban night in recent years. In particular, such offers – often broadly called 'happy hours', after the original concept which emerged in the United States (Hadfield, 2006) - have been demonised as the main cause of irresponsible drinking and behaviour in the urban night. In part, drinks offers have helped spread the lager pubcos, which are more easily able to obtain cheaper wholesale prices or arrange drinks deals with suppliers (Chatterton, 2002). Despite regular public outcry and complaints about happy hours, and regular policy statements or promises, legislators have been relatively slow to regulate offers in pubs and bars on a national scale. Whilst some local bans on happy hours have emerged in cities such as Glasgow, and a self regulatory scheme was launched by the 'British Beer and Pub Association' in 2005, the many announced bans on drinks promotions tend to be watered down by the point of reaching legislation. For example, the intention to ban drinks offers in Scotland through the 'Licensing (Scotland) Act 2005', has failed to do so (Personal Licence Personal Licence Scotland, 2010) and researchers in England have shown that drinks promotions are still prevalent (Morton and Tighe, 2011). Whilst discrepancies in laws between off-licence and on-licence remain (Holloway et al., 2008), it's unlikely that the 2 for 1's will stop flowing any time soon.

The lyrics that have permeated this chapter so far are from the song '*The View from the Afternoon*' by Arctic Monkeys, a Sheffield-based rock band. '*The View from the Afternoon*' is the opening song on their debut album '*Whatever People Say I Am, That's What I'm Not*', an album which was the subject of extended media hype when it was released in January 2006, selling over one million copies in its first year and winning numerous awards. The success of Arctic Monkeys was notable due to the influence of early forms of online social networking such as *MySpace* in spreading information about the band (Beer, 2006). This emergence from the world of social networking reflects what many critics noted about the album, which is its vivid and accurate depictions of 'youth culture'. For example, a review in the *New York Times* stated that "He [singer and lyricist Alex Turner] delivers pithy, unpretentious descriptions of a teenage world defined by daydreams and nightlife. And he has an uncanny way of evoking Northern English youth culture while neither romanticizing it nor sneering at it" (Sanneh, 2006). As Sanneh notes in this quote, the album as a whole draws heavily on the central role of nightlife in British youth culture or, more specifically, male white Northern English youth culture. Whilst many of the songs do focus on experiences in bars, there are also songs such as '*From the Ritz to the Rubble*', which describes an encounter with bouncers and the experience of being in a city centre 'the morning after the night before', and '*Red Light Indicates Doors Are Secure*', which takes place in the back of a taxi. As well as these and the examples from the above lyrics, the album features references to a wide variety of other actors – human and non-human – and how they shape experiences of the urban night. From cashpoints to alcopops to clothing to pool cues, different moments of the urban night present themselves across the album. Thus as the opening track, 'The View from the Afternoon' sets up the main themes which are conveyed in the whole album: sober, daytime reflections on the drunken activity and vibrancy of the urban night.

As such, what Arctic Monkeys succeeded in doing is the exact opposite of much of the academic work on the night-time city of the time. Listening to this album, we hear of a contradictory and complex experience of the night time city, on the one hand a varied and exciting time-space of lust, fights, fun and opportunity; on the other, a time of danger, routine and exclusion. The urban night is at once a central part of all activity, but also a time of difference and exception. Whilst accounts of the neoliberalisation of the urban night (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), of criminogenic environments (Hobbs et al., 2003), of no-go zones in which the dangerous behaviours of 'revellers' creates conflict

with local residents and the day-time city (Roberts and Turner, 2005, Roberts, 2006) and of the dangers of pathologically-normalised levels of binge drinking (Measham, 2006) all reflect real and troubling dangers to aspects of urban liveability, youth culture and public health, they also all reduce the urban night to a single few structural or meaningful explanations and moments. Rather than the urban night operating as a point of anchoring for 'identity' (Winlow and Hall, 2009), it is instead a complex site from which often-contradictory aspects of subjectivities emerge. The drinker opens him or herself up to the multiple dangers and promises of the night-time city. Arctic Monkeys' songs thus reveal a different understanding of the urban night, one that is knowing of and accepting of its failures, but which nonetheless revels in the potentially liberating experiences that this time-space brings.

It was in this context that this thesis was born. How to explore this complex assemblage of the urban night whilst remaining true to both aspects of the urban night that Arctic Monkeys show us? That is, how to reflect the dangers of neoliberalisation, the difficulties faced by various groups in the night-time city, as well as the heterogeneity and potentials involved in the urban night? The academic view of the urban night has expanded since 2006, the year in which that album was released and which the first drafts of the proposal for this thesis were written. An increased number of voices and issues have been addressed in academia since that time (Hadfield, 2006, Jayne et al., 2006, Bell, 2008, Carr, 2008, Holloway et al., 2008, Leyshon, 2008, Rowe, 2008, Szmigin et al., 2008, Crawford and Flint, 2009, Griffin et al., 2009, Hadfield et al., 2009, Karrholm, 2009, Boyd, 2010, Cooper et al., 2010, Eldridge, 2010, Middleton and Yarwood, 2010, Valentine et al., 2010a, Valentine et al., 2010b). The heterogeneity of different individual experiences in the urban night does not need further proving. However, what continues to be missing from the academic literature is a recognition of the multiplicity of practices which make up the urban night and, with these, the multiplicity of spaces which make up the urban night. These practices and spaces, from which subjectivities emerge, can be conceived as the activity of neoliberalism. Here, then, a practice and subjectivity based geographical research project can help shift discussions of neoliberalism away from structural definitions of a 'project' (Barnett, 2005), and instead begin to ask what practices get repeated in different places as translations of both neoliberal ideology and pragmatic responses to policy problems. If we are to offer new understandings of neoliberalism, we

must both understand the subjectivities which emerge from urban night and the practices which constitute this emergence.

As such, this thesis explores further around the edge of the night-time economy. Research with taxi drivers, street-cleaners and into the work of the local Business Improvement District brings a variety of new practices into the academic picture of the urban night. As well as this, I reflect on the very category of practice evoked above. The claim that subjectivities emerge from practice is nothing new (Bateson, 1973, Buttimer, 1976, Bourdieu, 1977, de Certeau, 1984, Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, Lave, 1988, Guattari, 1996c, Thrift, 1996b), but more rare are reflections on the geographical context in which this occurs, or the "epidemiology of subjectivity" (Thrift, 2008a:85). By breaking practice down into rhythms, multiplicities, framings, enunciations, assemblages and atmospheres, I evoke a range of concepts drawn variously from non-representational theory, Deleuze and Guattari (both in unison and individually), Gregory Bateson, actor-network theory, neo-Spinozism in social science and time-space geography. As such I don't seek to create a definitive description of practice, but rather to explore the intersections of the multiple forms of 'practice theory' (Schatzki, 2001) and to move towards the creation of _a_ geographical vocabulary of practice.

1.1 Overview

In this thesis, I begin with an introduction to the field site of this research, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, focusing on its transition from a production-based economy through to a consumption-based economy in which the urban night plays a central role. Following from this I offer an overview of the relevant literature on the empirical areas researched, as well as discussion of methodology and a theoretical introduction. After this, I move through my empirical and theoretical material together, piecing together a vocabulary for studying practice which meets the ontological claims of processuality. An outline of these claims, and their relations, is sketched out in figure 1.1. This image, which will reappear in the conclusion, acts as a road map for progression through this thesis. It is both a guide to the reader, but also acted as a way of constructing the document. It explains the ordering of concepts in the thesis, with each chapter acting as a moment in 'practice'. That said, the orientation and ordering of thesis is not intended to be the only way to relate these concepts: like a map, this diagram could be turned round, drawn upon, with lines added from right to left, from the inside to the outside, and so on. Nevertheless, modified from

a rough sketch that I did in February 2011, it is representative of both how the thesis now looks now and how it was created.

Figure 1.1: A conceptual map of the thesis
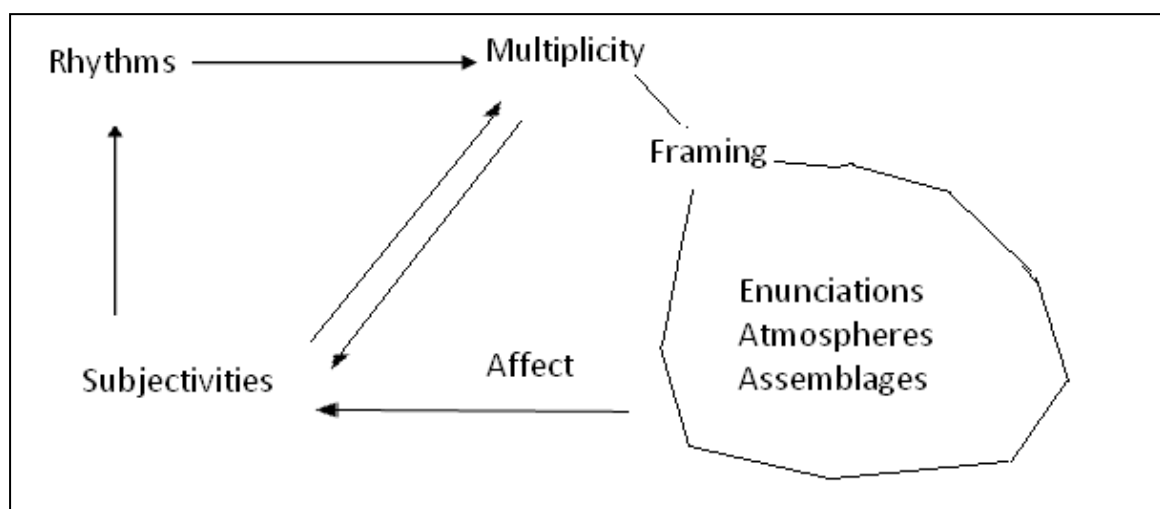
Beginning with chapter three, then, I enter into a discussion of practice, beginning with rhythms. Rhythms are the patterned production of similarity and difference which emerges Through the interaction of different practices (Deleuze, 1994, Lefebvre, 2004, Edensor, 2010). From this constant creation of difference emerges multiplicity or the city multiple (Deleuze, 1970, Guattari, 1995, Latour, 1997, Mol, 2002, Hinchcliffe, 2010), which I discuss in chapter four. Multiplicity is that moment where practices produce places which exist in a variety of immanent possibilities. However, at the same time as multiplicity is created, it is closed down by framing (Bateson, 1973, Cache, 1995). Framing is used as an alternative to both structure and context, to deal with the ways in which multiplicity is closed down in a variety of forms of territorialisation. Frames , which include gestures, discourses and spatial arrangements, reduce the multiplicity to a series of identifiable, experienced versions or 'enunciations' (Guattari, 1989, 1995, 1996b). In relation to geography, I describe a spatialised enunciation as an 'atmosphere' (Anderson, 2009). In chapter five, I move on to discuss the process through which subjectivities begin to emerge from this creation of both multiplicity and enunciations through practice. Most enunciations can be considered as an assemblage, as they consist of a heterogeneous range of things combined together in a variety of ways. There may be parts of the assemblage which work to undermine the whole, and parts which dominate the whole, but these parts all relate in various ways. I discuss both Deleuzo-Guattarian theories of assemblage, and actor-network theories of association (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987,

Latour, 2005b, Anderson and McFarlane, 2011). Subjectivities emerge as affect circulates around the assemblage, altering the capacities of bodies which in turn alter one another (Deleuze, 1978). As a result, subjectivities emerge as a terminal of various subjectifying vectors (Guattari, 2000). In chapter six I thus return to the literature discussed in chapter two, re-reading the subjectivities which are found in this literature on the urban night in light of the work in between. Throughout this theoretical exploration, I use my empirical material to both support and challenge some of the arguments made. In chapter seven, I draw on *Alive After Five*, a Business Improvement District initiative launched in Newcastle in October 2010, to provide a case study of all the theoretical moments discussed in the preceding chapters.

This thesis thus centres itself around three central claims, each relating to one of the thesis focuses. The first is on the 'night-time economy', and the broader range of actants and practices which constitute the urban night than is typically met in academia. As in the Arctic Monkeys song, then, the urban night is reduced to neither a series of structural explanations or actors, nor romanticised as hedonistic escape. Rather, the variety of actants is exposed in order show the complexity of the urban night. Secondly, then, this thesis seeks to contribute to ongoing attempts to use and explain the term neoliberalism. Specifically, I want to help develop the concept of a 'non-deterministic' neoliberalism, in which an all-explaining, fatalistic idea of a neoliberal project is rejected, but the power of neoliberal policy ideals and subjectivities is recognised. The aim is to account for the changes in consumption geography, policy and behaviour which have been repeated across the UK – and indeed globally – that can be labelled as neoliberalism, without using the concept to black-box practices and contradictions within this process. At the same time, this exploration leads to a consideration of how subjectivity and excess represent something of a limit to policy vision. Thirdly, then, I claim that there has been an inadequate development in geography of an epistemology of practice, in light of the ontological engagement with theorists such as Giles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, Henri Lefebvre and Bruno Latour, amongst others. As such, I seek to contribute to the development of a vocabulary of practice for describing the emergence of subjectivities in the urban night.

2. Research Context

In this chapter, I want to: provide contextual information about Newcastle; the background literature on the night-time economy (NTE) and the other empirical areas of this thesis; a description of the research undertaken; and the methodology. In doing so I will be providing an overview of previously existing work and current thinking on the NTE. Some of this information will be returned to in chapter six and re-analysed in light of the intervening empirical and theoretical discussions. This introduction thus provides a grounding in the empirical and theoretical material, so that less introductory work is required at the beginning of the individual chapters. I want to begin by offering an (extremely) brief overview of the urban governance and nightlife of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, before moving to discuss previous work in my empirical areas.

2.1 Research Context: A History of Urban Governance and Nightlife in Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Newcastle-upon-Tyne's location is at the site of *Pons Aelius*, or Hadrian's Bridge, built during the rule of Emperor Hadrian, whose famous wall also terminated in Newcastle. Although *Pons Aelius* was the first crossing of the River Tyne upstream from the river's mouth, the Tyne at the time was a distant border river in the Roman Empire and the site was not a particularly significant settlement; there is no evidence that the bridge lasted through to Anglo-Saxon times (Hearnshaw, 1924). Any Anglo-Saxon villages which were located in modern day Newcastle have not been recorded, though a number of monasteries were constructed at sites in Tyneside. These settlements were destroyed in the Harrying of the North, after which, in 1080, a Tyne bridge was reconstructed and the 'new castle' built to defend it. Newcastle quickly became an important tactical site, but one whose growth was hampered by its position in the border country between England and Scotland. Nevertheless, various municipal rights were developed during this time, thanks in part to Newcastle's Protestantism and later loyalty to the Crown in the English Civil War (Hochberg, 1984). By the seventeenth century Newcastle had established itself as a centre for the coal trade, which left it well placed to take advantage of the Industrial

Revolution (Hearnshaw, 1924). During this period Newcastle became a centre for industry in general and mining, trade and engineering in particular.

The importance of industry and engineering for Newcastle is of interest here due to the role of Newcastle in the history of electrification and thus in the history of the development of 'nightlife' (Hughes, 1983, Ekrich, 2006). Newcastle was the home of two significant innovators in regards to lighting and electrification. The first of these was Joseph Swann, who received the first patent for the incandescent light-bulb in 1878, which he demonstrated at the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (Lit & Phil) in 1879. His house in Low Fell, Gateshead, became the first in the world to have an electric light installed, whilst William Armstrong, a local industrialist whose company evolved into the arms manufacturer Vickers-Armstrong, made his mansion *Cragside* at Rothbury in Northumbria the first to be fully electrified in 1880. The second innovator, who is of more interest in the history of urban electrification, was Charles Merz (Hughes, 1983). Merz – an alumnus of Durham University -developed the AC power distribution system and used this to solve the problem of connecting power stations. In doing so, he realised its potential to provide electricity across urban areas. In order to show that this could be achieved Merz, through the Newcastle upon Tyne Electric Supply Company, oversaw the electrification of Tyneside. As such, Newcastle became the first city to be fully electrified and lit with electric lights (Devine, 1983), and Merz's model became a standard for regional electricity supply. As a pioneer in urban electrification, Newcastle is an historically intriguing site from which to consider the contemporary urban night.

The nightlife of contemporary Newcastle can be traced back to well-known stories of 'deindustrialisation', of which Newcastle's can be seen as an ideal type. Newcastle's industrial sector, which had grown due to the innovation associated with engineering and electrification, suffered regular contractions after reaching a peak during World War One. This was followed by serious depression in the 1930s, before the decline was halted during World War Two and the immediate post-War growth period. However, an accelerated decline occurred between 1961 and 1991 (Vall, 2007). During this time, manufacturing fell from providing 28% to 13% of Newcastle's employment, whilst the public sector and other services rose from 19% to 38%. This trend continued so that by the start of this millennium, the public sector and service industry accounted for 80% of the economically active in Newcastle, compared to less than 10% for the manufacturing

and construction services (Chatterton and Hollands 2001). As such, during this period, Newcastle "reasserted itself in the circumstances of economic adversity by transferring regional particularity from production to consumption" (Vall, 2007:131). That is, Newcastle, like many 'post-industrial' cities, recognised the need to replace the lost economic value of production with consumption – principally centred on leisure, shopping, entertainment and tourism. This reflected broader trends in many urban areas in developed economies through this period. Harvey, describing changes that had been happening in American cities, also captured the contemporary changes in British cities when he stated that "urban governments have been forced into innovation and investment to make their cities more attractive as consumer and cultural centres" (Harvey, 1987:265). Vall argues that in Newcastle, there was little tradition of urban governors developing the cultural aspects of city life (Vall, 2007); rather, what cultural policy there was remained didactic, based upon the notion of working-class improvement through access to cultural facilities. This can be seen through the role of culture in T. Dan Smith's notorious Utopian approach to urban planning and development, within which cultural policies centred around the creation of knowledge-based societies (Smith, 1970:137-138), perhaps influenced by the long success of the Lit & Phil, founded in 1873. As such, prior to the 1990s, Newcastle was home to just one public art gallery, the Laing Gallery which had been donated to the city by merchant Alexander Laing in 1901, and one publicly owned municipal museum, as well as a handful of museums associated with the Lit & Phil and Newcastle University. For Vall, this general absence of governmental influence perhaps helped working class culture persevere during the twentieth century.

So by the early 1970s, three main cultural trends could be identified in Newcastle: a masculinist, industry-based beer culture centred around heavy weekend drinking in working men's clubs and public houses (Hollands, 1995); a small but significant jazz and beat music counter-culture which was later captured in the television show '*The Tube*' (Vall, 2007); and the supporter's culture which had developed in the town around Newcastle United Football Club (Taylor, 1992). Significantly, all three of these trends were based predominantly in recreation, rather than the arts. Thus, as the city council sought to realign Newcastle's economy in the 1970s in the light of declining industrial employment, it was to the recreation-lead consumption culture that they turned (Vall,

2007). Specifically, Newcastle's 'regeneration'[4] was to be centred largely around two themes: firstly, retail, which had begun with the construction and development of the Eldon Square shopping complex in 1965 (Smith, 1970); and secondly, the vibrant consumer culture of Newcastle's NTE (Vall, 2007:25). Developments on Newcastle's Quayside, Time Square and The Gate were all based on recreation and the development of 'playscapes' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002): spaces of hedonism full of potential opportunities for consumerism, but all controlled by a small number of national and local retail and leisure chains (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001). In particular, the Quayside became a major part of Newcastle's NTE, especially through the 1990s and prior to the opening of The Gate, as well as a centre for tourism. It has only been in later stages of Newcastle's regeneration, through the opening of The Baltic and The Sage art centres, as well as the renovation of the Hancock Museum (rebranded 'The Great North Museum') and the City Library, in which the arts have received as much attention as recreation. Much of this can be associated with Newcastle-Gateshead's failed bid to become the 2008 European City of Culture.

These developments have attracted attention from the social sciences. The earliest commonly identified study into Newcastle's NTE came from Robert Hollands' *Friday Night, Saturday Night* in 1995. Hollands' ethnographies focused on the changing relationship that Geordies[5] had developed with Newcastle in light of the first wave of regeneration (Hollands, 1995). For Hollands, going out in Newcastle was a central part of youth lifestyles in the city which had become "a permanent way of life in terms of socialising within one's own postadolescent community" (Hollands, 1995:34)". Significantly, the consumption-based industries of Newcastle's NTE had replaced the production based Tyneside industries as the sites at which Newcastle's residents practiced being-Geordie. He claims that:

> "Weekend gang drinking is representative of a kind of working class
> solidarity and relief from the working week, despite the fact that a
> significant percentage of locals are neither in full time work or go out
> with workmates. The adoption of circuit drinking, although a

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[4] It is recognised here that the term 'regeneration' is problematic in many ways, not least through its association with gentrification and through the regular lack of critical attention that is paid to the phrase and concept. Nevertheless, this is a debate to be had elsewhere and for the sake of readability I will continue to use the term without scare quotes.
[5] The term 'Geordie' refers to the people of Tyneside, that is, Newcastle, Gateshead and the communities which border the Tyne to the East of these

relatively new phenomenon, now involving women, is a perfect
symbolic representation of the hard working and hard drinking
Geordie" (Hollands 1995:57).

This story of an identity-based drinking culture is supportive of arguments which suggest
that local authorities and developers attempted to harness the economic power of pre-
existing sociability to create these new economies of consumption (Vall, 2007). If this
ethnographically based research focused on the consumption of Newcastle's NTE,
Hollands later work, with Paul Chatterton introduces a greater focuses on its production
and regulation (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001). In *Changing our Toon*[6], they identify a
trend in which branding has become common in Newcastle's nightlife. Increasing
specialisation of drinking venues into niche 'theme-bars' results in a nightlife which is at
once more fragmented, yet at the same time more homogenous (Chatterton and
Hollands, 2001, Chatterton, 2002, Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). Thus by 2000: 66% of
Newcastle's city centre licensed venues were owned by national operators, split between
Scottish & Newcastle (a locally based national chain, since taken over and split between
Heineken and Carlsberg), *Bass* (now owned by Molson Coors) and Whitbread; 30% was
owned by regional operators which were often local family or entrepreneurial businesses;
leaving just 4% (5 venues) owned independently (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001:22-23).
Chatterton and Hollands also identify the problems associated with what was, at the time,
an increasingly liberalising regulatory environment. City authorities were moving from a
position of control to one of supporting entrepreneurialism (Chatterton and Hollands,
2001:37). Newcastle's experiences here reflect wider discussions of urban NTE, which are
discussed in section 2.2.

Since these two studies, there has been a sustained academic interest in various aspects
of Newcastle's NTE, including: safety in the night (Pain and Townshend, 2002); branding
of night-time products such as the locally produced 'Newcastle Brown Ale' (Pike, 2009,
2011); identity (Winlow and Hall, 2009); class relations (Miles, 2004); and gender (Nayak,
2006). During this time, however, the night-time has become less of a driving force
behind urban policy and civic boosterism in Newcastle. Indeed, Hollands suggests local
politicians have always been in a contradictory position in regards to nightlife in
Newcastle (Hollands, 1995), on the one hand recognising its economic potential but on

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[6] Geordie slang for Newcastle

the other concerned about its social effects. As he later goes on to suggest with Chatterton, an intense focus on the development of recreational booze-dominated nightlife has held back Newcastle's capability to generate a 'twenty-four hour city' with diverse night-time activities (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001). Lancaster, quoted by Vall, suggests that Newcastle's bid to become European City of Culture failed as it was "an empty sandwich with [a] top slice of grand projects and a bottom piece of 'Party City' monoculture" (Vall, 2007:134).

Newcastle's nightlife has also become heavily associated with stag and hen party tourism and whilst this undoubtedly brings investment into the city, it also has an homogenising effect (Nayak, 2006). Newcastle City Council's regeneration strategy, *Newcastle in 2021*, recognises both that "our night time economy is the envy of the rest of the country and a major tourist attraction", but also it "is dominated by bars and clubs" and that they need to "make the city centre an attractive place in the evening for families and others who, at present, don't think it's for them" (Newcastle City Council, 2007:119). Newcastle was thus an early location within which electrification aided the expansion of activity into the night (Jakle, 2001) and since the 1980s it has been at the forefront of another development in British urban nightlife, namely the creation of an extensive NTE, based upon a strong industrial drinking culture. This NTE has had many of the successes – increased tourism, increased spending, more and more diverse entertainment opportunities, a strengthening of city identity and the reuse of empty city centre buildings – and the troubles – violence, narrowing in range of premises ownership, conflicts in inner-city liveability, health problems and negative images – that have been seen in British cities as a whole. The extent of previously existing research into this NTE and this economy's importance to Newcastle as a city make Newcastle an interesting site within which to do my empirical research.

2.2 Literature Review: Social Science Research into the Night-Time Economy

Of course, this research into Newcastle's NTE has not existed in a vacuum. Since the 'Manchester School' of cultural studies first persuaded local authorities to conduct an experiment into extended opening hours of city centre retail, recreational and cultural facilities (Comedia, 1991, Lovatt, 1993), there has been a significant field of research which has looked at the NTE in British cities. Before moving on to discuss the bulk of my thesis, it is worth reviewing this work. The phrase 'night-time economy' deserves some attention. This phrase typically refers to only a portion of night-time economic activity,

specifically, the entertainment and retail provisions of cities at night, often confined even further to the 'booze economy'. Despite this narrow framing, the term has been conceived as, on the one hand, taking the activities in bars and clubs and using "the boosterist representation of these activities as a means to regenerate inner city areas" (Talbot, 2007:1); and, on the other, being "the festivals, the cultural initiatives aimed at bringing people back into the city, the office and residential developments that either incorporated or pointed to the cultural facilities of the centre, the promotion of the city as a culturally vibrant realm… the idea of the nightlife of the city, a realm of play, of socialisation, of encounter and of evasion associated with the night-time" (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995:130). It is no coincidence that the former, derisive comment postdates that latter optimistic vision by some twelve years. Hadfield et. al., in discussing the related idea of the 24-hour city (24HC), state that whilst the concepts behind night-time led regeneration of the 1990s had wide ranging aims, they have been "assaulted" and left "dead in streets splattered with blood, vomit, urine, and the sodden remains of take-aways" by the 'Mass Volume Vertical Drinker' (Hadfield et al., 2001:300). In doing so, they reflect the concerns raised above: that the NTE promised a cheap and easy route into the 'creative city' or cosmopolitan city, whilst in fact delivering only a superficial increase in city centre night-time usage, an increase which has ultimately proved divisive, dangerous and exclusionary.

In this thesis, I want to move away from the use of this problematic phrase 'night-time economy'. I have three central reasons for doing this. Firstly, the term 'economy' emerged as part of the phrase as a rhetorical tool of those academics members of think tanks who were originally engaged in selling the NTE to policy makers (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991, Comedia, 1991, Bianchini, 1995). By selling this new urban nightlife as an economy, such authors were trying to tap into the need for city authorities, particularly in cities undergoing an economic transition towards consumption over production (Vall, 2007), to develop new areas of economic activity. The NTE represented an opportunity to do so without significant investment. Secondly, in a related point, reference to the *economy* emphasises certain relations in the urban night – namely, those which are economically productive – over others (Gibson-Graham, 2008). As Harris notes, "the choice of theoretical framing can limit the ability to recognise new political openings" (Harris, 2009:55-56). With the night-time economy, we risk moving straight to the economic relationships which are formed within the night, as can be seen in many of

the studies on the urban night. A move away from the term NTE could help prevent the object of research from being so quickly narrowed down. Thirdly, the use of the phrase 'night-time economy' is ontologically problematic. In this thesis I will draw regularly from Bruno Latour. One of Latour's main contributions to social science has been to insist that objects are defined only by their relations (Latour, 2005a). In doing so, Latour has sought to end discussion of different 'domains' of activity, whether this be 'science' (Latour, 1987), 'law' (Latour, 2009) or even 'society' (Latour, 2002). Rather, these different 'domains' are simply ways of relating: "whereas there is no independent domain of science, technique, law, religion, etc, it makes a huge, a lasting, an enormous difference whether a connection is made legally, scientifically, religiously, artistically, politically or technically" (Latour, 2007:7-8). We can add to this that 'the economy' is not an independent domain, but rather an adverb describing ways of relating. As Hinchliffe shows, such ways of relating may come to dominate, but they are not the only way in which an actor-network operates (Hinchliffe, 2010). To speak of 'an economy', then, is to be ontologically misguided.

Therefore, in this thesis, I will largely use the phrase 'the urban night' to describe the broad topic of my research. This is despite my previous use of 'night-time economy' in publication (Shaw, 2010), where I excuse myself because of the lack of space to develop an argument against the phrase 'night-time economy'. The 'night-time economy' is simply too narrow a term to describe my area of research, and indeed is misleading as the majority of my research is not concerned, directly, with the consumption of the urban night. I recognise that 'the urban night' remains a problematic phrase in and of itself. Most obviously, my research takes place almost entirely in the city centre, and outside of the home. As such, it is far from an overview of the entire urban night. Furthermore, the problematic 'the' and the singular nature of the phrase urban night can seem to efface the heterogeneity of urban night-time activity. Fundamentally, my research still takes place in and around the 'alcohol and leisure based economy'. This latter phrase is that which I will use to refer to what has labelled as the 'night-time economy' in most studies to date. Nevertheless, a move towards the broader term 'urban night' opens up the

research agenda for these new aspects of night-time urbanism, and I hope that this phrase might contribute towards an increased interest in 'nocturnal geographies'.[7]

In the thesis, I will still use the term NTE on two circumstances: firstly, in the phrase 'night-time economy studies' to refer to the body of academic research which is discussed in the subsequent review. As an inter-disciplinary research area, it lacks any other suitable epithet; it has also been characterised by a focus on the production and consumption of the alcohol and leisure based economy at night, and has repeatedly self identified with the phrase 'NTE'. Secondly, I will continue to use the term in discussions of this literature on the 'NTE', where it seems appropriate. Broadly, though, I will use 'urban night' to refer to my research. In this review, I want to look at three stages in the literature on the urban night in British cities. Firstly, I will consider the work done through the 1990s which largely supported the urban boosterism associated with the urban night. Following this, I will look more closely at the subsequent critical literature which developed whilst regulatory changes took place in the early 2000s. Finally, I will suggest that night-time economy studies, which has had a regulatory and economic focus, has begun to open the ground for a shift towards concerns regarding affect, emotion and subjectivities.

The NTE, then, is the leisure and entertainment-based economy which dominates cities at night in the UK. As in Newcastle, the alcohol and leisure based economy at night has its origins in urban regeneration projects of the 1980s in British cities, which sought to bring people into city centres following the decline of large urban industries. Early attempts at regeneration had been business and investment focused; it was hoped that by creating a stronger alcohol and leisure based economy at night and incorporating greater levels of city-centre living, a more 'human' regeneration might be achieved. At a policy level, this idea was coupled with a perceived 'Continental European' lifestyle, based upon a wider variety of leisure and shopping opportunities than were available in pub-dominated British towns and cities (Bianchini, 1993). Arguments were made for the deregulation of licensing and planning laws so that more mixed-use city centre developments could be created, in order to foster a vibrant lifestyle including street-cafes, late night shopping, theatres and late-night public festivals (Comedia, 1991, Heath, 1997). Such policies were supported by local governments, who saw an active alcohol and leisure based economy at

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[7] This is the title of a session which I am co-convened at the 2011 RGS-IBG Annual International Conference and which brought together nocturnal research on a range of topics from a number of disciplines, in order to explore the breadth of research in the night.

night as a way of increasing revenue through increased business hours and premises occupation, and by the national New Labour government, which in particular argued for liberalised licensing laws to reduce violence at night (Hadfield, 2006). The work of Franco Bianchini is illustrative of this thought. In response to earlier regeneration programmes, he argued alongside Schwengel that "future urban regeneration strategies will have carefully to balance and integrate their economic, physical, cultural, symbolic, social and political dimensions" (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991:227). Indeed, here Bianchini and Schwengel are putting forward something of a manifesto of 'urbanity', that is, a regeneration strategy that would encourage a city-centre living lifestyle, through the creation of mixed land use areas and round the clock cultural and recreational facilities. Furthermore, doing this would create "the opportunity of `doubling' the city's economy, starting perhaps from entertainment but then widening into other areas" (Bianchini, 1995:124), by ensuring that areas which are currently inactive at night could be become economically creative. Echoes of this work can be seen in the more recent 'creative class' discourse (Florida, 2002). Bianchini's argument, then, is one which fits what Castree labels as 'marketization', that is, the typically neoliberal attempt to expand the economy through the increased economic exploitation of previously existing activity (Castree, 2007).

From this, it can be seen that the alcohol and leisure based economy at night was closely linked to the concurrent concept of the entrepreneurial city. Urban entrepreneurialism emerges from the idea of increased 'competitiveness' between cities. For Shearmur, the drive to competitiveness has become the dominant force in urban politics: this is linked to the shift from 'urban socialism' to 'urban development' as the focus for local governments (Quilley, 2000, Shearmur, 2008). This can be related to the shifts described in Newcastle above, in which cultural policy moved from being centred around the didactic notion of cultural improvement towards the entrepreneurial notion of creating a unique 'Geordie brand' that would attract tourists (Vall, 2007). For Shearmur, this trend is problematic as cities are complex assemblages of interactions, productivity, consumption, life, death, identity-formation and social conflict, cities do not have the clear goal of increased profitability that drives competitiveness in businesses. Thus, competitiveness amongst cities remains a confused notion, with little agreement possible as to suitable arenas and aims for competition (Shearmur, 2008). Jessop, along similar lines, notes a distinction between discourses of entrepreneurialism and whether cities act in

'entrepreneurial' or competitive manners (Jessop, 1998). Jessop thus differentiates between different types of competition. 'Strong competition' involves entrepreneurial decisions which create new opportunities for production and consumption, engaging in the creation of new spaces for participation. 'Weak competition', on the other hand, is little more than "a deregulatory race to the bottom" for flexible capital investment (79) which seeks only to follow best practice or proven strategies from elsewhere in order to attract already existing capital.

Strategies of developing a night-time alcohol and leisure based economy fit into both the 'weak' and 'strong' versions of competitiveness. This economy is both a part of the creation of new markets, through the expansion in time of business hours and through concepts such as 'time-shift' (Bianchini 1995) and also a part of standard regeneration strategies, with multiple 'night time high streets' (Hadfield, 2006) containing the same chain pubs and outlets. The expansion of massive 'pubcos' and 'vertical drinking' pubs with little obvious variation in the urban night is observable are good examples of discourses on entrepreneurialism and creativity leading to decidedly non-innovative, non-creative developments. Through this incorporation into the 'entrepreneurial city', then, this era of academic thought supported the creation of a neoliberal-lead urban night. Here, it is worth considering what is meant by neoliberalism. Recent scholarship has rightly suggested a move away from discussions of 'Neoliberalism', that is, from the concept that neoliberalism exists as a singular top-down project. Rather, attempts have been made to break down this concept. Some approaches have looked at the spatial specifications of neoliberalism, arguing that whilst there may be a coherent dogma or ideology supporting neoliberalism, it is enacted differently in different locations (Hackworth and Moriah, 2006, Wacquant, 2008a); others have emphasised periods within the development of neoliberalism in different economies (Peck and Tickell, 2002, Hendrikse and Sidaway, 2010); whilst others have focused on the variety of practices which bear no intrinsic relation, but which when brought together to relate in specific ways can create 'neoliberalism' (Castree, 2007, Gibson-Graham, 2008, Harris, 2009). I draw on the first two of these approaches, but argue that the third has perhaps the most potential to recognise the contingency of, limits to and possibilities for alternatives already present within neoliberalism.

The emerging critique of the 'neoliberal NTE' began with analyses which focused on ownership, regulation and corporate practice. Chatterton and Hollands' previously discussed study is exemplary of such research. The central thesis of their argument is that:

> "a new nightlife 'regulatory regime' is emerging—one where the balance of power between the various regulators is shifting from traditional sources such as magistrates and police, towards local authorities who are increasingly favouring inward investment by corporate pub chains. At the same time, the local state has been left to deal with some of the social problems and negative consequences of the development of mainstream nightlife, and has had to balance these with its desire to encourage the 'entertainment city'" (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002:105).

The neoliberalisation of the creative city and twenty-four hour city discourse, which occurred through the lens of the entrepreneurial city, resulted in shifts in power within urban governance. Specifically, power to control business and corporate action was removed from the police and magistrates, towards cash-strapped local authorities who were unable to resist the rental income and job creation that emerged when 'pubcos' came in to make use of large, empty public buildings (Roberts, 2006) . Police power, then, was redirected away from the providers and sellers of alcohol – from production – towards those who purchased it, that is, to consumption. As Chatterton states, a series of 'folk devils' such as binge drinkers, football hooligans and teen ravers were conjured up to justify this shift (Chatterton, 2002). In Hobbs et. al.'s wording, then, "it is those most thoroughly seduced of consumers, to the tune of a dozen lagers, who are most inclined to be targeted by swarming police units, teams of bouncers and couplets of street wardens" (Hobbs et al., 2003:273). Within these analyses, the flaws of a neoliberal approach to regulation and ownership in the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy consist in the contradiction between the consumption-driven neoliberalism and the potentially damaging effects of excessive alcohol consumption. This, then, is a development of the hypocritical stance on drinking in cities, as discussed in relation to Newcastle above.

From a criminological point of view, this regulatory regime has resulted in increased potential for the emergence of crime and disorder by encouraging a 'criminogenic environment' and by aggravating one of the major causal factors in crime, namely alcohol (Hadfield, 2006). In developing these critiques, geographers and social scientists more broadly began to take a more critical stance against the alcohol and leisure based economy than had previously been the case (Talbot, 2004, Hobbs et al., 2005, Roberts and Turner, 2005, Roberts, 2006, Tiesdell and Slater, 2006, Hayward and Hobbs, 2007, Hadfield, 2008). In a particularly revealing paper, Roberts and Turner interview academics including Montgommery and Lovatt, who had been involved in the Manchester School of cultural studies which first developed an outline of the contemporary urban night (Montgomery, 1993). In this article, Montgommery admits that the envisioned urban night could only have been delivered through a more proactive planning regime, rather than the laissez-faire approach that was introduced (Roberts and Turner, 2005).

These various critiques can be read and understood as critiques of neoliberalism as a system of regulation and organisation which promotes market and corporate power whilst removing the possibility of locally-based interventions. Many of the diagnoses of the problems of the urban night thus concern regulatory changes: Hadfield *et al.*, for example, call for "a much more integrated and interventionist approach to municipal regulation" (Hadfield *et al.* 2001:302). It should be pointed out too that these approaches have not gone uncontested. Jayne *et al.* identify such portrayals of urban nightlife as overly neat (Jayne et al., 2008a), whilst Eldridge and Roberts warn about creating a binary between 'binge drinkers' and more 'civilised' users, noting that in research participants often had complex views of the urban night precisely because they will often move between these two categories of responsible and irresponsible consumers (Eldridge and Roberts, 2008). Through the literature on the 'NTE', then, we are confronted by a series of different subjectivities and the modes in which they are manipulated. Hayward and Hobbs set out a distinction between those subjectivities which are promised by nightlife and those which are delivered. For them:

> the place myth of the carnival is central to the continued allure of
> the high street on a Friday and Saturday night...; the cumulative
> behaviour of the young drunk population of Britain's 'night-time

high-streets' (Hadfield 2006) constitute, 'not inversions of the social order but mirrors of it' (Hayward and Hobbs, 2007:443-444).

Here then, the subjectivity of the hedonistic free individual is mythical, instead brought to order by the 'real' subjectivity of compliant consumerism. For Hayward and Hobbs, this is a "controlled suspension of constraints" (446), that is, a relaxing of expected norms of behaviour but within limited boundaries. By permitting some escapism, consumerist subjectivities appear to fulfil the desire associated with being-different without, according to Hayward and Hobbs, allowing any significant differing to occur. Whilst Hayward and Hobbs pave the way for an analysis of subjectivities in the urban night, they maintain that the reality of these subjectivities as a dualism between the real 'consumerism' and the mythical 'liminality', rather than seeking the contradictions and complexities inherent in subjectivity.

Instead, in this thesis I want to move towards an understanding of subjectivities which includes all 'vectors of subjectification' (Guattari, 2000). As I discuss in chapter six, in light of the empirical material in between, this involves looking at the emergence of subjectivities as the terminal of a variety of different flows. Such an analysis would instead see a more fluid relationship between the 'liminal' or romanticised night-out of flows and potentials, and the closed down consumerist night-time urban high street. This moves too beyond the alteration between subjectivities that Eldridge and Roberts discuss, instead seeing these movements as different aspects of contradictory subjectivities. Whilst consumerist practices dominate, it is precisely because they are able to fulfil some level of desire for alterity in subjectivities. Nevertheless in night-time economy studies we can identify a slow shift towards a more subjectivity-focused approach to the urban night, which has developed critiques based upon ownership and regulation. Discussions of subjectivities in the urban night have tended to focus either on the emergence or restriction of difference, or at how certain subjectivities are either 'catered for' or restrained (Talbot, 2004, Holloway et al., 2008, Demant, 2009, Eldridge, 2010, Valentine et al., 2010a).This shift has brought 'NTE studies' closer to the third approach to studying neoliberalism which is outlined above, namely one which looks at the practices and processes which come together to create neoliberalism. Despite this shift in focus, however, there has not been an accompanying shift in theorisation and

conceptualisation. As such, this area of research would benefit from looking in more detail at the implications of a focus on subjectivities for studies of the urban night.

In recent years, then, academic work on the urban night within urban geography and related disciplines has been characterised by a growing awareness of subjectivities and the role of practice within the NTE, without necessarily having an associated theoretical development. Two recent attempts to provide broader surveys of this area of research suggest a certain maturity to NTE- studies (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009, Jayne et al., 2011) as an area of research. Over the course I my thesis, I seek to explore this further, by exploring further 'practice' in order to gain a better understanding, firstly, of the ways in which subjectivities are emergent in the urban night and , secondly, the diverse variety of practices from which they emerge. In doing so, this thesis will take Hadfield's claim that "the ability to exert control over the behaviour of one's customers is essential to the successful operation of licensed premises" (Hadfield, 2006:81) and explore its application across the city centre more broadly. As such I will return to the themes of this literature review in chapter 6, in light of the empirical and theoretical work presented in the next three chapters.

2.2 i) Night beyond NTE-studies

As well as this area of 'NTE-studies', there are other research programmes into the urban night which are worth briefly considering. Various historians have looked at the development of lighting technologies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the associated changes in the use of the night-time in society (Schivelbusch, 1988, Garnett, 1994, Schlör, 1998, Jakle, 2001) As Garnett suggests, this might be because the introduction of (urban) illumination is an excellent case study of the relationship between the development of technology and the development of society (Garnett, 1994). Social changes cannot be attributed to the causal power of urban lighting as a black-boxed technology; rather, lighting had to be shifted and shaped in various ways so that it responded to needs and norms that previously existed. However, the materiality of the new technology and its capabilities also created new opportunities and practices. The Medieval night time had been a time of relative anarchy, with the state withdrawing. The night was feared due to dangers that were both real and mythical, but also represented a time during which citizens could often act without the surveillance of the state (Ekrich, 2006). The gradual introduction of reliable urban lighting through the late eighteenth century into the early twentieth century, firstly by gas and later by electricity, tapped into

an ever-expanding worldview in which the night was, in Schivelbusch's phrase 'disenchanted': that is, the mystical night of the Medieval and Early-Modern period was rendered knowable and accessible (Schivelbusch, 1988). Initially, urban lighting was a huge spectacle, which attracted fascination and wonderment, though it soon became a mundane part of everyday urban life. Jakle's *City Lights* shows the many forms that urban lighting now takes in a variety of different settings (Jakle, 2001).

However, lit spaces have not removed danger at night. Many researchers into the urban night have looked at the various dangers that are faced by people in the dark; this research is often (but not exclusively) feminist, focusing on the particular fear faced by women. Valentine's 1989 study of the geographies of women's fear is an excellent example of this, exploring as it does the ways in which the relationship between darkness and lightness in the urban night can alter perceptions of danger across the city centre. As she notes, "women assume that the location of male violence is unevenly distributed through time and space" (Valentine, 1989); as such, Valentine shows firstly how our experience of urban space is inherently a gendered experience, and secondly that this gendering has a wide range of effects on the use of the city. It is these effects of fear in the urban night which have been the focus for much other work on the perception of night-time danger (Nasar and Jones, 1997). In such cases, the topic of concern is often how to better engineer and design the city to reduce the number of places in which fear of the night is exacerbated. Feminist research into the urban night has also emphasised it as a time in which sex workers most commonly operate, and in which women are forced to accept that they will face multiple sexual advances, on the presumption that women using the city at such a time are implicitly making themselves sexually available (Valentine, 1989). As Patel states, "a woman is presumed to be a prostitute, transformed symbolically by time and space into a 'dirty girl'" (Patel, 2010:4). As such, in both the reporting of rape cases and in rape trials themselves, it is often asserted that women in the night are either "asking for it" (Laws, 1994), or at the very least have knowingly put themselves in danger by their spatial and temporal location. Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, the various dangers, both real and perceived, that emerge for women in the urban night have often taken on a symbolic role in the feminist movement; in particular, various "reclaim the night" or "take back the night" movements have been set up, often in response to events in which women have been warned to leave city's streets at night.

The third main area of research in social science that has looked at the urban night has been research into employment. Night shifts have long been recognised as causing both psychological and physical stress and strain (Melbin, 1987). At stake is the argument that "night work places a potentially tremendous cost on those who work nights, such as physiological fatigue and the decrease in time available to be spent with friends and family" (Minerd, 2006:8). As such, researchers have sought to look at how precisely night work creates physical or psychological demands on the body; of particular concern in a number of fields have been the possibility of accidents caused by tired workers, and medical complications that result from inadequate absorption of sunlight. More broadly, researchers have been concerned in the ways in which night-shift workers are pushed or forced into regimes of work which suit only to support the exploitation of capital, at the expense of workers' health (Pratt and Hanson, 1994). Such research thus conceives of all night-shift work as potentially problematic; night-work is most commonly low paid and is often relatively insecure, with night-shifts often viewed as expendable extras (Fagan, 2001). Employment in the urban night therefore becomes important for many researchers interested in the contestation involved in the employee-employed relationship.

Beyond these, researchers in a number of other areas have at times been lead to the city at night. Most obviously, Murray Melbin's research is perhaps the most complete discussion of the urban night, exploring the nocturnal in relation to contemporary, historical, spatial, organisational and social practice (Melbin, 1977, 1987). I will not discuss this here, however, as it forms an important part of chapter 3. Other research into the urban night has occurred where the social groups which have been the subject of research have made use of the urban night. Broadly, in such research the night continues to act as a time of reduced surveillance and increased capability of acting outside of state of power (Melbin, 1987). For example, research into both homelessness and drug use has often had to consider the particular geographies of the urban night, and the coping strategies that such groups must use in order to live in the night-time city (Johnsen et al., 2008, Vitellone, 2010). Drug taking can take place in peripheral spaces of neglect, hidden from the brighter lights of the neoliberal city (Vitellone, 2010), but it can also appear inter-twined with different aspects of the alcohol and leisure based economy (Fitzgerald, 1998, Saldanha, 2004). Meanwhile, the homeless are often at their most vulnerable in the urban night, despite this acting as a time where they might have greater knowledge of the

city than others (Johnsen et al., 2008). The night-time also throws up a series of different infrastructural challenges; in particular researchers have looked at the paucity of night-time transport (Brewer, 2008, Cooper et al., 2010). Very recently, Gallan and Gibson have suggested other areas which might be explored by considering the night in geography (Gallan and Gibson, 2011)

As this review shows, geographers and other social scientists have focused on a range of topics which have relevance for the urban night, despite the dominance of NTE studies. In this thesis I will not be focusing on many of these issues, though their importance and the work being done on them should be acknowledged. As well as the alcohol and leisure based economy, this thesis engages with research into a number of other empirical areas. The interest in these emerged from the preliminary empirical work which involved ethnographic research in Newcastle at night. In this, I attempted over a number of months – from June to October 2009 – to visit as much of Newcastle over the entirety of the night as possible. This 'empirical scoping study' was initially carried out systematically in order to focus down on the specific area being studied. Having selected a geographical area to focus on and my empirical domains of practice, I contacted the relevant gatekeepers in order to gain access for the main body of research.

The following section thus serves three purposes. First, it is a methodology for the thesis, in which I discuss the methods used and their relationship to the overall theoretical orientation towards practice. Second, it is a broader narration of my research as process, in which planning, empirics, theory, analysis and writing were intertwined (Massey, 2003b). To tell this story, I split my research up into three stages: the empirical scoping study; the main body of research; and the creation of representations and narrations. Across these three stages of research, then, I narrate the emergence of my theoretical and empirical work. Third, I use this section to introduce the three research areas that form the empirical backbone of this thesis, and the background literature on these areas, particularly in relation to the urban night.

2.3 Methodology and Empirical Areas

As introduced in chapter one, this thesis is grounded in an orientation towards practice, and the emergence of subjectivities from practice. My methods followed on from this orientation, that is, they are intended to attempt to 'capture' practice in various different ways. Research such as this which starts from performative or practice-based theoretical

presumptions has a basic problem to overcome: how to go about researching and representing practice, if practice is taken to be fleeting, excessive and multiple? In social science, different practice-based areas of research have sought to answer this problem in different ways. In the context of my thesis, it is possible to categorise two of these ways of responding to this problem which have influenced my work. First, researchers who have placed an emphasis on how the social is ordered or governed have tended towards methods involving interviews with key actors, readings of official or policy documents, and ethnographic observation where access is possible. This research is then typically analysed through the construction of a narrative, perhaps with a focus on key points and moments. Actor-network theory approaches most obviously fit this category, where the object of research is the ways in which the 'mess' of the world is ordered and categorised (Latour and Hermant, 1998, Mol, 2002, Law, 2003a, Latour, 2009). Law describes this as "the simultaneous enactment of presence and absence"(Law, 2003a:3), that is, a process of making certain aspects of practice present in a thesis, article, or research report, whilst simultaneously allowing things to become or deciding to make things absent. Such research is often grounded in pragmatics: for Latour, methods often most centrally "depend on the size and type of texts you [the researcher] promised to deliver" (Latour, 2005b:148)

Second, researchers have sought to use the process of making representations as a research method in itself. Here, the multiplicity and excess of practice is acknowledged, and focus shifts away from an attempt to create a 'proper' representation of the world, and instead create an representation which is either revealing, interventionist or simply interesting. Time-geography, which forms a major part of chapter 3 in this thesis, is an example of such an approach. The production of time-space diagrams (Hägerstrand, 2006) montages (Pred, 1995) or a mixture of the two (Latham, 2003) can be understood as an act of performative representation, in which "the methodological focus shifts to plugging into (and enabling) respondents' existing narrative resources" (Latham, 2003:2002). As Latham shows, this approach has influenced methods in non-representational theory (see also McCormack, 2003a), but it can also be seen in various forms of participatory research or feminist research, where this act of producing representations of practice through research is used to intervene in practice, or to empower research participants (Pain, 2004).

The methodology of this thesis is thus grounded in the pragmatism and narrative telling of actor-network theory, and the use of performative representations from poststructuralist social science. Accordingly, I want to narrate my methods following a similarly pragmatic or processual approach. The aim here is to describe a methodology through a chronological narrative (Jones and Evans, 2011), reflecting the co-evolution of the methodological and theoretical concerns of this thesis (Law, 2003a). My methods took the form of a three stage process. During the first stage, I carried out an initial empirical scoping study, seeking to explore particular problems, insights, presences and absences in the city streets, in order to begin to question how the rhythms of the night-time city were being produced. In this first stage, I sought to identify problems or practices which seemed to be of interest. In this first stage of research, I developed the specific empirical questions which would help me get at the larger theme of the role of practice in creating subjectivities. This led to an interest in a series of 'research areas' for my second stage, in which I focused on particular domains of practice in greater detail. The aim of this second stage was twofold. First, I wanted to explore aspects of the night-time city centre that had been overlooked in NTE studies, but which seemed to be affecting the night-time alcohol and leisure industry. Second, I wanted to generate data to explore the theoretical claims that had emerged from my initial theorisation and empirical scoping study. The third stage of my methodology was a practice of narration and representation, in which I simultaneously used the theoretical concepts that I had developed to work through my data, and my data to work through these theoretical concepts. Here, both my empirical work and my conceptual work were refined into the story that is contained in this thesis: it was a task of ordering and presenting both my data and my theories together.

2.3 i) Stage One: Probelmatisation and Empirical scoping study

The first research conducted towards this thesis was a form of an empirical scoping study in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, beginning in June 2009. This work was participant observation in Newcastle at night, focusing on the streets, bars and clubs. This was initially carried out systematically. Over a six week period, I conducted a series of four hour long research visits. During this time, I ensure that I visited the city centre on every night of the week at least once during the 17:00-21:00 and 03:00-07:00 periods, and at least twice between 21:00-03:00. After this, I spent the following two months doing more targeted research

visits to times and places that either were of particular interest, or had been missed during this initial period.

I characterise this work as an 'empirical scoping study' rather than a 'pilot study'. In a typical pilot study, the aim is either to test the methods being used, or to conduct a mini-version of the planned research (van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). This was not my aim in my empirical scoping study. Furthermore, pilot study data is not generally used as part of the final research data; by contrast, my empirical scoping study was always intended to be an integrated part of my research process. Here, I use the term empirical scoping study in order to liken this stage of my research to the scoping studies that Arskey and O'Malley describe as common in relation to literature reviews (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005). They identify four characteristics of the literature scoping study:

1. "To examine the extent, range and nature of research activity"
2. "To determine the value of undertaking a full systematic review"
3. "To summarize and disseminate research findings: this kind of scoping study might describe in more detail the findings and range of research in particular areas of study"
4. "To identify research gaps in the existing literature: this type of scoping study... [is] specifically designed to identify gaps in the evidence base where no research has been conducted" (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005:21).

The aims of my scoping study in relation to my full empirical research reflected three of these characteristics. I first sought to attempt to grasp the extent, range and nature of the urban night in Newcastle. I undertook basic tasks such as a rough mapping of bar, pub and club locations in order to roughly define the area in which I would concentrate my research - here I was able to use a map from previous research as a starting point (Chatterton and Hollands 2001:24). My research at this stage was intended to develop both a sense of the quantity and quality of Newcastle-upon-Tyne at night: that is, the number of actors that seemed to be active, the types of actors that I could identify (people, businesses, licensed premises, animals, buildings), and the sort of activity that they were doing.

This then moved me on to the second and fourth aspects of a scoping study identified by Arksey et. al. above (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005:21), in that I simultaneously attempted to identify the gaps in the research literature compared to what I had observed, and

whether these areas could prove worthwhile for broader research. Specifically, I was attempting to judge which practices appeared to be doing something interesting or unusual, interacting with the urban night in a way which seemed to be potentially shaping subjectivities. It is worth expanding on two points here. Firstly, at this stage, I was not interested in defining or identifying practices which seemed particularly 'neoliberal'. It was the act of shaping or moulding the built environment in order to affect subjectivities which was of interest to me. Secondly, the use of a scoping study to decide upon the specific empirical areas to study means that those practices which were prominent during my period of observation were more likely to be studied. Whilst this is an important caveat to hold in place, I decided that it was not too problematic. I was able to draw on prior research and theorisation to become aware of practices which I did not expect to see in the urban night – for example, I could not see legislative practices in relation to planning laws in action in the night, but as I had undertaken previous reading I could recognise signs or signals of this practice (Hadfield, 2006). In other words, this problem does not seem to be too different from the usual note that a researcher does not enter a world with an objective and 'naive' viewpoint. Rather, she or he has a background shaped by senses, experience, theorisation and reading. My aim was not to seek out those areas which were *most* prominent, but to seek practices which appeared as interesting given my theoretical aims, that is, to look at practices which were shaping subjectivities in the urban night.

In this empirical scoping study, then, I combined initial participant observation with the theoretical background described above to identify a series of practices which appeared interesting, or which appeared to contain interesting problems/events. During this period, I identified three areas for exploration. The first of these were the presence of taxis in the night-time city. This reflected an interest in mobilities of the city at night, as well as interest in rhythms of moving round the city. The second was the work of the night-time street-cleaners. I found their work to be intriguing, as they darted in and out of groups of people to clean litter, or moved around town in large sweeping vehicles. I was interested in the extent to which this infrastructural work might be understood in terms of shaping subjectivities. The third are which interested me was the work that had gone into bar design, and the construction of bar spaces. I intended this area of research to be holistic, to include practices of designing bar architecture, producing lighting, practices of

disc jockeying and the work of bar staff: in other words, how bar spaces were literally 'constructed'.

During the final two month period of this empirical scoping study, then, I contacted gatekeepers in these areas. This involved writing letters, making emails and calling people, in order to gain access. While I was able to gain access to two of the larger taxi companies in Tyneside, and to the night-time neighbourhood street-cleaning team of Newcastle-upon-Tyne council, I struggled to gain access to those involved in the making of bar spaces. Here, I think, there were a few different problems. First, I faced a common problem in research of having multiple gatekeepers {Hammersley, 2007 #1790:50). My gatekeepers were spread across different industries or companies: there was not one way into speaking to lighting designers, for example. By contrast, I was able to explore areas with single powerful gatekeepers, namely, the manager of night-time neighbourhood services team and the managers of large private hire taxi companies. Second, I faced the specific problem of having begun to plan my research before the 2007 financial crisis, and enacting it during the subsequent recession and failed recovery. In particular, during the crisis employment levels lagged behind productivity: the initial downturn was not met by large rises in unemployment. As such, the increases in unemployment were only beginning to become apparent during 2009, when I conducted my empirical scoping study. I had begun with the hope of being able to easily obtain a job working in the urban night, and from here I would have hoped to gain contacts to carry out this research. However, the task of getting a job proved to be much more difficult in reality.

I therefore decided to realign my research into the construction of bar spaces, focusing instead on the bodily experience of the night-time alcohol and leisure industry. This research attempted to look differently at a night-out: rather than focus on the bar spaces in isolation {Malbon, 1999 #1314}, or participant narratives of a night-out (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), I decided that a focus on bodily experience would provide an alternative way of representing and understanding the practices of participants on a night-out. Furthermore, I would be able to incorporate the bodily experience of a range of different actants in the night, such as bar staff, fast-food sellers, and the taxi drivers and street-cleaners from my other research areas. This area thus merged the data from my empirical scoping study with the data that I gathered from my initial research into this area with further participant observation and some reading of media and policy documents that I

had done. Thus while this remains an important part of my thesis, it is not as central as I had initially anticipated.

This decision was further influenced by one final factor. One of the gatekeepers with whom I spoke with regards to street-cleaning at night was a member of staff at NE1, the local 'Business Improvement District (BID) delivery company' (Ward, 2007). At the time, NE1 were operating a 'clean team'. This was a rapid response cleaning team for businesses within the BID area in Newcastle. Although the team operated only during the day, they did respond to businesses which identified waste in the mornings that had been created overnight. I thus thought that speaking to them may have been of interest in understanding the material excess of the urban night. While I did not pursue this research interest, I was at this stage informed about NE1's project called Alive After Five, which was known at the time as 'Bridging the Gap'. Alive After Five was intended to increase the amount of business in Newcastle between 17:00 and 20:00, in order to 'bridge the gap' between the day-time and night-time economies. I recognised this as an opportunity to bring my research back around to focus on the specifically 'neoliberal' – something which I feared might have been lost with the reduction of interest in the construction of bar spaces. Furthermore, its scheduled launch in October 2010 meant that I could place it after my other research: it could thus act as a case study, summarising many of the arguments made in relation to subjectivity and practice, but bringing these back to the core argument about neoliberalism made elsewhere.

2.3 ii) Stage Two: Empirical Areas and main body of research

My first stage of research thus left me with a series of questions with regards to three specific empirical areas: taxis and taxi mobilities; night-time street cleaning; and bodily experience of street and bar spaces. This was then to be followed by research into the Alive After Five case study. The empirical scoping study acted as a period of problematisation, in which the questions that had emerged through my initial theorisation and reading were refined and altered. In addition, other questions emerged as particular problems or practices presented themselves as interesting. The second stage of my research followed from October 2009 to June 2010. This formed the majority of the research that is used in this thesis.

As discussed on page 37, the theoretical orientation towards practice meant that my research methods also had to be oriented towards 'capturing' practice in various ways. I

thus decided to choose methods that were embedded within the practices that I was studying. The majority of my methods are therefore ethnographic in nature, about which I will say more on page 45. Before discussing the specific methods that I used and breaking down precisely what I did for each research area, it is worth discussing the broader methodology of this second stage of my research.

During this period of research, I was keen to develop my research and theory alongside one another. In doing this, I was able to take advantage of the relative proximity of my research site and my university location. By contrast, Scott et. al.'s paper on the challenges of researching in Vietnam in the early 2000s is revealing. As well as the common problems that all researchers face, "in an unfamiliar cross-cultural... context, these [extra] challenges range from the application for research visas, to requests for official data, and the negotiation of relationships with local host institutions and 'gatekeepers'" (Scott et al., 2006:28). I, on the other hand, was able to use my proximity to my research site, both in the sense of cultural familiarity and propinquity, to my advantage. While it would be wrong to deny that were ever organisational or access issues in relation to certain parts of my research, it was certainly much easier for me to take a pragmatic approach, integrating periods of research with periods of reading, writing and theoretical reflection, than is often the case for many researchers who may spend long periods of their time away from a university setting.

So from my initial 'problematisation' stage of the empirical scoping study, my second stage of research consisted in a working through of empirics and theory together. In some instances this would consist of using empirical work to explore theoretical ideas, whilst on other instances the empirical work drove me towards new concepts and ideas that I had not previously considered. Here, too, the timing of my research was beneficial: because much of my research took place between 17:00 and 02:00, I was able to continue to use university facilities during the day, rather than having to fit desk-based academic work around research. My approach thus derived in part from 'grounded theory', notably in two of its central claims: first, that "data collection and analysis are interrelated processes" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:6) and second, that "concepts are the basic units of analysis" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:7). Following this, then, I sought to analyse the concepts that were developing out my three research areas – these are the concepts which I tentatively map out in figure 1.1. Contra grounded theory, however, I did not

develop my concepts solely through a process of coding research data (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:12). In my research, the flow of ideas between data, theory and research, and between different research sites, was much more complex than is allowed for in a typical grounded theory approach (Law, 2004). While grounded theory demands the break-down of the research process into a series of procedures (Corbin and Strauss, 1990), in practice research is significantly more fluid than this. Rather, then, than seeking to provide 'rigour' through a certain amount of questions asked or a series of set procedures, instead I attempted to formalise my research by sticking to a pre-determined minimum length of time researching certain sites or practices. My research was thus a process of theoretical development and analysis together, in which certain concepts emerged across my empirical areas. As these concepts – some of which came from specific literature (eg assemblage) and some of which came from research data (eg framing) – emerged across multiple research areas, they began to create a picture of practice, with different subjectivities emerging in each empirical area.

During this second research period, I generated and analysed the vast majority of the research myself. Even where the data was generated by research participants, this was brought in alongside my participant observation data for analysis. Previous research of this nature has attracted criticism that it seems to, on the one hand, emphasise the complexity and multiplicity of the world, but then analyses it from a singular (white, male, middle class) perspective (Blacksell, 2005). it is worth flagging here that critiques such as Blacksell's are correct in identifying that participant observation carried out by an individual is indeed situated within his or her own subjective experience of research. This issue is something which has long been discussed within qualitative research in general, and ethnographic work in particular (Cook and Crang, 2007). However, such issues become less important in work with a practice orientation, in which research is conceived as an attempt to "participate in the enactment of realities" rather than to "discover and depict realities" (Law, 2004:45). In particular, then, it is important to distinguish methodologically between multiplicity and plurality (Law, 2004:61). To gain extra voices in the research – to include more participant narratives, to have carried out more research interviews – would have increased the plurality of this research. By contrast, multiplicity refers to an understanding of objects and practice as inherently 'multiple', that is, as consisting of many different interacting realities, which may emerge or

disappear in different times and locations.[8] In constructing the methods for this thesis, then, I was not attempting to include a plurality of voices - this aspect of the night-time alcohol and leisure industry has already been studied (Jayne et al., 2011). Rather than an attempt to represent and display this plurality, my research was attempting to get towards and explore multiplicity. Whilst as a singular research I undoubtedly missed many of the plural narratives of the urban night, and probably missed aspects of its multiplicity as well, these methods are not designed to achieve this sort of representation.

From this, then, the method that I used most commonly was participant observation. The relationship between ethnography and participant observation is somewhat fluid: Atkinson and Hammersly get close to capturing this confusion in their definition of ethnographic methods as "relying substantially or partly on participant observation" (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994:248). The two are closely bound up, and often used interchangeably. Participant observation is more usefully used to refer to the specific method of visiting a site or area, and creating data based upon observations of practices and at that site (Cook and Crang, 2007:37), while the term ethnography typically incorporates the broader epistemological and analytical orientation towards the importance of studying practices in context, and using the subsequent data to explore social practices (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). While it is possible to imagine participant observation outside of an ethnographic context, it is difficult to imagine an ethnography without some level of participant observation. Within my thesis the majority, if not all, of my participant observation was also ethnographic, in that it was an attempt to be immersed within the practices and geographies of a given location. I did participant observation for all three research areas, and for Alive After Five: see the relevant discussion of each research area for more details.

In addition to participant observation, I also used autophotography (Cook and Crang, 2007:110). Specifically, I used this in the context of the night-time street cleaners in Newcastle. The cleaners already took photographs as part of their working practice in order to document their work, so I asked for examples of these from their existing work, and then commissioned extra photographs specifically for my research. Although autophotography, like an interview, is one stage removed practice, it has the advantage

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[8] This is concept is discussed in depth in chapter four and thus I will not develop this definition of multiplicity further at this point.

of being created when the research participant was embedded in practice: in other words, the distance from practice in both time and space is reduced (Johnsen et al., 2008:196). As Johnsen et. al. suggest, the major advantage of autophotography is that it reveals what is important to research participants at the moment of being embedded within the research context. In the narration of this thesis, I decided to not generally use the photographs as a representative tool, although a few are included. Rather, they are incorporated alongside my participant observation, informing and altering my analysis of my observations. Simply put, I felt that the use of these photographs representatively, in a 'participant narratives' approach (Johnsen et al., 2008) would not fit in alongside the broader methodology and format of this thesis. I have, however, used these photographs in this way to some extent in a forthcoming book chapter (Shaw, Forthcoming).

Interviews were the other research method that I used most frequently. Although interviews create a greater distance from practice than was desired, they are often necessary where it is otherwise impossible to gain access to the research site. Some of these interviews were with gatekeepers, and were used both for research purposes and in order to gain information about their organisation. In relation to Alive After Five, I also conducted interviews with staff at NE1, as much of the project planning had already taken place before I had been alerted to its development in my initial gatekeeper interview. In relation to taxi mobilities, I also conducted interviews with taxi drivers. Here, it was not possible to access the space in which taxi driving was practiced – the cab – as this would have reduced the ability of drivers to take fares. Indeed, it was generally difficult to gain access to the drivers, because of their employment relationship with the taxi firms: they are contractors, as opposed to employees, and thus it was difficult for staff at the company to mandate that drivers come in and speak to me. In addition, they spend little time at the offices of the taxi companies. At one of the two firms with which I researched, however, I was able to gain access to drivers on the days of their monthly visit to the taxi offices which they had to carry out for financial purposes. On the first of these days I was able to interview seven drivers; for the second of these I was able to arrange a focus group with six drivers. The other context in which I carried out interviews was informally with bar workers and fast food staff, during the context of my participant observation. Here, the distinction between interview and participant observation methods collapses a little (Cook and Crang, 2007): on some occasions, however, these were more in-depth than would be expected in a normal participant context.

In addition to these three main methods, I also drew more occasionally on other methods. Again, this reflected the pragmatic (Law, 2003a) approach to research that I have mentioned previously. Here, these methods were used where no other available way of getting at my research was possible, despite their relative distance from practice and lack of connection to the broader epistemology of this research. A summary of the exact research done for each area is provided in the sections below. I also give an overview of the existing literature for each research area. In these brief reviews I look at the state of research in these empirical areas broadly, and then focus more closely on the work done in these areas in relation to the urban night. Following this, I will complete the story of my methodology with a discussion of the third stage of my research, the representation and narration process.

2.3 iii) Taxis

Figure 2.1: Summary of research done on taxis

Research Method	
Participant Observation	4 weeks in the dispatch offices of two taxi companies. This consisted of 3 full weekend nights, plus every other night of the week at least once with one of the companies. Participant observation on city streets, including observation of taxi ranks.
Interviews	One gatekeeper interview at each organisation. At Fellside Taxis, interviews with seven drivers and a focus group with six drivers. One interview with a Fellside Taxis driver, describing the in-taxi hardware and software.

I did four weeks of ethnographic work with two Tyneside based taxi companies, who will be referred to in this thesis as Eastwall Taxis and Fellside Taxis. This ethnographic work began, for both companies, with interviews with management staff and a tour of the company's premises. In both companies my ethnographies were largely carried out in the control room of the company, sat beside the main dispatch desk. I did three weekends (Saturday morning and Sunday morning) with both companies, as well as four midweek nights with Eastwall and two with the smaller Fellside. In addition to this participant observation data, I also carried out interviews with some of the driving staff.

Unfortunately at Eastwall I was unable to arrange any interviews with drivers. However at Fellside I conducted seven interviews with drivers, as well as a focus group with six drivers in total. In addition, I was able to interview another driver from Fellside whilst being shown the hardware of his taxi. This research took place in October and November 2009, and in January and February 2010. A note should be made on the terminology related to taxis, which changes across different variations of English and according to local regulatory practices. Both Eastwall and Fellside operate private hire vehicles, that is, their cars must be booked over telephone to arrive at a certain time. By contrast, hackney carriages – 'black cabs' - are usually hired on the street, either whilst driving by or from designated taxi ranks. In my research, I focus largely on private hire vehicles, as access into the firms which operate these was easier compared to the less co-ordinated world of hackney carriages, the drivers of which are all self-employed.

A recent review of literature on taxi-related research noted that taxis have received little interest outside of the field of transport studies (Cooper et al., 2010). Within this field, in which research is largely funded by grants from local authorities or other policy makers, the focus has tended to be on maximising the quality and quantity of taxi service provision (Cooper, 2006, Brake and Nelson, 2007). Broadly, taxi service models developed by academics are divided into two types (Cooper et al., 2010). The first are 'quantity models', which are the most common in the UK and which are used to test for unmet demand. These focus on passenger waiting times during peak and off-peak periods, often attempting to determine whether more licenses should be issued. The second models are 'taxi at stance models', which focus on the quality of taxi stances and their impact on efficiency. Here, issues such as traffic flows, pedestrian behaviour, pedestrian access and safety and vehicle access are key features. Such models have shown that simple changes to taxi stances can have large impacts on efficiency. Inevitably due to its disciplinary and funding nature, such research tends to consider the imbrications of taxis within social relations as a topic of secondary interest.

Nevertheless, there has been some research which looks at taxis outside of this modelling paradigm. Perhaps the most notable of these have been the different studies done of taxi drivers' working practices and experiences, including that in the urban night (Cooper et al., 2010). Such research has focused on the emotional and health risks associated with long and often anti-social shift patterns (Kobayashi et al., 2002), the employment issues

associated with the often legally complex relationship between drivers and companies (Gao Hodges, 2007), and on the various different experiences of the city that taxi drivers obtain (Gambetta and Hamill, 2005). Though these are a heterogeneous set of interests, they most notably all seek to uncover the various ways in which taxi drivers shape and are shaped by their very specific form of employment. Researchers have also looked at taxis in association with other forms of transport, including their role in aviation and in providing connections to other forms of public transport in rural communities (Cooper et al., 2010). In both these assemblages, taxis form a flexible portion of wider mobilities. Taxis are also recognised as a gendered space, which can prove dangerous for women; in a number of cities, female only taxi companies have been created (De Koning, 2009). Despite all this research, however, there remains a gap in research which uncovers and explores the place of taxis in the city. In particular, more research is required which might look at the ways that taxis shape urban mobilities, or in which taxis are responsive to certain specific needs.

In this thesis, I use much of my taxi research in chapters three and five. In particular, I draw upon the organisation and management capabilities of taxi companies, looking at how they have used technology to co-ordinate and track night-time mobilities. In doing so, they develop a particular vision of the urban night, which translates the complexities of the city centre into a series of flows. Such flows impact on driver behaviour, which itself is also a factor in where people move to and congregate in order to take taxis. I look at the imbrications of taxis with other aspects of the urban night, and try to explore how as a group they affect and are affected by the urban night.

2.3 iv) Street-Cleaning

Figure 2.2: Summary of research done on street-cleaning

Research Method	
Participant Observation	An initial visit to the depot in March 2010, with ethnographic work with cleaners in April 2010 and again in June 2010. A total of 12 nights of ethnographic work, mainly travelling with managers as they travel between different sites on the night, General participant observation on city streets.
Interviews	One gatekeeper interview. Additional interview with manager when collecting photographs in June 2010.

Autophotography	Collection of photographs taken by staff as part of their work in April 2010. Collection of additional photos from four members of staff and manager, and an with interview with manager, in June 2010

My research with Newcastle's Neighbourhood Services team consisted of ethnographies and interviews with members of the night-shift, whose job is largely street cleaning. This research was conducted at various points in 2010. During my visits I undertook a number of different tasks, including: interviews with workers; ethnographies of the activities of cleaners; tours of the Neighbourhood Services' team's depot and facilities in Heaton; and collecting of photographs from the night-shift.

'Night-time economy studies' has catalogued this vast range of activities associated with consumption in city centres at night, particularly within a British context. Roberts and Eldridge's comprehensive overview of NTE studies provides examples of research into a wide variety of actants in the urban night (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). Their book contains little mention, however, of research relating to infrastructural maintenance, despite an awareness of its importance (Roberts and Eldridge 2009:26) and despite a growing literature which emphasises the need of social scientists to look at the 'back stage' of the city through studies of repair and maintenance (Graham, 2001, Herod and Aguiar, 2006a, Graham and Thrift, 2007). Following such a research agenda means following "the processes of maintenance and repair that keep modern societies going" (Graham and Thrift, 2007:1). Such processes have often been overlooked by social science research, but form a vital part of the urban. So researchers have turned to transport networks (Bissell, 2008b, Parker, 2009), the infrastructure of ICTs and utilities (Graham, 2001) and to those moments where networks and the operation of infrastructure are revealed through processes of failure and collapse (Bennett, 2005, Adey and Anderson, 2011).

For my research, I turn to street-cleaning as an important maintenance part of multiple networks. In doing so, I bring into studies of the urban night two related groups: firstly, litter and other discarded materials; and secondly, street cleaners. Most local authorities employ a night-shift of street cleaners, who may also have some responsibility for gritting roads and other regular maintenance jobs. Within studies of the urban night, however,

little research has been done to link these practices of maintenance within the more recognisable alcohol-based activities of the city centre at night. Rather, night-time cleaning is often taken to be a straight-forward task of renewal and repair, done at a time convenient to the efficient running of the city. So academics have claimed that more obtrusive cleaning only takes place at night (Tomic et al., 2006), or have characterised night-time cleaning as "cleaning operatives servicing the city, cleaning the streets and collecting rubbish in the early morning when fewer people are about" (Adams et al., 2007:203). Though Tomic et. al. are correct in noting that, particularly in private developments which might be shut to public access at night, a lot cleaning is deliberately hidden 'out-of-hours', my research shows that on some occasions at least, night-time street cleaning is more than a simple process of renewing the city in order to serve the day. Rather, it forms an active part of the urban night which is vital to the operation of this sector as a whole. Furthermore, the streets that cleaners must negotiate are far from empty.

Geographical research into cleaning has, as with taxis, had a focus on employment issues. Like taxi drivers, cleaners are often conceptualised as a marginalised group whose work is necessary to service high-mobility neoliberal flows of capital and who as a result are often hidden (Brody, 2006) or overlooked in discussions of globalisation (Herod and Aguiar, 2006b). Globally, cleanliness is prioritised as part of a drive towards the creation of international spaces in city centres, leading to splintering between those spaces deemed worthy of cleaning and those which are not (Tomic et al., 2006). As well as the *Antipode* special edition on cleaning from which the above papers are drawn, cleaning has also appeared as part of wider research into waste (Crang, 2010). Despite this, there has been little research into street cleaning, despite its prevalence in cities across the globe. As with the taxi industry, street-cleaning is included in a number of different assemblages, particularly in the urban night. It is vital to the maintenance of daytime mobilities and the functioning of the city centre, but also forms a part of the landscape of the urban night. In this thesis, I make use of my street-cleaning research mostly in chapter three, in which it forms the key case study. However, data also appears in chapter five. It is hoped that my research will help open up scope for a greater consideration of the role of street-cleaning in contemporary urban life.

2.3 v) Bodily experience of the urban night

Figure 2.3 Summary of research done into bodily experience of the urban night

Research Method	
Participant Observation	Research during empirical scoping study in July 2009. Go-along ethnographies with five groups on nights-out. Research at a 'hiring event' of a nightclub in Newcastle.
Interviews	Informal interviews with bar staff and fast food staff during participant observation. Follow-up interviews with groups from go-along ethnographies.
Document Analysis	Analysis of media depictions of bodies in the urban night. Analysis of local policy documents on the night-time city.

As described previously, my research into bars and clubs was the area which changed the most significantly over the course of my thesis. It began with my empirical scoping study. This research involved individual ethnographic visits to Newcastle, sometimes to specific bars and clubs and on other occasions to the city centre streets. These visits began in July 2009 and went on regularly until October 2009; they were then repeated incrementally for a further twelve months. As explained on page 38, the initial research was systematic in order to cover as much as the city centre as possible, while later research was targeted at particular empirical gaps or at problems and themes that were emerging as interesting. As such, my ethnographic research here most closely resembled that described by Hadfield (Hadfield, 2006), though his work consisted mainly of specific targeted visits to venues. By contrast, I was also interested in both bar spaces and the streets around them.

On five occasions I accompanied other groups on their nights out. Access to these groups was developed through personal contacts and snowballing (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981); the aim of these trips were not to obtain particularly detailed information about the groups' night out, mainly because this had been covered by many other researchers (e.g. Hollands, 1995, Jayne et al., 2006). Rather, these go-along ethnographies (Kusenbach, 2003) were used to ensure that as many different venues as possible were visited, and to take advantage of existing users' of the urban night's knowledge of the size and scope of Newcastle's night-time alcohol and leisure based economy. During this research, my main

focus was on the practices of governance used to control, manage and manipulate bars and the city centres, and the bodily experience that emerged from this.

Research in bars and clubs has been dominated by NTE studies, as discussed previously. There has, however, been other work which has looked more closely at the corporeal. Hadfield's 2006 book *Bar Wars* is perhaps the most successful attempt at this. He asserts that "the ability to exert control over the behaviour of one's customers is essential to the successful operation of licensed premises" (Hadfield, 2006:81). Hadfield explores a variety of different actants and technologies which are used at different times and moments in the night to attempt to control behaviour: bar-staff, the surveillance of regulars, bouncers, DJs, sounds, lighting, communication, bar design, legislation and police all come together to create "an environment which appears to be carefree and created with only pleasure in mind" which nonetheless is subjected to "the fundamentally purposive, complex, and interconnecting orchestration" of multiple factors (Hadfield, 2006:115-116). Hadfield shows that, though behaviour does not operate in a deterministic manner, the urban night consists of multiple attempts to alter and reduce the possibilities of the emergence of different types of behaviour. Other researchers have also looked more specifically at bar spaces and the ways in which these shape or are shaped by behaviour of people in the night. Malbon, Jackson and Leyshon (Malbon, 1999, Jackson, 2004, Leyshon, 2008) all investigate different types of drinking spaces and their effects on the activity of people within them.

Outside of bar spaces, various areas of research have looked into the corporeal experience of the night. Feminist research has emphasised the variety of different experiences that women have of the night-time city, many of which centre on the sexualisation of the body. Surveillance and the male gaze, directed at women's bodies, has been repeatedly emphasised as a problem for women in the night-time city (Leyshon, 2008). As previously mentioned, women typically feel particularly vulnerable in the city at night, and this is often embedded in their bodily experience (Valentine, 1989). An extensive research project into bouncers has also emphasised the importance of corporeality in and around the night-time alcohol and leisure industry. Here, bodies form the main assets of bouncers, whose work is based upon their ability to make use of their body to encourage others to act in certain ways (Winlow et al., 2001, Hobbs et al., 2003, Hobbs et al., 2007). These areas do not exhaust the bodily experience of the city at night,

either in practice or in research (seeCloke et al., 2008 for example), but they are the areas closest to the research that I conducted.

I mainly make use of my research in bars, clubs, the surrounding city streets, and the corporeal experience of the night-time city, in chapters three and four. In particular, I attempt to explore the ways in which behaviour management strategies operate by looking at the objects or technologies which are invoked in order to encourage people to act in certain ways. I also look at the gendered aspects of bar management and promotion, and at the relationship between the internal bar space and the city around it.

2.3 vi) Alive After Five

Figure 2.4: Summary of research done on Alive After Five

Research Method	
Participant Observation	Regular ethnographic work in Newcastle city centre during Alive After Five hours for the week before its launch, and during its first two weeks of operation - fifteen visits in total in October and November 2010. Less frequent subsequent visits until February 2011.
Interviews	One gatekeeper interview Additional three interviews with staff at NE1
Document Analysis	Analysis of media promotional activity

The Alive After Five initiative was launched in Newcastle in October 2010 by NE1. I discovered about it in a gatekeeper interview during the first stage of my research in October 2009, when I was speaking to NE1 about research with regards to street-cleaning. I undertook participant observation in Newcastle during the period in the run-up to Alive After Five's launch in October 2010, and through its first two weeks. Less frequent research then continued through to February 2011. As well as this, I conducted one interview with a member of NE1's staff before its launch, and two interviews with members of NE1's executive board about Alive After Five in the aftermath of its launch, in November 2010.

Research into late-night shopping and the 'early evening' aspects of the night-time booze and leisure industry in geography has been limited, although a merging of the shopping-based consumption of the day with the alcohol, entertainment and food-based

consumption of the night/evening has long been a goal of urban planning in relation to the night-time city (Jacobs, 1961, Bianchini, 1995). As Bianchini notes, initiatives which have focused on this period have tended to either favour one industry over the other and have not got to grips with connecting these two rhythms (Bianchini, 1993, 1995). Hubbard's research comparing suburban entertainment complexes and city centres in the evening begins to touch on these issues, and hints towards the mixed number of practices with which such initiatives must engage (Hubbard, 2005). Indeed, it is interesting that part of the desire to merge shopping and 'night-time economies' results in the copying in city centres of strategies developed in malls and other out-of town sites (Karrholm, 2009), that is, the attempt to create a single location which caters simultaneously for multiple forms of consumption. Meanwhile, studies based on consumer preferences and economics have repeatedly attempted to look at the demand levels for late night shopping in cities (Wrigley and Guy, 1984, Geiger, 2007, Shy and Stenbacka, 2008). Such studies can often be powerful in persuading city centre management of the possible benefits of 'bridging the gap', and in recent years there has been a spread of initiatives such as Alive After Five in the UK, reflecting a form of 'weak entrepreneurialism' (Jessop, 1998). Specifically, Newcastle's initiative follows on directly from a similar one in Liverpool, itself inspired by Brighton and Hove; during the course of my research, Edinburgh also announced its intentions to copy Newcastle's Alive After Five, complete with the same name (Brackley, 2011).

Methodologically, Alive After Five took on a different role to the rest of my research. Its launch in October 2010 meant that it took place during stage three of my research process, the stage of representation and narration described below. This meant that the relationship to the theory developed in it was slightly different to that described previously: there was less 'flow' of concepts between the empirical and the theoretical than in the rest of the thesis. Rather, it was used to explore how theoretical ideas developed might used as a 'package' in the context of privatised urban governance attempting to shape subjectivities towards consumption – that is, in a neoliberal policy project (Castree, 2006). The relationship between theory and empirics is thus more 'conventional' than in the rest of the thesis.

This meant that Alive After Five took on the form of a 'case study'. Here the inspiration, as explained in chapter seven where Alive After Five is discussed, was actor-network theory,

which often places case studies at the heart of its research. In actor-network theory, the case study is used as a way of achieving a research project which overcomes the problems of reducing the world to a particular set of explanations. Bruno Latour characterises this as a task of relocating, redistributing and connecting the 'global' across a particular controversy, space, practice or organisation (Latour, 2005b:175). The case study thus acts as a particularly useful tool for 'keeping the social flat', that is, for talking about both the specific, local contexts of an empirical situation, and the global flows which feed into this. Law and Mol express this in relation to their study of the 2001 foot and mouth outbreak in the UK: "The story of Burnside Farm as the index case of a major epidemic has been told a number of times. We tell it here... because the travels of the foot and mouth virus afford us an insight both into the tortuous links and the gaps between geographical sites" (Law and Mol, 2008:134). In other words, the global, the local, the theoretical and the empirical can all come together in the case.

2.3 vii) Stage Three: Representation and Narration

This stage of the research might have easily been called the analysis and 'writing-up' of my research – however, as I have argued, the analysis also took place while I was researching empirically, and 'writing-up' is a phrase I would like to avoid. Indeed, the notions of describing the 'writing-up' and analysis stages of research as separate from the empirical research has been critiqued by a range of different writers. Grounded theory, is perhaps one of the major sources in social science for arguing that the analytical and empirical must come together (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Crang explains this rational where he says that "the techniques of writing, storing and moving information all play a role in 'processing' our material" (Crang, 2003:128). The idea of separate writing-up and analysis, then, is misleading on two accounts. First, the analytical and writing-up processes are one and the same – writing is an act of sorting and representation and thus an act of analysis. Second, these two activities do not exclusively occur *after* the period of the research, although they are by necessity concentrated towards the end of a research project.

If stage two of my research involved the development of concepts in both theory and empirics, the representation and narration stage of my research process was a stage of ordering and assembling these concepts and my empirical work into a new document, in order to account for the practices from which subjectivities emerged in the neoliberal urban night. Together, this process of representing and narrating would entwine theory

and empirics so that my empirical work would be used to explore, ground and explain my theoretical ideas. I came to understand the key concepts, developed during my research (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) - rhythms, incessancy, framing, multiplicity, enunciation, atmospheres, affect and assemblage - as a breaking down of practice into its various parts. In the representation and narrative stage of my research, I created the ordering of this thesis, which then became the written structure, as represented in figure 1.1. Whilst this structure and figure is by no means a definitive depiction of practice, it does reflect the conceptual ordering which took place in this thesis. Here, then, the different concepts described follow on from one another in the argument, rather than as a process or chronologically. The various concepts which are conceived of as constituting practice are thus a result of flow the ideas between methods, analysis and theory, and it is through these concepts that the empirical work was analysed.

In this methodological section, I have attempted to write a methodology which accounts for the emergence and format of the research and ultimately the thesis (Law, 2004). In doing so, my methodology should be understood alongside the many accounts of poststructuralist and actor-network theory research which describe research as a process across which the empirical and theoretical materials emerge (Crang, 2003, Latham, 2003, Law, 2004, Pain, 2004, Latour, 2005b, Cook and Crang, 2007, McCormack, 2008b). In attempts to study practice, it is important to retain an awareness that *research itself is also a practice*, worthy of study and consideration in the same manner as the practices being studied. I have summarised my research as a three stage process: problematisation/exploration; research through a grounded flow between theory and empirics; narration and representation. Across this process, a series of concepts emerged which seemed to be linked through their attention to parts of practice. In doing so, they allow me to tell a tale of the emergence of subjectivities in the neoliberal spaces both of the overall research, and the specific case study of Alive After Five.

2.4 Turning to the Night

This chapter has sought to introduce a series of the different frames (see chapter four) through which this thesis can be understood. There has been the long history of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the development of a 'night-time economy', and of academic research into this. There has been research background of night-time economy studies, which has developed a deep but narrow understanding of the contemporary night-time city centre. There has been a theoretical orientation towards practice, which has come

from the various theorists and researchers whose work will run through this thesis. There has also been a methodological orientation towards practice coming on from this, which has shaped along with this theoretical frame the concepts that have emerged in this thesis. Finally, there has been the background of the three research areas and one case study – taxis; street-cleaning; corporeal experience of the night; and Alive After Five – which together provide the empirical basis for this thesis.

The next three chapters of this thesis will act as explorations of the empirical areas described above as examples of urban practice. In doing so, in each individual chapter I will move through different concepts, or moments of practise. These concepts will relate back to those highlighted in figure 1.1. Underlying all of the above, then, will be the question of how these different areas of practice come together to contribute towards the emergence of subjectivities such as the 'binge drinker' in the urban night? By breaking down different aspects of practice, I hope to explore this process further. The starting point for this process will be the sense of practice as 'activity' or 'actions' (Schatzki, 2001) in the city centre. I will explore how rhythms emerge from this practice. These rhythms produce both similarities and differences: as such they create multiplicity. Following on from this, in chapter four, I will look at how, at the same times as creating multiplicity, some practices gain power and act to frame others, producing 'enunciations'. This chapter will therefore be looking at the ways in which multiplicity is closed down and territorialised. These enunciations are framed practices within the city centre, and take on an assemblage structure. In chapter five, I will then consider 'assemblages' in greater detail and show how the connections and gaps of an assemblage allow for the flow of affect, which is created by bodies affecting one another through practice. Following these three chapters, I will return more closely to the arguments about subjectification and the 'NTE' that have been introduced in this chapter, before moving onto the discussion of Alive After Five.

3. Rhythms in the Urban Night: The Incessant City

> "Night is part of the media day. It speaks, it emotes, at night as in the day. Without respite! One catches weaves: nocturnal voices, voices that are close to use but also other voices (or images) that come from afar, from the devil, from sunny or cold and misty places. So many voices! Who can hold back the flows, the currents, the tides (or swamps) that break over the world, pieces of information and disinformation, more or less well-founded analyses, publications, messages – cryptic or otherwise. You can go without sleep, or doze off…" (Lefebvre, 2004: 46)

Lefebvre's skittish, evocative writing style here is suggestive of the misanthropic crank that Elden describes in his brief biography of the French sociologist and philosopher (Elden, 2004). Lefebvre responds to an ever increasing barrage of voices, images and media coming into his home through his television, or "instrument" (Lefebvre, 2004:46). His comments can thus sound like those of an angry old man, unhappy with this ever growing tide of information being streamed into his home. Published posthumously in 1992, it is unknown whether these comments in Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* was written in response to the Gulf War, which ended just four months before Lefebvre's death, but it was this event which for many confirmed the appearance of a new relationship between news events and the media (Baudrillard, 1995:48). Yet Lefebvre's analysis is also pertinent, an evocation of a growing trend which exceeds the 'twenty-four hour news cycle' and generates a world in which information becomes available as part of a constant stream, which Bolter and Grusin describe as part of a remediated world (Bolter and Grusin, 1999). As technologies eased the speed and amount of information available, urban planners and policy makers grew enamoured with the idea of the twenty-four hour city. Heath enthused in 1997 that:

"the Twenty-four Hour City concept provokes a more holistic and expansive consideration of the totality of city centres. This includes their social and cultural dimensions and it also has an aspirational dimension aiming to stimulate ideas and entrepreneurial activity. Identifying the need for new and innovative ways to solve city centre problems, Landry & Bianchini (1995, p.10) argue that approaches should capitalize upon a city's cultural and social potential" (Heath, 1997:194).

City governors were quick to declare their territories 'twenty-four hour cities'. Manchester was perhaps one of the most keen on this label, playing host to a conference entitled *Towards the Twenty-Four Hour City* in 1993 and undertaking experiments to extend various activities across the clock (O'Connor, 1993). Yet within just four years of Heath's quote, Hadfield et. al. were able to say with some confidence that the "'Mass Volume Vertical Drinker' has assaulted the concept [24-hour city] and all its good intentions, leaving it for dead in streets splattered with blood, vomit, urine and the sodden remains of take-aways" (Hadfield et al., 2001:300). Heath, and Hadfield et. al., probably overstate the potentials and failings of the twenty-four hour city respectively. What they begin to express are just some of the conflicts between rhythms that emerged when city authorities began to prioritise one rhythm – that of the twenty-four hour city – over others (Roberts and Turner, 2005, Adams et al., 2007).

Contemporarily, the concept of the 'twenty-four hour city' has moved off the political agenda as a central goal of urban policy, largely in light of the perceived failure of the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy as discussed in chapter two, but the residual traces of inter-rhythm conflict remain, particularly as city centre living becomes more common in light of the policies of the 1990s and early 2000s. These two debates – one about the nature of news and information, the other about the rhythms of urban governance – suggest that rhythms are of central importance to the functioning of daily life, an argument posited by Lefebvre. In light of the exposure of the twenty-four hour city as just one of many potential rhythms of the city, there is an absence of conceptual terminology for how we might approach the contemporary urban night. In this chapter, I want to introduce the literature in geography on rhythm and rhythmanalysis, before exploring the rhythms of Newcastle City Centre. I divide my empirical discussion into:

firstly, the rhythms of timetables, organisations and institutions; secondly, the rhythms of the body; and thirdly, a series of time-space diagrams which expand further upon the ethnographic work. These rhythms all emerge from practice, that is, from the activity of bodies and things. Within this discussion, my aim is to show the variety of different rhythms which interact, conflict, emerge and disappear. From these, both similarity and difference emerge. I then move to conclude by suggesting that we need to consider the incessancy of a city, and in what ways this incessancy is produced and managed, in order to get at the complexity of urban rhythms at night. This concept of incessancy, which will be taken from a reading of Melbin (Melbin, 1987), is retooled to provide an analytical perspective on night-time temporalities in which an emphasis is placed on tracing how organisations, individuals and institutions operate over extended time periods.

3.1 Rhythms and Rhythmanalysis in Geography

In 1979, Parkes and Thrift were able to write that "there is nothing terribly new in the use of terms such as rhythm, harmony and orchestration in human geography" (Parkes and Thrift, 1979:354). They pointed to the work of pre-World War Two geographers such as Hartshorne and Huntington to suggest that such concepts had a significant history in the discipline. However, geographers concerned with rhythm in recent times have largely overlooked the particular flurry of interest in the topic which occurred through the 1970s: Duffy et. al. claim that "only since the 2000s, have geographers begun to consider the role of bodily rhythms in constituting social worlds" (Duffy et al., 2011:1). Whilst noting Duffy et. al.'s qualifying use of 'bodily rhythms', it is still worth taking some time to consider the work on rhythms in geography that occurred prior to the publication of Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* and the 'turn to rhythm' of the 2000s.

Time-geography is most readily associated with Torsten Hägerstrand and the Lund School of human geography. Hägerstrand's work studying the diffusion of technology across Sweden and associated migration left him convinced that the models of mass behaviour which were the starting point for the regional science which then dominated European geography were "often presented without explicit statements about the assumed social organization and technology that exist at the micro-level from which the individual tries to handle his situation" (Hägerstrand, 1970:8). Hägerstrand was concerned that the importance of the micro-geographies of daily life were being overlooked in favour of positivistic assumptions about aggregate behaviour, which did not reflect upon their own ways of researching. As such Hägerstrand's concerns chimed with the humanist critiques

of regional science that were emerging at the time (Buttimer, 1976, Tuan, 1977), certainly more so than it did those coming from Marxism (Harvey, 1975) or feminism (Bowlby et al., 1982). Indeed, Hägerstrand had productive discussions with Buttimer in particular (Hägerstrand, 1980, 2006), and as a senior professor from within regional science who was willing to associate his name with such work (Hägerstrand, 1980) was a clear inspiration for the development of areas for humanist research in geography which had previously been ignored (Buttimer, 1980).

Although Hägerstrand acknowledged the importance of Buttimer's phenomenological humanism for supplementing and limiting his own work,[9] he remained a regional geographer, and attempted to develop a critique of positivism from within regional science. In particular, Hägerstrand was concerned that moving too far from the aggregate would result in an overly 'biographical' focus. Rather, he claimed that regional science was missing one axis: time (Hägerstrand, 1970). Time's indivisibility meant that, for Hägerstrand, it was the axis along which individual experience differed from the aggregate; a person could not jump across periods of time through 'non-existence' and thus had to face the inevitability of passing time. This passing time was unique as it began (with birth) and ended (with death) at a unique time for each individual. As such, he was interested in the central role of time in "fitting people and things together for functioning in socio-economic systems" (Hägerstrand, 1970:10). This quote also reveals that Hägerstrand's concern for time was linked to concerns about materiality, and therefore involved discussions about the relationships between materials and the human. These critiques lead to the development of the 'time-space diagrams' with which Hägerstrand and his colleagues in Lund are most associated (Hägerstrand, 1970, 1982). The aim of these is to construct a map in which rhythms and paths are displayed in both space and time. These varied from the very abstract, as with figure 3.1, through to attempts at more embedded diagrams, such as figure 3.2. The two images also show the creativity and range of time space diagrams: figure 3.1 is a representation of mobility over a lifespan, whilst figure 3.2 focuses on an individual's daily movements.

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[9] The full quote in which Hägerstrand does this is sounds surprisingly Latourian in its discussion of traces: "The fact that a human path in the time-space geographic notation seems to represent nothing more than a point on the move should not lead us to forget that at its tip – as it were – in the persistent present stands a living body subject, endowed with memories, feelings, knowledge, imagination and goals – in other words, capabilities too rich for any conceivable kind of symbolic representation, but decisive for the direction of paths. People are not paths, but they cannot avoid drawing them in space-time" (Hägerstrand 1982:323-324).

Figure 3.1: A lifespan time-space diagram (Hägerstrand, 1978:141)
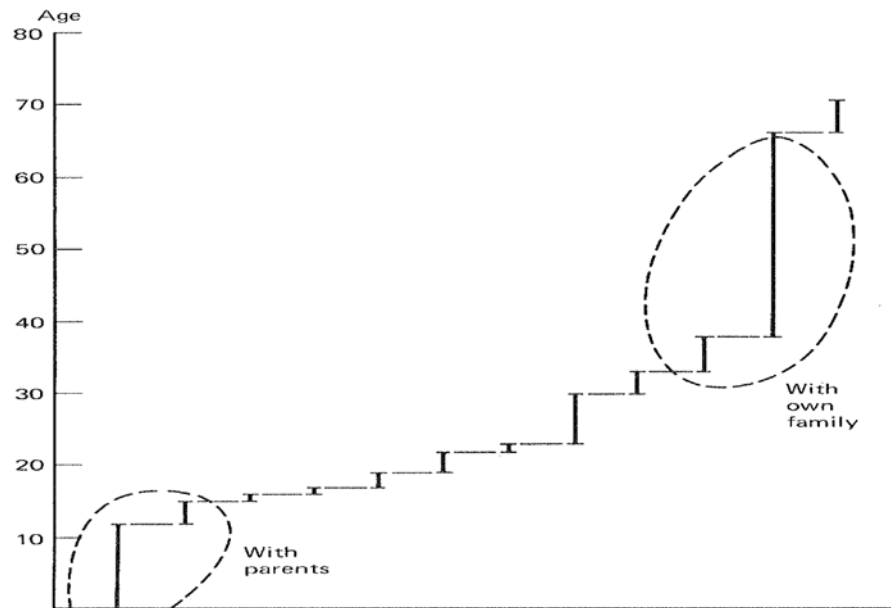
Figure 3.2: A daily-life time-space diagram (Lenntorp, 1978:164)
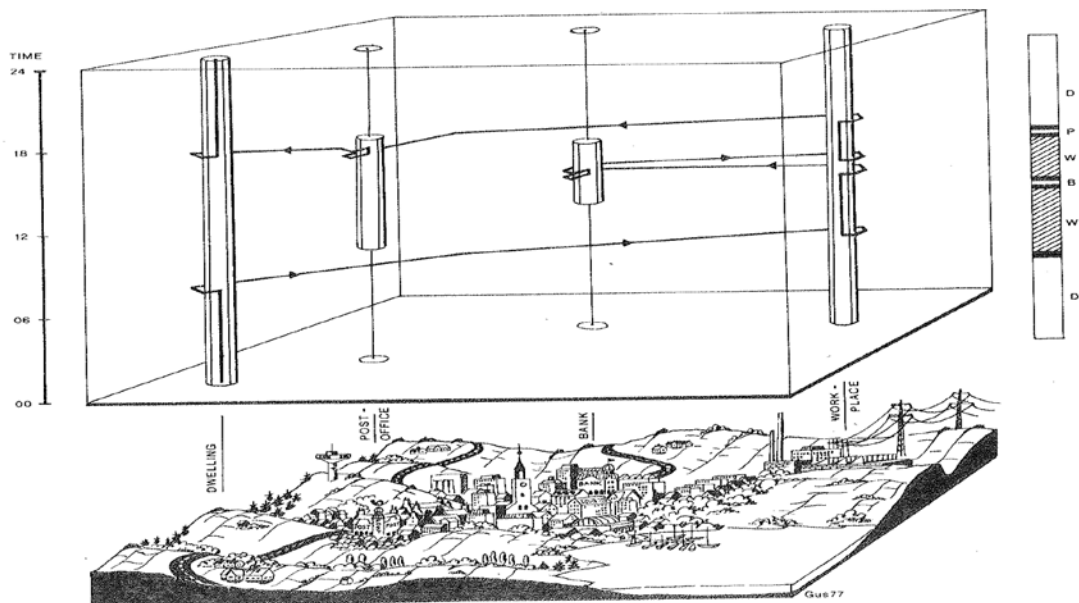
Hägerstrand develops a complex terminology in association with these diagrams, which it is not necessary to explore here. Although his time-space diagrams are visually evocative of rhythms, this particular term does not appear amongst his vocabulary. This contrasts with the work of Buttimer. Buttimer developed a critique of the absence of the human in regional geography based upon readings of phenomenology. For her, phenomenology would provide a way into a more humanistic approach to geography, which might "bring intellectual knowledge into closer harmony with lived experience" (Buttimer, 1976:278). The challenge was to return the living to geography, and to bring to geographical

attention the "experiential grounding of concepts such as place, community, encounter, at-homeness, movement and commitment" (Buttimer, 1980:17). Rhythm was a central part of this understanding of lived experience. In particular, Buttimer saw the geographical concept of the time-space rhythm as a site for interjection of phenomenological concepts (Buttimer, 1976). As such, Buttimer recognised the potential of the time-space diagram to introduce a much more corporeal and rhythmic approach to geography. She argues that if time-space diagrams were to be extracted from the featureless plain of spatial science, they could:

> "uncover facets of "world" which play a crucial role in everyday experience. This multi- layered dynamic complex could also be represented in terms of time-space rhythms: patterns of sound and smell, light and dark, heat and cold, movement and stillness. Though each of these conditions may follow rhythms of different rates and scale, they could be synchronized within a time-space framework, and thus collated with the rhythms of the functional milieu." (Buttimer, 1976:287)

Buttimer claims that such a phenomenologically inspired time-space diagram would reveal the multiple intersecting rhythms which construct the 'lifeworld', that is, the world as experienced by any 'body subject'. By considering time and space together and tracing the patterns formed by different rhythms, a picture of a dynamic flexing lifeworld "as the orchestration of various time-space rhythms" (Buttimer, 1976:289) emerges. Rather than tracing the movement of a person through geodesic space, then, Buttimer conceives of these diagrams as tracing interacting rhythms. Bodily experience is at the nexus of a variety of these rhythms.

Parkes and Thrift's "*Time Spacemakers and Entrainment*" (Parkes and Thrift, 1979) (a follow up to their previous paper "*Timing Space and Spacing Time*" (Parkes and Thrift, 1975)) acts in part as a response to this challenge of Buttimer's. They respond initially by making the point that opened this discussion: that the concepts of rhythm or orchestration are not new to geography. As such, they argue that rhythm is central to the concept of any sort of permanent spatial organisation: "The territory of human action is established through the occurrence of recurrent events both rhythmic and periodic and this rule holds whether the occurrence is real or experiential. Persistence gives us the

outlines of structure… [though] structure is only 'relatively permanent'. A structure, physical, social or biological-has a clock because it is a clock. It always constructs its own time" (Parkes and Thrift, 1979:356). This analysis interiorises temporality to any given assemblage of time-space rhythms, and also acknowledges the relative permanence of these assemblages themselves. At any given time, certain time-space rhythms are thus dominant over others (Parkes and Thrift, 1979:357). This quote also hints at a more sophisticated conception of temporality than exists in Hägerstrand or Buttimer. The distinction between the rhythmic and periodic, for example, is a distinction between the regular, marked by oscillatory practices or materialities which are encountered in daily life, and the rare, marked by fracturing events and materialities which might generate new entrainments, that is, new rhythms and structures. At this point, through the critiques of Buttimer and Parkes and Thrift, we see a beginning of a move beyond the Lund style of time-geography, which is felt to be too limited to account for the complexity of rhythms in society.

From this brief discussion, a number of ideas about rhythm emerge. Firstly, rhythms are emergent out of the interaction between time and space. As such, the temporal and spatial scale of rhythms is (infinitely) variable. Our 'lifeworld' is as dependent upon the rhythms of astronomical bodies as it is on, say, nightly street-cleaning rhythms. Any analysis of urban rhythms needs to take into account rhythms ranging across these different spatio-temporal scales. Secondly, rhythms might be both the cause of structure and permanence, but also the site of conflict and change. In this argument we see some of the first influences of phenomenology and practice theory in geography, in which daily life is shown to be the site of micro-replications of both structure and change. As such comes the third important aspect of rhythms, that is, that they will cross and interact in ways which can be either productive or destructive. This links the rhythm to discussions in later chapters on framings and assemblages. Fourthly, then, studies of rhythm can be applied to both humans and non-humans. As such, rhythms provide a useful way for thinking both about the human 'lifeworld' and for the 'lifeworld' of objects. Finally, then, it is worth noting that bold claims such as that by Duffy et. al. can often be misleading (Duffy et al., 2011). Any assertion that a concept, theory or idea is 'recent' or has been a late arrival to a discipline should be treated with caution. Much of the work of Buttimer, Hägerstrand and Parkes and Thrift chimes with many contemporary interests in rhythm and rhythmanalysis, and can be used productively in discussion with current work.

Nevertheless, Duffy et. al.'s comment is understandable given that time-geography, rhythm and temporality did, for a long time, become less explicit concerns for geography. As such, in my discussion of the concept of rhythm in geography, I do now want to skip approximately twenty years forward to the work in geography which rediscovered the concept of rhythm in the early 2000s. In doing so, however, I shall briefly nod towards the intervening years' scholarship on rhythm in geography. As issues of representation became more central to geography, the presence of time-geography diagrams in the geodesic plain became more problematic: so the "line-diagram depicts exactly the *dance macabre* that once so alarmed Hägerstrand's critics (and friends) – an alienated world of bodies in automatic motion" (Gregory, 1994:249). Gregory, following Buttimer's earlier comments, suggests that such diagrams need rethinking and that montage time-geographies might include both text and images to expand upon the time-geography diagram, though he remains sceptical as to the adequacy of even this (Gregory, 1994:253). An exception to this, as Gregory pointed out, came in the work of Pred. Pred's work included the playfulness and creativity that was absent from Hägerstrand. Pred introduced images, quotes and other forms of wider representation into his time-diagrams, also playing more broadly with academic formats. His work also brought time-geography closer to structuration, a theory which was initially popular but which was soon heavily critiqued (Pred, 1984).

Ultimately, then, time-geography's association with structuration and its attempts to *create* representations could not fit in with approaches in geography which sought to critique representational techniques. The work of the 1970s did retain an influence through the figure of Nigel Thrift, whose research throughout the intervening years maintains an interest in temporality and movement (Thrift, 1996b, 2000, Glennie and Thrift, 2009, Thrift et al., 2010). In particular, then, time-geography should be seen as one of the major influences for non-representational theories within geography (Anderson and Harrison, 2010:17), and it should perhaps not be surprising that the most complete attempt to match the challenge made by Buttimer and Gregory above – to include image, dialogue and critiques of representation into time-geography diagrams – was arguably only finally met by work within non-representational theory (Latham, 2003). Time-geography was also a clear influence for other social theory of the 1980s, including work by Giddens (Giddens, 1984), and Urry's early movements towards considerations of

mobility, both of which used the outcomes of time-geography as a philosophical project (Pred and Thrift, 1981) rather than as a methodology for working.

One final influence on temporalities within geography which is worthy of mention at this moment is that which came from philosophies and social science work on practice and the every day. Within geography, de Certeau probably had the most influence through his study of *The Practice of Everyday Life.* De Certeau is critical of the ethnographic methodology of Bourdieu through its ethnocentric assumptions, and the work of Foucault through the weakness of its definition of power and the potential abyss which such an approach can result in (de Certeau, 1984). As such, de Certeau suggests that a more subtle approach to society can be gained by studying practice: this can avoid the external categorisations of Bourdieu's ethnography, and reveal the tactics of resistance which run alongside Foucault's strategies of power (de Certeau, 1984). In doing so, de Certeau focuses on daily use of the city centre and in particular on issues of mobility and travel around the city; he looks at how places are made through repeated practice which he analyses linguistically. Time then is seen as a semantic feature and difference emerges from the "imbricated strata" (de Certeau, 1984:200) of a place, rather than from flow or rhythm. Everyday practice is conceived of in an archaeological sense, as a slowly developing series of actions which become anchored in a location. There is a sense of rhythm, then, but one which feels oddly stilled and one which does not receive extensive theorisation. As such, de Certeau's work contributed to the elision of time with representation in geography (Crang, 1994).

Within urban geography and prior to the publication of *Rhythmanalysis*, notions of rhythm and temporality were perhaps most commonly evoked to suggest that "the city could be understood as an embedded and heterogeneous range of time-space processes" (Amin and Graham, 1997:420). Ideas such as splintering urbanism (Graham and Marvin, 2001) and a focus on the 'postmodern city' encouraged an image of the city as constituted by multiple overlapping temporalities, and whilst a number of spatio-temporal notions became central to urban geography little explicit theorising about the nature of rhythms occurred. These approaches also came out from shifts in 'globalisation debates' which broke down the binary relationship between global and local and started to recognise the way in which different spatial-temporal flows were created at multiple sites, connecting, linking and separating places in different ways. Here, then, rhythm

emerges due to an interest in "intersecting trajectories" (Massey, 2003a:118). As such, these arguments have increasingly moved beyond purely urban geography to broader questions of flows and paths. It is from within this area of interest that Crang's 2001 paper on rhythm emerged (Crang, 2001), within the edited collection *Timespace* which was arguably the first explicit return to in depth discussions of temporality and geography, and of rhythm (May and Thrift, 2001). Crang focuses on every-day practices of urban space and the emergence of rhythms from these. This discussion of rhythm is prescient of the 'return to rhythm' that was at the time coming to geography, which was further encouraged by the 2004 publication of Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (Edensor, 2010). Crang begins his discussion of the temporalities of the city with the two traditions that I have already covered in this chapter, namely time-geography and phenomenological accounts of experiential time (Crang, 2001). However, he also raises two alternative ways of thinking about rhythm. Firstly, there are issues of the everyday and 'chronopolitics'. These encompass the work on temporalities from urban geography and are exemplified by accounts of rhythmanalysis. Secondly, for Crang, there are alternative accounts which problematise the recourse to lived experience and the everyday as sites of authenticity and experience. These approaches are based around evental ontologies and provide some critique of rhythmanalysis. It is my intention to focus on these two themes for the remainder of this review.

For Crang, focus on the mutli-rhythmicity of the city can emphasise the nature of the urban as a distinct site of clashing rhythms and concordances (Crang, 2001). Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis is an attempt to capture this in deeply descriptive vignettes or ethnographic description, "more sensitive to times than to spaces" (Lefebvre and Régulier, 2004:87). Rhythmanalysis emerged at the end of Lefebvre's career, with the book of the same name being published posthumously in 1992, and translated into English in 2004 (Lefebvre, 2004). Prior to this translation, only two shorter essays on rhythmanalysis existed in English: '*The Rhythmanalytical Project*' and '*Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities*', both written with Catherine Régulier. As the word 'attempt' suggests above, this project was, for Lefebvre, tentative. Nevertheless, it also follows on from Lefebvre's extended interest in *le quotidian*, that is, the everyday (Elden, 2004). For Lefebvre, the everyday was overlooked by Marxist analysis, and he attempts to show in his *Critique of Everyday Life* (Lefebvre, 1991a, 2002, 2005) that the alienation and power of capital extended to the daily. As Elden says, "Lefebvre provides a

detailed reading of how capitalism had increased its scope in the twentieth century to dominate the cultural and social world as well as the economic" (Elden, 2004:110).

As such, Lefebvre's work pre-empts both the critiques of neoliberalism's ability to consume all areas of human activity within capitalist relations (Virno, 2007:5), and the 'practice turn' in which the everyday became a significant part of social science discussion (Schatzki, 2001). Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is the spatial aspect of this argument which, prior to the publication of *Rhythmanalysis* (and arguably since), has been most influential on geography. Lefebvre argues that space is not an *a priori* container preceding social relations; rather, it is colonialised by capital and constantly moulded through relations of production (Lefebvre, 1991b). Time and space are thus experienced due to the historiography of their production and are lived constructs. Like everyday life, struggles over space emerge due to the constant moulding of space by capitalist relations. It is at the end of his discussion on the production of the space that Lefebvre suggests that time and rhythms need to be integrated into this understanding. As Elden explains, this approach would include the critical aspects that Marxism provides Lefebvre in order to analyse space, but would insert the dynamism and complexity of space that is often missing from Marxist accounts (Elden, 2004). Lefebvre sees production, in association with destruction, as a certain rhythm associated with capitalism (Lefebvre, 2004:55). Marxist spatiality is criticised as saying little about spatial relations, and for Lefebvre this is because it does not consider production through time and space together. "Time and space, the cyclical and the linear, excerpt a reciprocal action: they measure themselves against one another... everything is cyclical repetition between linear repetition" (Lefebvre, 2004:9). This, then, is a dialectic relationship, at whose heart sits the concept of rhythm.

This relationship between linear and cyclical is one of three aspects of rhythm that Lefebvre identifies. Of the other two, the first is repetition. Rhythm is impossible without some sort of repetition, without returns (Lefebvre 2004:6). But this repetition is never pure; like the repetition discussed in Deleuze and Guattari below (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Deleuze, 1994), there is "no identical absolute repetition" (Lefebvre, 2004:6). Difference is always introduced into repetition through the very act of repeating; in the formula 'A=A', the second A differs from the first in that it is second. Difference, then, is produced through acts of repetition and this relationship between difference and

repetition is key to ensuring that there is rhythm. The second of these other two aspects of rhythm that Lefebvre raises is that rhythms have births, growths, peaks and ends. This feature of rhythms emerges out the previous – if difference is endemic to repetition and rhythmicity, then rhythms must change and must thus both be born and end (Lefebvre, 2004:15). Here, Lefebvre is at his most explicitly Marxist: "for there to be *change*, a social group, a class or caste must intervene by imprinting **rhythm** on an era" (Lefebvre, 2004:14, original emphasis). He goes onto suggest that whilst difference might be endemic to rhythm, it is not of itself usually enough of a force for change. So if rhythms are at the dialectic between the cyclical and the linear, or the temporal and the spatial, consist of repetition and difference, and are subject to birth and change, how does Lefebvre go about analysing this? Crucially for Lefebvre, rhythmanalysis involves listening to the rhythmanalyst's body. The body is "a bundle of rhythms, different but all in tune" (Lefebvre, 2004:20). These bodily rhythms are the rhythmanalyst's "reference point": not perfect data in themselves, then, but immutable points from which analysis can proceed. Nevertheless, the rhythmanalyst must be able to gain awareness of rhythms happening at speeds separate from his (I use 'he' here to emphasise Lefebvre's own use of the word) own body. For example, "if he considers a stone, a wall, a trunk, he understands their slowness, their interminable rhythm. The *object* is not inert... it is only slow in relation to our time, our body, the measure of rhythms" (Lefebvre, 2004:20). Implied in this then is some sort of ability to recognise rhythms outside of the self; it is reliant therefore on sense. Thus rhythmanalysis is anchored within the body.

Rhythmanalysis is not without its problems or critiques. Most pertinent of these is that Lefebvre's rhythmanalyst is very much a '*he'*. In this story, the position of the narrator in Lefebvre's *Seen from the Window* is important. Here, the rhythmanalyst stands literally and figuratively above the scene that he is purveying, taking on the classic position of the distanced academic with a bird's eye view. Lefebvre provides a singularised narrative overlooking the gendered relations from which this narrative is produced (Simonsen, 2005). Furthermore, for all of the conceptual importance of the body to Lefebvre – "at no moment have the analysis of rhythms and rhythmanalytical project lost sight of the body" (Lefebvre, 2004:67) – the body is remarkably absent in his rhythmanalytical accounts. So his article *"Attempt..."* with Régulier tells us of lunar and tidal cycles, of rituals and performances and of intuitions and governance, but only briefly of gesture and mobility (Lefebvre and Régulier, 2004). We do not hear, say, of the sweaty labour of fishing that

has been central to many Mediterranean towns, or of the gendered relations emerging out of the Islamic culture of parts of the Mediterranean. Indeed, Lefebvre's 'Mediterranean' town is very much a *European* Mediterranean town: he is thinking of Marseille or Napoli, not Tel Aviv or Tripoli. Lefebvre and Régulier's account thus seems remarkably partial and lacking, in relation to his theoretical claims. However, Lefebvre's rhythmanlyses do not preclude gender difference. The centrality of bodies to the concept of rhythmanalysis should be enough to allow for gendered accounts of rhythm to be produced and as we shall see, a number of geographers have taken on this challenge.

A more sustained critique of rhythmanalysis might come again from Crang (Crang, 2001). He draws on writers who criticize Lefebvre's appeal to the essentiality of experience and the power of sensibility. Lefebvre is in danger of using his ethnographic methodology in a way which asserts a form of naive realism; he seems less willing to reflect on the relationship between experience and the narration of experience. So, Lefebvre suggests that the body is a unit which experiences, and that this experience is unproblematically passed on to consciousness (Lefebvre, 2004:88). Rhythmanalysis thus relies upon an impossible distinction between the thinking, narrating self – the 'rhythmanalyst' – and the experiencing, sensing self – the 'body'. The rhythmanalyst must first make the world appear strange and somehow distance himself from his body; this is so that he can then listen to his body (Lefebvre, 2004:20). For Wylie, the subject's relation to the world is one of "the formation and undoing of self and landscape in practice" (Wylie, 2005a:245). The body's sensed experience, which for Lefebvre acts as an anchor around which rhythms flow and from which rhythms can be sensed, is understood by Wylie as an inherent part of those 'surrounding' rhythms, affecting them and being affected back. Thus the body cannot be used as an unproblematic base for sensing rhythms.

Such a critique is taken up by the similar but subtly different approach to rhythm to be found in Deleuze and Guattari. Deleuze and Guattari, like Lefebvre, emphasise the relationship between repetition and difference. Repetition is again seen as productive of difference, in that repetition cannot involve replacement (Deleuze, 1994). The concept of exchange thus falls outside of repetition, because to exchange a thing is to replace it with another. Repetition, on the other hand, involves the non-exchangeable as the thing which is repeated is not repeated by an equivalent: "to repeat is to behave in a certain manner, but in relation to something unique or singular which has no equal or equivalent"

(Deleuze, 1994:1). As with Lefebvre, then, the act of repetition can subvert the concept of exchange and thus capitalist economics (Lefebvre, 2004:15). Flat capitalist time is a "hypothetical projection"; rather repetition creates modules of temporialisation out of which rhythms and different synchronicities emerge (Guattari, 1995:16). As shown here, then, the act of repetition is conceived of as productive of difference and thus of multiple temporalities. For Deleuze and Guattari, rather than difference emerging from repetition as a *feature* of rhythm, "it is the difference that is rhythmic, not the repetition, which nevertheless produces it"(Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:346). 'Milieus' are collected practices which might resonate or vibrate in various ways, and the repetition implied in this resonation or vibration produces difference which is rhythmic. As milieus are conceived of as 'territorialised' in various ways – Deleuze and Guattari give the example of a home, which is territorialised through the construction of walls (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) – rhythms are the moments at which this territorialisation is both marked and exceeded.

The 2004 translation of *Rhythmanalysis* thus opened up the ground for a much greater consideration of rhythm than previously. In part, as noted above, this is because the concept of rhythm and the practice of rhythmanalysis gave a vocabulary, a theoretical backing and a methodology to a series of ideas that had been emerging about the nature of the city. As such, contemporary geography on rhythms cannot be understood without the concept of rhythmanalysis, but equally should not be seen as emerging out of the blue from Lefebvre's book. In practice, although there are some cases of people attempting a discrete 'rhythmanalysis' of a location (Evans and Jones, 2008, Simpson, 2008b), most studies of rhythm have attempted to merge simultaneously the time-geographical, Lefebvrian and Deleuzo-Guattarian approaches (McCormack, 2002, McCormack, 2003a, Bissell, 2007, Laurier, 2008, Leyshon, 2008, Karrholm, 2009, Simpson, 2009, Duffy et al., 2011).

A full summary of all work on rhythm within geography since the early 2000s clearly exceeds the scope of this chapter. Edensor identifies five themes of rhythm related research in his 2010 collected edition on rhythms in geography: rhythms of place; resisting rhythms; mobile rhythms; dressage and bodies; and rhythms and socio-natures (Edensor, 2010). Despite the fact that Edensor's collection is largely centred around work directly influenced by rhythmanalysis, potentially at the expense of other trends of

research into rhythms, this categorisation seems appropriate. There are, nevertheless, a few further comments to be made about these five categories. Firstly, then, research into rhythms of place can also include research which focuses on networks and intersection, or, 'place as nexus'. As well as the forms of networked social science which developed out of studies of structuration, mobilities and globalisation (Urry, 2002), such research contains attention to the relationship between presence and absence (Harrison, 2009, Wylie, 2009, Darling, 2010). A purely rhythmanalytical approach can over emphasise the importance of return and repetition in making place, overlooking points of cultivation, arrival and departure. Edensor's second category, resisting rhythms, expands on the idea of rhythm and the quotidian as a source of both habit and resistance. Such work, then, cannot be mentioned without acknowledging the influence of Foucault. Foucault locates power in the action of controlling conduct, that is, daily life (Foucault, 1978:341). Power is thus a product of repetition and relations of control, yet simultaneously has its limit in these and the potential of individuals to eschew this control.

Similarly, Edensor argues that "power is initiated in unreflexive, normative practise but also side-stepped, resisted and supplemented by other dimensions of everyday experience" (Edensor, 2010:2). Within this quote, a Foucauldian influence on the concept of power within rhythms can be identified. The third category of rhythms of mobilities has been important to geography, with mobilities research being an expansive field of the discipline; rhythmanalysis has been central to this. In his summary of mobilities, Cresswell describes rhythm as one of the central facets of mobility (Cresswell, 2010). Importantly, rhythm and the concept of arrhythmia can help retain discussions of *im*mobility within research into mobilities, simultaneously recognising "consistencies, repetitions and reproductions... [and] moments of chaos, dissonance and breakdown" (Edensor, 2010:18). Fourthly, notions of rhythms and bodies have been expanded within geography beyond the empirically limited starting point that Lefebvre supplies. In particular, geographers have used both non-representational (McCormack, 2002, Simpson, 2008b) and feminist (Simonsen, 2005) ideas to develop a more corporeal rhythmanalysis. For McCormack, then, rhythmic geographies become a way of understanding the corporeally kinaesthetic qualities of experience without resorting to representation (McCormack, 2002:473).

Fifthly, Edensor's final categorisation of geographies of rhythm which include the socio-natural also develops a theme suggested but not followed up by Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 2004:20). Here, however, we can see links going back to pre-Lefebvrian work on temporalities and rhythm, notably that from Hägerstrand and his concept of innovation diffusion (Hägerstrand, 1967). To summarise this discussion of rhythm and rhythmanalysis, the concept of rhythm can be traced back through geography to at least the 1970s, and back further in a less explicitly theorised manner. The term has proved popular as emphasising the link between spatiality and temporality, and as being an approach to studying heterogeneity which focuses on the relationships between time and space which feed in to making the experience of any given milieu. Within geography, work which has drawn from Lefebvre and his concept of rhythmanalysis has encouraged a 'return to rhythm'. However, I would argue that the importance of Lefebvre's work is more the provision of a vocabulary, theory and methodology of rhythm, rather than the introduction of a set of new themes and ideas.

In the next section of this chapter, then, I want to use the concept of rhythm to consider two sets of rhythm in particular: firstly, those of timetables, institutions and mobilities; and secondly, those of bodies, liquids, and materialities. Across these tools and locations of rhythm, three types of rhythm emerge: place rhythms (Wunderlich, 2010), bodily rhythms and mobility rhythms. This will emphasise the heterogeneity of rhythms as they emerge from practice, and the bringing together of many different spatio-temporal relations to generate multiplicity. My use of rhythm will draw from Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 2004), but will not use rhythmanalysis as a formal structure, due in part to the concerns expressed above. Deleuze and Guattari, by linking rhythm to communication and interaction, provide an account which is, in many ways, much more satisfactory (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Their work better places the body into understandings of rhythm, and expresses a relationship between rhythmic qualities and perception which does not separate the sensorial experience of a rhythm from the rhythm itself. However, they employ rhythm in a very specific way: as McCormack explains, the concepts of rhythm, milieu and refrain are all mutually dependent within Deleuze and Guattari (McCormack, 2002). This use of rhythm can somewhat reduce its utility, as rhythm makes sense only within this conceptual assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari's rhythms become entirely about "a moving about, a moving inbetween" (McCormack, 2002:483). Furthermore, their conception of rhythm as only difference is problematic when attempting to account for

permanence. Whilst difference is inherently implied within the concept of rhythm, it also helps account for similarity and permanence as well. In all, Deleuze and Guattari move too from the experience of rhythms as assemblages within their own right.

In contrast, and like many who have written about rhythm within geography, I intend to use Deleuze and Guattari to bring a more corporeally aware approach to Lefebvre. As such, I return in many ways back to the conception of rhythm as expressed by the phenomenologically-based work of Buttimer, which calls for a focus on orchestration of rhythms to both form milieus and to generate tension between them (Buttimer, 1976). In mixing these three approaches, I hope to reach a post-phenomenological account of rhythm which nevertheless retains a sense of the importance of corporeality and experience. In the following two sections, I want to focus on, firstly, the rhythms of the night-time city and secondly the rhythms of the body at night. These two categorisations are not independent of one another, but provide some indication of the ways in which different rhythms come together to generate multiplicity. After discussing these various multiplicities of rhythm, I will explore their relationship with a series of post-Latham time-space diagrams (Latham, 2003). After this, I will introduce to the concept of incessancy and show how it can be used as an analytical tool to discuss the night-time city.

3.2 Rhythms of the Night-Time City: Timetables, Institutions and Mobilities

The relationship between circadian rhythms and the rhythms of night and day within the city has been slowly broken since the introduction of the electric light (Schivelbusch, 1988). Indeed, as discussed in chapter two, Newcastle was one of the centres of innovation in lighting, being the first city in the world to be fully electrified (Hughes, 1983). As such, distinctions between 'night' and 'day' in the city have become less obviously connected to periods of daylight and night-time. Rather, then, rhythms of night and day have become marked by a variety of different moments and practices which work to separate the two. As such, we can speak of multiple different rhythms of the night in any given city. The first of these on which I want to focus are timetabled rhythms. Such rhythms are, *contra* Deleuze and Guattari, partially 'metered' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), that is, they rely on pre-inscribed moments or shifts which encourage certain behaviours or responses. Nevertheless, such shifts do create interactions between different milieus, precisely because such moments within one milieu generate or encourage responses in other areas.

One example of this is the 'happy hour' of various bars, pubs and clubs. Early evening food and drink offers begin at around 17:00[10] in a number of Newcastle's venues. Leaving the train station at 17:30 on a Monday evening in the summer, the sunny city is filled with workers and seems to still be in 'day mode'. However, the sound of the band *Kasabian* is already radiating out from the bar *Gotham* opposite the station. A crowd of smokers have developed around the bar, standing incongruously in the July afternoon-sun amidst workers heading home on a commute. The darkened windows of this gothic themed pub envelop those inside and close out the light of the day. A board outside was offering cheap food and drink deals, but few people are eating. Rather, it seems like the offers on £1.50 pints of beer have attracted people: the vast majority here, male and female, are drinking pints. The music overtakes the body, transporting it to a late night venue: here, it feels like we are many drinks away down the night.

Meanwhile, in *Wetherspoons* in The Gate, an even more regimented timetabling of night and day is going on. *Wetherspoons* is a 'chameleon bar'(Hobbs et al., 2000), that is, a licensed premises which attempt to switch between being a cafe in the morning, a restaurant through the afternoon and early evening, and a bar at night. This bar can be conceived of as attempting to generate and operate across multiple different rhythms. On a Saturday afternoon in March, a number of moments of metering were observed. At 16:20, the pop music that had been playing throughout the day was made notably louder. Staff began moving around the bar, and five minutes later we were asked to move from our stools, on the corner of the dancefloor, to seats elsewhere in the bar; this allowed for the dancefloor to be opened up further. The music is made louder again at 16:45, and becomes disassociated from the video screens, which had previously been playing music videos to accompany the sound. The food menu is altered at 17:00, as the dancefloor is fully cleared. Red lighting replaces the daytime white light at 17:30, and at 19:00 a DJ takes over from the loop of pre-recorded music. By this time, groups enter the bar and begin to dance, shout and drink as on a night out. Here then, rhythms are altered through a series of metered moments. At the same time, this series of meterings forms a rhythm in itself, which is repeated daily.

Timetabling also occurs on the city streets. On street parking regulations come to an end every day at 18:00, and this is followed by the end of bus lanes at 19:00. Newcastle City

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[10] With the exception of the word 'midnight', times will be referred to using the twenty four hour clock. Though it is a less aesthetically pleasing in ethnographic accounts, it also provides a clarity and consistency.

Council's 'Neighbourhood Services' night shift begin work at 22:00. Hackney Carriages charge higher fees for on street pick up after midnight. These various shifts are all markers which move the rhythms of these different milieus into their 'night mode'. These rhythms come together to gradually shift the city into the night. However, these rhythms often overlap each other. As noted above, the Hackney Carriage business remains in its daytime mode through till midnight, whilst bars and clubs begin to shift their rhythms towards the night as early as 16:00. Through these meterings, three distinct rhythmic ideas emerge. Firstly, night-time in Newcastle is a result of multiple interacting rhythms. Some of these are obvious – the circadian rhythm of light and dark – but many more relate to different timetablings of the different rhythms which intersect. Secondly, then, the intersection of these different rhythms is itself rhythmic. From the beginning of transfer to the night through to the late night industries which commence after midnight, night and day bleed into one another. Thirdly, then, these rhythms occur because of different meterings. They are not, however, the dead beats of a marching band that Deleuze and Guattari describe. Although such regimented moments can result in habits and in stilled rhythms that simply repeat behaviour, these stilled beats interact, cross and have the capacity to affect one another. Here, whilst each individual rhythm is productive of little difference, it is the orchestration of the rhythms across the city at night which can be of interest.

Different spaces and districts within Newcastle at night had their own rhythms, or rhythms of place. These involved the orchestration of different 'meterings', but are also emergent out of the multiple different rhythms which pass through a place. Such rhythms can be analysed along the lines of Lefebvre's *Seen from the Window*, which attempts to take one small place and consider the crossing rhythms. We might do this for the Quayside of Newcastle. The Tyne River is at the heart of Newcastle, which was originally known as *Pons Aelius*, named for the bridge which was the first crossing point of the Tyne. At this position, the Tyne is at the bottom of a steep gorge, which creates something of a gap between the Quayside and the rest of Newcastle's city centre. As one descends into the Quayside, then, there is a sense of moving to a new, separated part of Newcastle: the rhythms of geological time and of pre-modern restrictions in bridge building capacity intersect with contemporary aesthetics of waterside living and entertainment to produce this space that is somewhat dislocated from and below the rest of the city centre. Despite this dislocation, the Quayside formed a central part of the

Newcastle's nightlife following 'regeneration' during the 1990s; bars and clubs such as the *Waterside, Sea, Akenside Travellers* and *Bar 38* became some of the more fashionable spots in Newcastle, supported by older pubs such as the *Crown Posada* and the *Cooperage*. Since the construction of *The Gate*, which opened in 2002, and the self-styled *Diamond Strip,* the focus of night-time Newcastle has shifted away from the Quayside, though it remains a busy area. Its industrial heritage is remembered in some of the old warehouse buildings that are used, but maintenance and modernisation work means that it is not easy to recognise these as the hives of industry they once were. Two further sets of more contemporary rhythms enter here: firstly, of changing fashions and trends, and second related set of rhythms of urban governance and regeneration.

At a more everyday level, rhythms that make this place include the drinking circuits of Newcastle city centre, that is the rhythms of movement around the city at night, and bodily needs which are discussed below. Briefly here, though, such rhythms mean that the Quayside now tends to be at its busiest between 20:00 and midnight. Though some late-night venues remain here, many have migrated back up the hill into Newcastle's centre. As such, the Quayside can be understood as a place of meeting and relaxation, before the serious business of late-night clubbing begins. This is reflected by the large number of group parties which can be seen in this area. The sounds of shrieking hen parties or lairy stag groups reverberate, as practise are used to mark these ritualistic rhythms(de Certeau, 1984). Fancy dress and the jovial interactions of these groups brightens up the Quayside, but it can also alienate those who see this as an invasion of the other (Bell, 2008). The presence of large buildings or space available for the construction of hotels, thanks to the Quayside's industrial past, as well as the iconic role of structures such as The Sage, the Baltic Art Gallery, and the Millennium Bridge further encourage the development of tourism here. More rhythms, then: of individual lives, of institutional rituals, and of travel and tourism. People are not the only animals shrieking at the Quayside at night. Underneath the Tyne Bridge, the sound of Kittiwakes circulates outwards; and not just the sound, but the white coating on the underside of the bridge, the pavement, the road, and elsewhere if one is unlucky. These birds act as a reminder that the Tyne here is coastal, tidal in fact; it might be this which also explains the occasional sea-smells which travel with the tide upstream.

Geological, tidal, governmental, fashion and animal rhythms come together to form a generalised discussion of this place, before we even enter into the corporealities and affectivities of the Quayside. One point to be made in this analysis, however, is that it requires a constant referral to elsewhere – the city centre, *The Gate*, the North Sea and Ancient Rome. A focus on rhythm in construction of a place thus also brings in ideas of connectivity across place. Some rhythms, then, can be conceived of as the effect of the influence of different discreet spatio-temporalities – that is, places – on other discrete spatio-temporalities. As such, rhythm emphasises interaction between places. This leads to the third aspect of urban night time rhythms, that of mobilities. Here, it is worth focusing on my ethnographic work with two Tyneside taxi firms, *Eastwall* and *Fellside*. Full descriptions of these firms can be found in chapter two. The following extracts are from my field diary, during one night researching with *Eastwall*:

> "So from around ten o'clock, their customers are mainly people heading from pubs to home, from pubs to clubs or from home to clubs i.e. there is a circular assemblage of flows. At the moment, calls have lasted on average 14 seconds, the average wait for answer is 9 seconds, but the longest wait has been two minutes. Around 11600 calls for the whole day, with fewer than 1000 missed.... Stays relatively busy about 4 apparently, half one is the time from which it is people leaving clubs. The company is operating at roughly at 20 to 25 minutes behind the calls; this is at about midnight, it shortens to 15 minutes or so at around quarter past 1.... Jesmond is a particularly busy area from 11 till half 12, lots of taxis under similar names doing similar trips, resulting in missed fares or in people just jumping into hackney carriages. Fighting to keep up with the demand, but this is a problem of coordination as much as anything else... ~500 calls in half an hour at this time."

Eastwall take a huge number of calls at their peak period between 22:00 and 04:00 on a weekend[11] night. My research with them, and *Fellside*, reveals a pattern of mobilities consistent with other research. Both companies reported an increase in the relative number of taxis into town being booked from residential addresses, rather than licensed

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[11] Within this thesis, weekend will commonly refer to the period from Friday evening through till early Monday morning.

premises. Interviews with drivers confirmed that passengers had often been 'preloading', a trend which has been noticed by researchers in recent years (Boyle et al., 2009) and which refers to the practice of buying cheaper off licence alcohol and drinking heavily at home, and then travelling later to the city centre. Also important were trips from suburban town centres, such as Jesmond or Wallsend, into the city centre. By around 01:00, the dominant directions of flow change and the majority of passengers are now being taxied out of town.

As well as these rhythms of mobilities, the rhythmic shift between mobilities also contributes to the rhythms of the city centre. Broadly speaking, private cars and busses dominate the roads of Newcastle city centre during the day. After the evening peak rush hour, the number of private cars falls, and busses are the main vehicle on the road for a few hours. Bus services continue to run with relatively high frequency till between 21:00 and 22:00, when most services begin to drop off. Taxis then become the dominant vehicle on the road, with private hire vehicles more common in earlier hours, as people travel into town, and hackney carriages proving more popular between 01:00 and 03:00. By about 06:00, buses and private cars will have once again begun to be the dominant form of transport on view in the city centre. From this section, it should be seen that rhythms can come together to create the experience of a space, that is, following Lefebvre, that they are productive of space. These rhythms have been categorised as the rhythms of a space, for example, of the Quayside or of Newcastle city centre. Such rhythms involve the interaction of multiple different spatio-temporalities through a given site. A second category of rhythms has emerged of different institutions and practices; that is, of different milieus. These rhythms can form out of meterings, that is, timetabled moments within a milieu's temporality, or out of moments of interaction between milieus. So far, however, this analysis has focused on the generalised view of places within Newcastle's city centre. Unlike Lefebvre, I now want to move on to talk about the rhythms of the body.

3.3 Rhythms of the Body at Night: Liquids, Foods, Sleep

As Eldridge suggests, much popular concern about alcohol revolves around the body (Eldridge, 2010). Putting aside for now issues of health, alcohol and the body are also interlinked through issues of public civility, respectability and 'proper' behaviour. In his discussion of comments about public urination, Eldridge raises the issue that bodies at night are constantly being judged along a variety of lines. In particular, "the figure of the 'drunk, fat and vulgar' (Skeggs, 2005: 965) hen partying women continues to reverberate

in mainstream discussions of late-night culture, suggesting a continuing anxiety about women, alcohol and public space at night" (Eldridge, 2010:40). Female bodies are the central figure of lust and disgust in the urban night. A quick example of this disgust can be gained through a search of newspaper articles on the topic of drinking. In a search of the top five used news websites in the UK in July 2010, there were 51 articles that contained the phrase "binge drinking".[12] Alcohol and drinking were central to 21 of the articles, of which 19 were illustrated and 10 – just over half – were illustrated with images of unidentified women drinking or collapsed in a drunken state. This compared with just 3 articles illustrated with pictures of mixed groups or men. Put simply, images of women drinking and particularly getting drunk are considered more shocking and inappropriate than those of men (Leigh, 1995).

Figure 3.3: If you drink like a man

If you drink like a man
you might end up looking like one.

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[12] The websites consulted were based on web-traffic statistics as reported by Alexa.com for July 2010. The five organisations used were: BBC News; The Daily Mail; The Guardian; The Telegraph; The Sun. Blogs and letters were excluded from the analysis.

Perhaps the most shocking pandering to this discourse came from the Drug & Alcohol Service for London, who produced the poster in figure 3.3, warning that "If you drink like a man, you might end up looking like one". Yet at the same time, clubs repeatedly favour images of drinking women over drinking men to promote themselves. Bars such as *Blu Bambu* in Newcastle are advertised by bikini-wearing women on stilts, whilst the majority professional dancers seen in bars and clubs during my research were women; only one bar, *Players*, had a similar number of male and female dancers, and in here the women wore hot pants and bikini tops, compared to men in polo shirts and jeans. This is not to claim that men are not exposed to gendered observation and voyeurism in the night, but that the imagery and commercialisation of this observation is much more developed with regards to women.

The point made here is that bodies are central to alcohol consumption and to the urban night, and that representations and treatments of bodies are an important issue in the urban night. This is a point that will be explored further in chapter 5, but in this chapter I want to focus on the night-out as a task of bodily management and in maintaining the body's rhythms. To do so, I want to focus on the liquids and materials that pass through the body; the further effect of these on the rhythms of the city centre; and finally reflect briefly on sleep and the night-time city. Many authors have noted that one of the aims of drinking is often to reach an 'acceptable' level of drunkenness (Leyshon, 2008, Szmigin et al., 2008, Demant, 2009, Griffin et al., 2009, Winlow and Hall, 2009). As Szmigin et. al. put it,

> "planned letting go which balances out the constrained behaviour they are subject to in the formal structures of everyday life in school, work and family. Discussions around the concept of 'calculated hedonism' ([Brain, 2000] and [Featherstone, 1991]) are particularly useful in terms of understanding how young people can both indulge in what may appear as excessive alcohol consumption but contain such behaviour by time, space and social situation." (Szmigin et al., 2008:361-362)

Here, they argue that such behaviour is a result of an economic calculation as to how much value can be obtained from the drinking experience. Similarly, Winlow and Hall repeat the argument that such drinking is a continuation of the historical importance of

maintaining masculine identity and the ability to 'hold one's beer' (Winlow and Hall, 2009). Whatever the motivation, such a practice, if successful, requires the development of a specific set of corporeal knowledges and an awareness of one's own bodily rhythms. During the night out, people are constantly consuming products or excreting them. Such practices can commonly include: drinking alcohol; drinking non-alcoholic drinks; taking illegal drugs; smoking; spitting; vomiting; urinating; defecating; eating a meal; eating snacks; eating fast food; having sex; and sweating. The night-out is thus experienced as an intensification of the flows of materials through the body.

At the start of a night out, then, drinkers in pubs in Newcastle most regularly consume beer.[13] An alternative rhythm, however, might begin with the pre-loading discussed above: this could be beer, but might also be wine, alcopops or other drinks. The aim of this drinking, in both pubs and at home, is to reach a certain level of drunkenness; what level of drunkenness this is will vary across different groups (Griffin et al., 2009). Observation and interviews with taxi drivers have suggested an increasing trend to get drunk at home and then 'sober up' when in the city centre; these are the rhythms of pre-loading to which I previously referred. Such decisions may well relate to the economic concerns that Szmigin et. al. suggest are important, but they are also in part indebted to an awareness of how the body gets drunk. Smokers throughout the night are caught into a rhythm of moving between inside and outside, whether that is taking the opportunity to smoke in queues or when walking between bars –certainly, street cleaners have seen an increase in cigarette butts on Newcastle's streets – or in designated smoking areas. As the night continues, many people face the task of maintaining the presentation of the body that has been achieved prior to going out. One research participant described the lady's toilets of a bar on the *Diamond Strip* as like the "backstage at a fashion show". The toilets of these clubs and bars are more than places to excrete, then, but act as pit stops to maintain the presentation of the body. Men's toilets are not as regularly used this way, but the presence of staff inside them selling aftershaves, gels and other grooming equipment suggests that this practice is encouraged. In bars and clubs, a higher proportion of drinkers consumed sugary alcopops or cocktails, compared to a higher concentration of beer earlier on. Although there are other factors at work – such as the relative convenience that bottled drinks provide when dancing – these drinks also contain

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[13] The 2009 British Health Survey suggests that beer is the most commonly consumed alcoholic beverage generally in North-East of England, the only British region in which this is true for both men and women (Shelton 2011)

faster-to-release sugars, compared to the carbohydrates of beer, and so help the body in dancing, or simply to keep going a number of hours after the last consumption of food. Many drinkers thus indicate a good knowledge of their corporeal rhythms and the need to manage these.

Food consumption is also an important part of the night out. Within the central strip of bars in Newcastle, there are ten permanent late night fast food outlets, as well as three burger vans which are set up at weekend nights. These outlets open later than the clubs which surround them, with a row of them opposite Time Square staying open until 05:00. These opening hours are indicative of the role of these foods in responding to bodily rhythms. After completing the night out, it may be a number of hours since people have eaten. The range of food provided does not extend too far beyond the stereotypical selection of kebab, pizza and chicken purveyors – the only additions to these are a *Gregg's* bakery and a *McDonald's*– but all are extremely popular in the latter part of the night. The rhythm of the night out then typically ends in a venue such as these. Dehydrated, fatigued and having moved from the warmth of a club into colder night air, people replenish their body's energy with a high fat meal. Sometimes, however, they fail to do this – during my research, it was not uncommon to see people half-collapsed on the streets because of drunkenness. They may also vomit up the food, another sign at the failure to successfully maintain the flows and rhythms of materialities through the body. Here, then, a night-out is a process of developing a self-reflexive corporeal knowledge, but one which may fail.

If the night out is understood as this process of managing various bodily rhythms, then this bodily polyrhythmia also creates a spatial polyrhythmia. Outside The Gate, for example, groups of people will collect to smoke for short periods of time throughout the night. This creates a fluxing crowd, but one in which sociability is high, not least because of the sociability which emerges from the materialities of smoking; this is thus a crowd making use of this public space outside of the privately owned Gate (see chapter five for more discussion of public space in the night) . As the night goes on, more and more people use the fast food outlet here, which again encourages the use of this space as a waiting area. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this high number of people in a small area makes it an important site for violence in the night, and the space is one of the most heavily securitised, with large numbers of police and bouncers present throughout the night. Earlier in the night, bars make use of this congregation of people by sending flyer

distributers there, distributors who are often women wearing few clothes. Additionally, the surrounding bars recognise the importance of attracting these people inside: The Gate makes extensive use of light displays, whilst *Tiger Tiger* has its dancing podiums in the upper-floor windows, showcasing some of the bodies which are on show in the bar. As the night continues, however, the concentrations in this area fall. People move on to the wider selection of fast food shops in other parts of the town, or have entered clubs with their own smoking area. Taxi ranks are located elsewhere, so people do not tend to finish their night in this place. As such, its rhythms are at least in part emergent from this process of bodily rhythm management.

A final bodily rhythm associated with the night-time city which is worthy of brief consideration is sleep. Sleep has always been connected with the night (Ekrich, 2006), typically understood as a simple tool for recuperation and for shortening the experience of darkness. Perhaps for this reason, it has only lately been attended to by social scientists (Kraftl and Horton, 2008, Harrison, 2009), though there is a longer history of interest in the biological and psychoanalytical importance of sleep, dreams and dreaming. Much sleep takes place in the home, which has largely left it outside of the attention of social science. It has also remained out of attention due to its inaccessibility: "there is nothing to say about the *experience* of sleep as sleep" (Harrison, 2009:999). As such it may be possible to claim that there is nothing to be said about the concept. However, as Harrison continues, this inability to experience sleep is itself "part of the (impossible) 'experience' of sleep, the manner in which it touches on us and the manner in which we - as waking, conscious subjects - relate to it" (Harrison, 2009:999). As such, there is scope to develop an interest in the relationship between ourselves and our own sleep, and also between the sleeping figure and place (Harrison 2009:996). This relationship can be considered rhythmic due to the general consistency in where we sleep: most nights people will travel to the same location to sleep, increasing the relaxation factor of sleep. At times, however, this rhythm can be broken and in doing so we can see something about, firstly, the relationship between sleep and place and secondly the relationship between the self and the sleeping other.

On night-bus services out of Newcastle, sleep was relatively common. Indeed, the drivers expressed a concern that 'sleepers' were one of the most awkward problems faced on the night-bus, as they could often over-travel and find themselves stranded. From

passengers, the sleepers created a mix of reactions: sometimes mockery, sometimes assistance, and often concern. These attitudes from drivers and passengers alike indicate a concern that the sleeper is vulnerable. The rare occurrence of people sleeping in bars or pubs also drew similar attention; those on the street are often quickly supported by emergency services or the *Street Pastors*. This vulnerability in the other is recognised in part because it reveals the vulnerability of the self; the sleeper "bears passive witness to the intrinsic vulnerability and finitude of corporeal life" (Harrison, 2009:1003). Indeed, it could be argued that amongst those drinking, there is a recognition that the drinking experience puts the self at risk of reaching such a state; certainly, this attitude is expressed amongst groups of friends (Demant, 2009). Returning to rhythms, then, we can see that the sleeper in public disrupts the 'normal' bodily rhythms of a night out, in which alcohol consumption and the body are managed to produce optimal experience. The sleeper, vulnerable to abuse, to getting lost, or worse, could be any of us if we fail in the management of our body's rhythms.

From practice in the city centre at night, the body's rhythms are manipulated alongside the city centre to produce a series of demands and desires on a night out. The rhythms of the body are affected through the consumption of alcohol, to produce a series of different effects which alter the services required from the city at night and the demands placed upon the city by the body. These demands are managed in a variety of different ways: from the concern over sleepers taken by bus drivers or street pastors through to the extra work done by street cleaners to clear up sick and urine. A vast number of fast food shops provide the sort of high fat and high sugar food that is needed at the end of an often very exerting night out. Meanwhile, demands on the appearance of the body result in a series of other activities to monitor how it is presented.

3.4 Time-Space Diagrams of Newcastle at Night

To summarise the above descriptive work, I have constructed versions of time-space diagrams. The aim of these is to show various rhythms, and the multiplicity which they produce, over different time-spaces. As noted previously, time-space diagrams are often closely associated with the work of Hägerstrand and the Lund school of time-space geography (Buttimer, 1980), but fell out of favour amidst the crisis of representation in the 1980s. That said, their use never fully stopped and they remain part of geographical practice today, notability in transport and mobilities research (Larsen et al., 2006, Frändberg, 2008).

Perhaps the most engaging use of these in recent years has come from Alan Latham (Latham, 2003). He takes up the call from Buttimer and Gregory (Buttimer, 1976, Gregory, 1994) to create time-space diagrams which show a more complex awareness of the multiplicity and the corporeality of the rhythms that are being diagrammed. His increased freedom is a response to the representationalist critique. Rather than attempting to create perfect diagrams of rhythms, he instead draws diagrams which are "suggestive of their own partiality... [and] are not intended to replace or stand in for more recognisable ethnographic accounts" (Latham, 2003:2009). These diagrams do more than simply illustrate, then. Rather, they emphasise the performance and productive nature of these rhythms through the very fact that these diagrams themselves are partial performances. Like Latham, my three time-space diagrams are intended to only be partial. Like Latham – and indeed, like the Lund School – I do not stick to one strict format of diagram, representing different aspects of the space in each diagram. The three rhythms that I have diagrammed belong to three different categories, fitting in which those that we have discussed through this chapter.

Figure 3.4: A rhythm diagram of Cathedral Square

Buses   Noise Levels   Taxis   Foot-Fall   Artificial Lighting
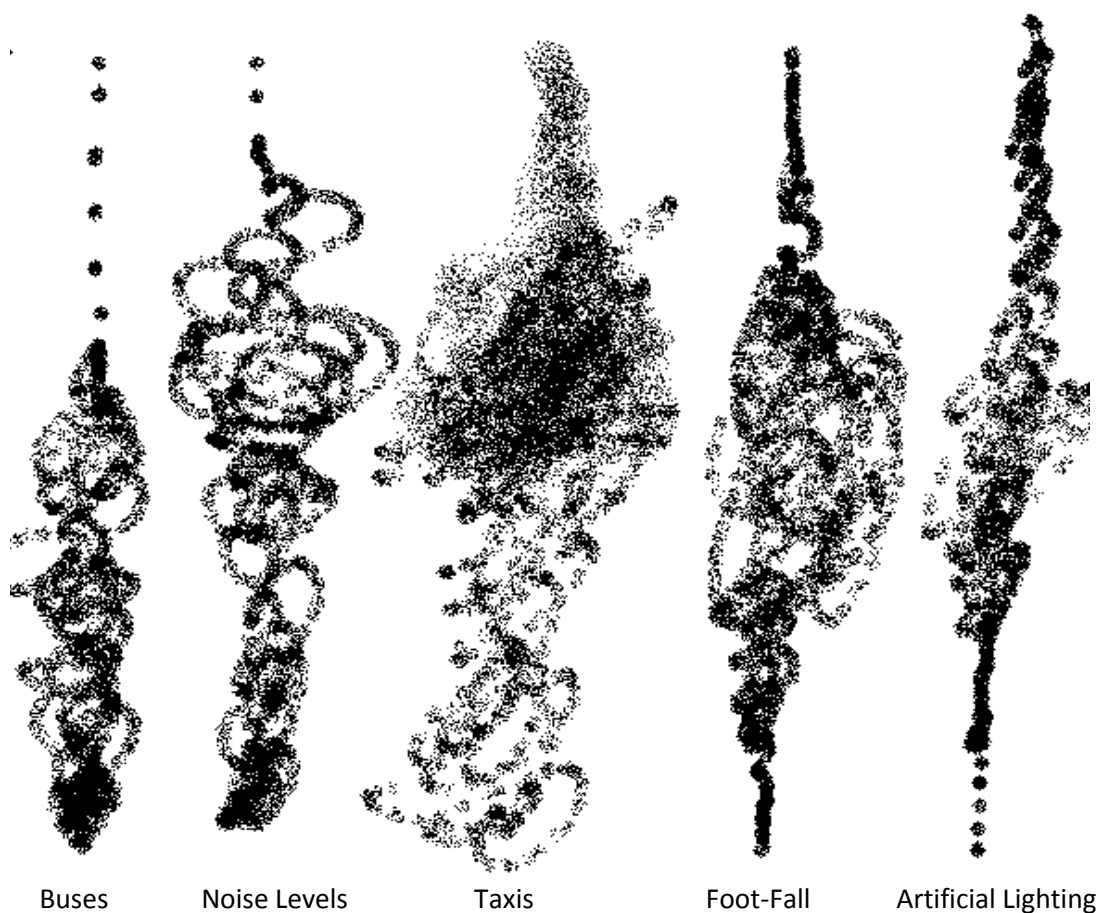
This first diagram illustrates the rhythms that emerges over one place on a weekend night, which Wunderlich describes as 'place-temporality' (Wunderlich, 2010). I have chosen to focus on the Cathedral Square, which is at the nexus between the Bigg Market, Quayside and Diamond Strip. Rather than showing the movement of an individual across space, this diagram shows various rhythms interacting within one place; I have thus called it a 'rhythm diagram'. As well as the time-space diagrams, it also takes inspiration from McCormack's diagrams of rhythm, though is less abstract than these (McCormack, 2002:483). In this diagram, rhythms are 'fuzzy': fragmented, they grow or fall in relative intensity with the passage of the night. They always contain gaps, which might be moments of failure or contradiction within the dominant rhythm – in these white spaces on the diagram are other potential rhythms which may variously have been missed by me whilst researching; which may not be prominent or may only exist in potential; which may have longer moments of repetition than this PhD allows for; or which I may have chosen to exclude from the representation. The wider and darker the rhythm is on this diagram, the more intensely it was experienced. Though the rhythms here are depicted separately, in reality they interact – the photographs on the diagram thus cut across the rhythms, with different aspects of each rhythm more or less present in each image. The rhythms which reverberate the most here are those of mobilities and senses: thus Cathedral Square is a place within Newcastle's nightlife in which a lot of movement and activity occurs. Even late at night, the regular rhythm of passing night-bus services, illuminated shop signs and traffic lights means that whilst footfall and noise are low, this location is neither stilled nor stopped.

Figure 3.5 focuses on one machine, the driver-taxi, moving through Newcastle on one night. As such, it more closely resembles the time-space diagrams of Hägerstrand and later Latham. The taxi is from *Fellside Taxi*s and the data is based upon interviews and ethnographic observation from the taxi office. The photographs are illustrative rather than documentary of the driver's night; this should not be problematic as the attempt is not to generate an accurate representation, but rather to make a performative diagram of the rhythm of this driver-car's mobility over one night. As with Latham's diagrams (Latham 2003), the locations are not geographically accurate: rather, three nodes and the

Figure 3.5: The time-space machine of the driver-taxi

Most nights are just a question of moving back and forth between the Toon and Gateshead

"I usually take a break of an hour in the city centre somewhere; I'll meet and chat with other drivers"

"I don't like the Hacks in the city centre… I tend to avoid pick-ups and drop-offs near ranks"

Taxi Office   City Centre   Elsewhere in
                                          Tyneside
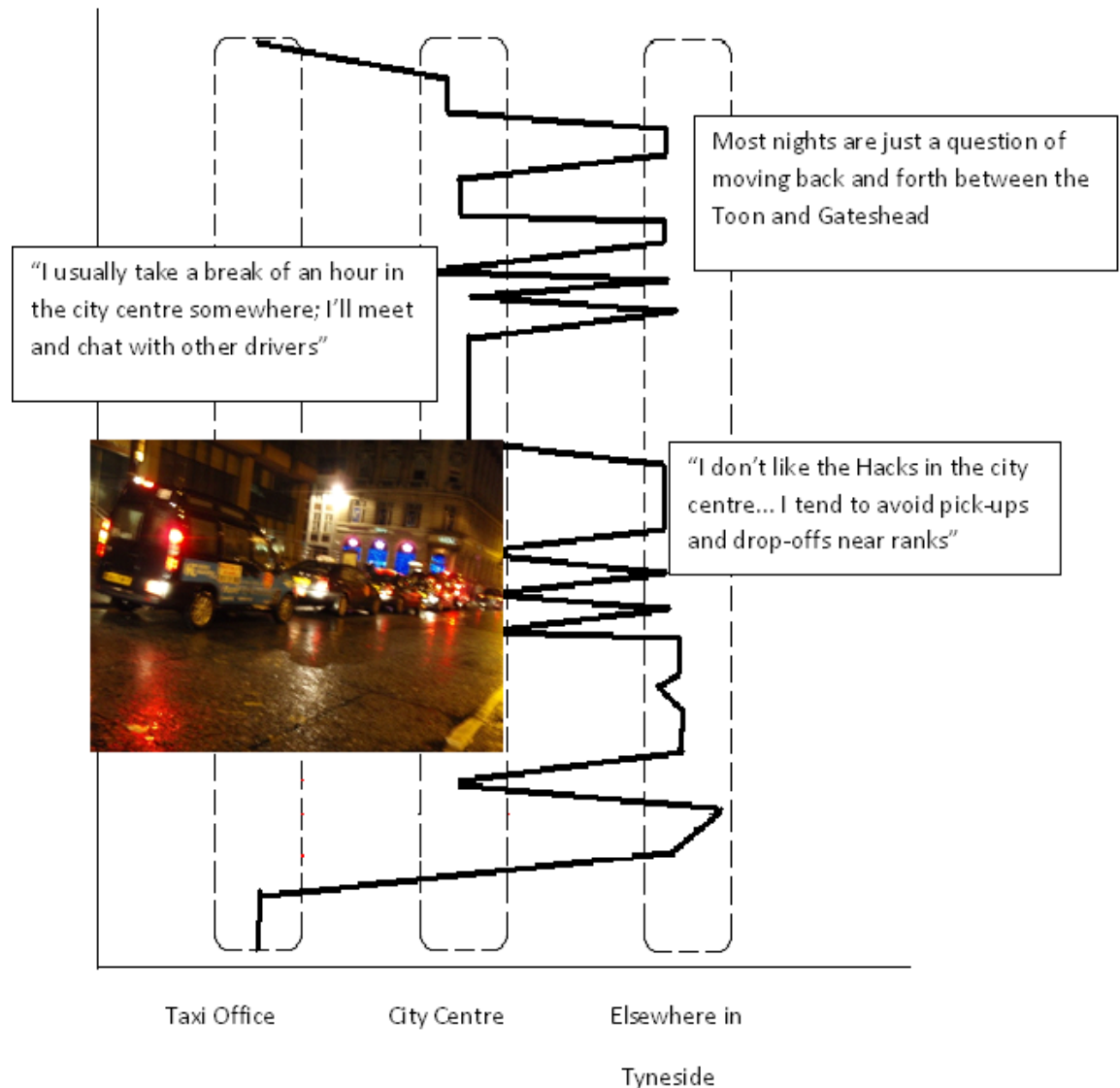
movement between these are shown. This diagram shows a pattern of movement dominated by trips between the city centre and the suburbs, with moments of waiting in between. The drivers do not work set hours, so the more quickly that fares can be collected the fewer hours they must work. This driver also likes taking his break in the city centre to meet with drivers from other companies, but avoids the busiest parts of the city near taxi ranks. This is where hackney carriage drivers, who can be hailed on the street, must go to collect fares, creating a busy node for pedestrians and traffic.

This final time-space diagram attempts to get at the more corporeal aspects of a night out by focusing on one research participant's loggings of her bodily experiences of a night in Newcastle. The data collected by the participant is supported by a later go-along ethnography (Kusenbach, 2003) with the same participant. This diagram focuses on the

Urination, defecation

Water

Views of
passing city

Lights, Music,
Food
Heat

'Male Gaze'
Water
Urination

Sweat

City Streets- texture of
floor, people, lighting,
wind

Alcohol

Noise, Heat

Urination

Alcohol

Noise, Heat

Alcohol

Views of
passing city

Alcohol

Urination,
'Preparing
defecation
the body'

Home   Pubs/Bars   Club
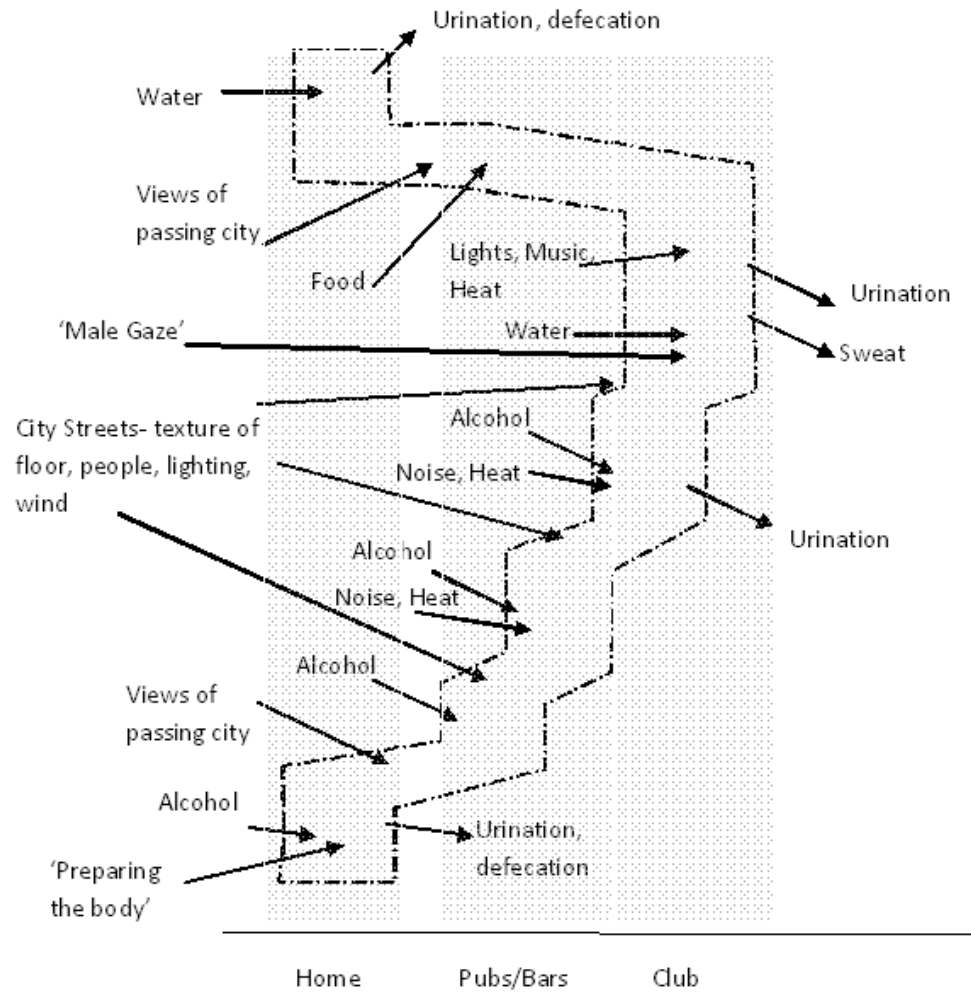
body as flows of materials and sensations; it is, however, only partial, with a material-bias on what has been included. Thus, although the topic of this time-space diagram is corporeal, the representation is stilled. This diagram, then, begins to get at one understanding of how a 'night-out' is experienced corporeally, namely, as a series of flows through the body as it moves around a city. Movement and action in the night, as noted previously, is a task of bodily management and having an awareness of these flows, which is why they have been highlighted. More complex representations would, however, be possible.

These three time-space diagrams are intentionally different from each other; one may be more successful than the others. They are made with an ethic of attempting to collage together a partial representation which hints at the rhythmicity and time-space movements of different aspects of Newcastle's nightlife. They should thus be read only in conjunction with the text around them and the ethnographic description which preceded

them. This attempt to use rhythmanalysis, time-geography and Deleuzo-Guattarian theories of rhythm to look at Newcastle's night-time has been done through three different types of rhythm – the place rhythm of the Quayside; the rhythms of mobility with a focus on the taxi industry; and the rhythms of bodies through the night. All of these rhythms create difference (Lefebvre, 2004) and thus heterogeneity, or multiplicity. Indeed, the heterogeneity of the city emerges from the multiple space-times that it brings together (Amin and Graham, 1997). If the rhythms that we have looked at in this chapter can be understood as partially emergent from practice, then it is this practice from which multiplicity emerges in the city at night. That said, there is also a lack of change in much repetition; without this repetition the space-time diagrams that I construct above would have less validity. Indeed, the stable aspects of repetition often emerge as ways of dealing with heterogeneity. So, following set routes on a night out might be a group's way of coping with the dynamism and change of the city centre. In the next sectiom, I want to move on to talk in greater detail at how people cope with constant rhythmicity.

3.5 Rhythms and Incessancy

Having looked at the heterogeneity of Newcastle and the multiple intersecting rhythms which come together to create the night-time city, I want to return to the flow of information and images which troubled Lefebvre in the opening quote of this chapter. Sitting in front of his television, Lefebvre declares that "night is part of the media day. It speaks, it emotes, at night as in the day. Without respite!" (Lefebvre, 2004:46). This flow of information and activity through the night is a relatively recent historical occurrence. Prior to the development of safe, effective and affordable forms of illumination, night was a period outside of the patriarchal control of church and state (Ekrich, 2006). Authorities attempted to restrict and restrain night-time activity, due to the difficulty of controlling it (Ekrich 2006:60). For some, this absence of state authority added to the allure of the night, removing the constraints of observation and of class or gender restrictions (Ekrich 2006:153). Nevertheless, it was not until the development of forms of artificial illumination stronger than the candle that mass entertainment and cross-urban mobilities became practical and common at night. This process is shown by Schivelbusch be a slow evolution over a number of centuries, rather than a series of leaps perpetrated by inventors such as Davey, Edison or Swan (Schivelbusch, 1988). This indicates that increased night-time activity, whilst facilitated by illumination technologies, was also dependent on a number of concurrent shifts in society. These include, but are not limited

to, the roles of increased disposable income and leisure time (Schivelbusch, 1988, Jakle, 2001) the changing nature of employment away from agrarian industries (Thompson, 1967) and increased individual freedom (Melbin, 1977).

Murray Melbin provides one of the few accounts of this process which attempts to situate itself in the sociological and the contemporary, as well as the historical (Melbin, 1987). Melbin argues that social "expansion may proceed more rapidly in either space or time" (Melbin, 1978:6) and that whilst in the colonial period this expansion had been mainly across space, it has now moved into being dominated by temporal expansion. Melbin's overall thesis about expansion is a useful analytical tool, and in many ways chimes with the discussions above by considering in unison activity across time and space together. However, his conception of the both the frontier and of the identity of the colonial is problematic. In comparing the 'night-time-as-frontier' to the American colonial frontier, he overlooks the fact that the American Frontier with which he compares the night and which he claims was filled by 'society' was already occupied by Native Americans. In the same way, the night-time that society expanded into was already occupied by a variety of individuals attempting to operate outside state visuality (Schlör, 1998). Melbin also over-emphasises the agency of 'pioneering' individuals in both spatial and temporal expansion. His history of the American frontier overlooks slave and female inhabitants of the frontiers, as well as the role of wives who remained at home whilst husbands travelled to explore. His initial analysis of night-time 'pioneers' is also initially as partial, abstracting these individuals from the milieus from which they construct their spatio-temporal rhythms, though he does correct this in his chapter on shift workers and their families (Melbin, 1987:101).

Melbin's more interesting analysis comes in his discussion of 'incessant organisations'. In this, he argues that "we give the entire twenty-four hours a new master schedule, with new ways of connecting one day to the next". There are two types of schedule, "one disperses different activities around the clock; the other stretches a single activity across all the hours" (Melbin, 1987:82). It seems here that Melbin's concept of the urban night differs significantly from those which have focused on the twenty four hour city, but also subtly from a purely 'rhythmic' approach. Whilst the twenty-four hour city always contains a normative aspect, Melbin's focus on scheduling recognises that, 'twenty-four hour city' or not, all large urban areas are of sufficient complexity for there to be some

level of activity and governance through the night. Here, then, Melbin does not attempt to ask whether a city or institution is sufficiently active through the night. Rather, he is interested in how these bodies cope with 'incessancy'. Incessancy, though not explicitly defined by Melbin, can be understood as the way in which the practices of one day are connected to the next. Melbin has a focus on institutions and organisations; for him, these are the main sites at which incessancy occurs. In doing so, Melbin notes that activities are not usually carried out across the day in equal measure. In a factory, for example, some production lines will shut down over night, whilst administrative offices will be emptied: as such, "the ongoing project has a timing unlike that of any of the personnel engaged in it" (Melbin, 198784). Incessancy, then, is a necessary function of the machinic quality of assemblages (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987)[14]; it is a way of describing the organisation and coordination of the machinic which is greater than the sum of its parts. Returning to rhythms, incessant organisation can be equally understood as a way of operating across multiple different rhythms, of attempting to co-ordinate multiple conflicting rhythms.

Melbin's argument has three important outcomes. Firstly, he shows how the demands of incessancy remove the ability of any one person to oversee the entirety of the practices of an organisation. As such, power needs to be delegated and shifted around the organisation; no-one individual or position is ever constantly present within the assemblage. This gives the assemblage a rhythmic quality. Organisations need to make decisions as to how this power is delegated and spread. Melbin contrasts the experience of the American Navy at Pearl Harbour – where responses were delayed due to a failure to have adequate means of dealing with the vacuum in authority at night – to those in the nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island, where disaster was averted due to a well-tested programme for alerting managers in the event of a night-time incident (Melbin, 1987:93-94). For him, this shows a development in awareness of how to operate incessantly. Secondly, the inability to have personnel operating on the same rhythms as the organisation means that mechanisms for transferring between individuals need to be introduced. In his research he found that the majority of errors in a hospital's surgical care unit were correlated with periods of nursing changeover (Melbin, 1987:86). Often, materials and objects become powerful points within the rhythms of an assemblage: Melbin takes the example of the log book and shows how this object becomes the site

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[14] See chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of assemblages

through which the incessancy of an organisation such as a hospital takes place. Thirdly, incessancy goes beyond industry and organisations, but becomes part of bodies and households (Melbin, 1987:101). Though Melbin is writing prior to the advent of twenty-four hour news or 'always-on' internet connections, such features now mean that the home becomes constantly plugged into flows of information in ways that it was previously not: the borders of the milieus become deterritorialised as the quantity and intensity of rhythms increases (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Melbin is largely concerned with impact of incessancy on shift workers, and how they have to work just to maintain their bodily needs (Melbin, 1987). Incessancy thus shifts some people into taking on new rhythms, in order to serve the rhythms of the assemblage. As such it can support Lefebvre's arguments about the bending ability of capitalist rhythms in everyday life.

Compared to discussions of the 'twenty-four hour city', which prioritise certain activities as validating the absence or presence of being twenty-four hours, the concept of incessancy provides a more subtle lens through which to look at the night-time city. It demands that we look at how the night-time bleeds into the day, and vice-versa, and how rhythms are maintained across this period of time. I want to explore the incessancy of Newcastle by reflecting on my research with the city's neighbourhood services team, specifically the way in which their work relates to the day-time city. Before doing so, I should emphasise that this examples is *not* being chosen to illustrate the idea of the night-time as a site of maintenance and restoration for the day-time city (Herod and Aguiar, 2006a). Although maintenance and infrastructural work remains an important part of the urban night, the relationship between night and day implied by incessancy is more complex than a simple activity-renewal binary. Rather, I want to show how this night-time maintenance process is itself, firstly, an active process which forms part of the city and, secondly, responds to concurrent active rhythms.

Newcastle's neighbourhood services city centre team employs three managers over the course of the day. A morning manager works from 06:00 through till 15:00, an afternoon manager works from noon through till 21:00, and the night manager begins his shift at 20:00, ending at 06:30. The night manager begins his shift in the council's city center depot, where he liaises with the afternoon manager, before taking a driving tour of the city centre. The night team normally covers a specific area of the city, though they also work in other parts of Tyne and Wear if specific events result in the need for extra night-

time cleaning (during my research, for example, the team had to clean the Gateshead side of NewcastleGateshead quayside the night after a music festival had taken place there). During his driving tour, the manager will travel to key sites and try and gauge how busy the city centre is. He also looks out for any significant patches of stagnant water on the roads, and checks graffiti and vandalism levels. During this period there are no cleaners on the streets of the city centre, with a gap between the end of the day shift at 19:00 and the start of the 22:30. This gap is timed to coincide with the quieter period of pedestrian use of the city centre that occurs between the ending of day time activities and the start of the urban night. After driving through the city centre, the night-shift manager goes to the council's depot in Heaton, where the city centre night shift is based.

The night-shift workers arrive at the depot for 22:00. The entire night-shift team is male, and the vast majority are over forty. They receive their instructions for the night when they arrive. Team members have specific roles with differing pay grades, however tasks for any given night are dependent on a number of features, notably: the availability of equipment; the busyness of the city centre's streets; and weather. Staff are assigned to one of four tasks: street cleaning with manual litter-pickers and a transit van (usually in teams of three); pavement-cleaning with a 'swingo' cleaning machine; road-cleaning and water clearance with a large street sweeping vehicle; pavement-cleaning with high pressure water jets. In addition, staff will also be responsible for gritting during the winter months. By the time that the machines have been checked and instructions given, the staff will head out: they usually reach the city centre by about 22:45. The initial work focuses on sites which were busy during the day time, but are quieter at night (Eldon Square is a good example of this). Here, then, cleaning *is* able to function in a purely 'restorative' manner, allowing these spaces to be used the next day. After this, staff spread out across the city centre and work through till 01:45. The focus is largely on those areas of the city in which people are drinking, smoking and eating, as these activities generate the most mess. On quieter nights, staff activity is directed towards graffiti cleaning, flower-bed maintenance, or pavement-blasting with the high powered water jets. On busier nights, staff fight against a rising tide of mess. Key nodes, such as the area outside The Gate complex, require cleaning every fifteen minutes by either the swingo or litter-picking team. Staff take a break at 02:00, which lasts an hour due to regulations regarding night-shift work. This break coincides with the main period in which the rhythms of the city centre shift dramatically, thanks to the timetabling effect of the pre-

2003 licensing act enforced closing time of 02:00, which persists at a number of venues. During this time, the streets and taxi ranks are busy, whilst the bodily rhythms discussed previously encourage the consumption of fast food around this time, creating waste. By the time staff have left Heaton at 03:00 and returned to the city centre, there is significantly less footfall and traffic. At this time, then, staff are able to clean areas fully as well as focus more of their effort on other tasks, such as graffiti removal. The night-time shift for the non-managerial workers ends at 05:00 some two hours before the daytime shift starts.

These shift patterns, and dispersal of activities, can clearly be seen as ways of dealing with incessancy. Managerial shifts are timetabled to overlap, creating a vital link between managers, who can report incidents or issues directly to each other, rather than relying on log books or notes. It also ensures that some sense of service unity and community is fostered, as there is little movement of non-managerial staff between day and night shifts. Worker's shifts are timed to coincide with certain repeated moments of the city centre's rhythms. The three gaps in staff presence in the city centre – between 19:00-22:30, 01:45-03:15, and 04:45-07:30 – are placed to make use of certain key periods. The evening gap reflects a time of low use of the city centre, prior to which the day shift should have left the city clean, so that what litter is added to the city centre during this period will be the only litter to collect when the night shift begins. The night-time gap is a period of intensive heavy use of the city, as well as being a time at which alcohol related violence levels peak. The period after this gap is much emptier, however, so the city can be left uncleaned for an hour in the knowledge that it can be tackled later. Finally, the early morning gap is the period of least activity in the city centre. After this, the streets will still be fairly clean, so that the day-time staff can begin by cleaning things that the night-time staff could not such as back alleys and parks. This ensures that these areas are cleared before the day's shopping crowd arrives. Similarly, tasks such as gritting and water removal are respondent to seasonal or weather rhythms, and thus reflect the city's incessancy over the year as well as across the day. Incessancy, for the neighbourhood services team, means reacting to different rhythms and timetabling activities across both the day and the night.

3.6 Conclusion

Spatio-temporality is a key concept in social sciences and particularly in geography. Geographers have been aware of the temporal aspects of the places that they have

studied for a long time. The most sustained engagement with time in geography prior to the rhythmic turn to came with time-geography, developed through work in Sweden in the 1950s and 1960s (Hägerstrand, 1967) and exported into English speaking geography through the 1970s (Parkes and Thrift, 1975) where it chimed with critiques of geographical practice, especially those coming from phenomenological (Buttimer, 1976), and later structurationist approaches (Giddens, 1984, Gregory and Urry, 1985). However, time-geography became elided with the time-space diagram that formed a central part of it, and suffered due to the representationalist critiques of this approach (Gregory, 1994). Nevertheless, time-geography's influence remained, through its emphasis on lived experience, crossing spatio-temporalities, and the importance of materialities. Meanwhile, concerns about globalisation and mobilities began to dominate discussions of time in relation to geography, not least thanks to Harvey's famous use of the phrase 'time-space compression' to describe globalisation (Harvey, 1989). The *TimeSpace* collection is indicative that research on time and space had not been absent from the discipline (May and Thrift, 2001), but its very creation thanks to "a growing sense of dissatisfaction (May and Thrift, 2001:1)" with work in general on time and space shows that this area of research had not been a central theme of geographical research. The philosophy of both Lefebvre and Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Lefebvre, 2004) provided more robust theoretical tools for work on spatio-temporalities to develop, specifically around the concept of rhythms. Whilst this work has been productive and has helped explore the heterogeneous rhythmicity of urban geography (and beyond), it is at best poor scholarship where the deep history of geographical research into time-space beyond this 'return to rhythm' is not acknowledged.

Thinking space and time together is particularly vital if we are to understand the relationship between contingency, permanence and change, or, repetition and difference (Deleuze, 1994, Lefebvre, 2004). The existence of rhythm requires that repetition, in some sense, occurs. Repetitive rhythmic activity makes place (Crang, 2001:206) for Parkes and Thrift, "the more or less regular recurrence of events and items in association seems to us to be a most important factor, perhaps a crucial factor, in spatial (say regional) formations" (Parkes and Thrift, 1979:353). This can be the repeated practice of mobilities associated with a night out, which creates the pedestrianised flows between The Gate, the Bigg Market and the *Diamond Strip*, and later the intense busyness of taxi ranks between 01:30 and 02:30; it could be the rhythms of fashion which see areas of the

city at night grow in popularity and then fall; or the rhythms of even longer periods, such as the erosion by the River Tyne of its deep gorge, which means a place such as the Quayside can have a disconnected feel from the city above it. These repeated actions make place, entraining certain behaviours, materials and practices, territorialising and forming the borders of milieus (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Yet this rhythmicity is also experienced as flux, and is the site for the emergence of change. The rhythm of repeated water erosion by the River Tyne brings with it ever changing reflections of the city above, a feature used in various public lighting projects such as that on the Millennium Bridge. Changing trends and fashions mean that Newcastle's urban night is never frozen and measurable: leave for six months and new bars or pubs will appear whilst others close. The repetitive mobilities of taxi sites creates potential for meeting others in queues, or whilst eating a late night takeaway: this is generative of public space. So an understanding of rhythm is important in inserting an understanding of how the illusion of permanent structure can emerge in a world of constant flux and difference.

The analysis in this chapter has focused broadly on three types of rhythm. The above focuses on one of these types, that is, the rhythms of a place (Wunderlich, 2010). These are the rhythms which emerge through repetition over time of certain activities and practices at a certain location. They may be related to other rhythms, or may be entirely independent, but are best thought of as emerging from the interaction of multiple 'crossing' rhythms which produce a new place rhythm through their interaction. The second set of rhythms are rhythms of movement and flow. These relate largely to the rhythms of mobility discussed previously, and emerge from the movement of multiple bodies or objects along similar routes (Bissell, 2008a). Such movements will often show repeated division of activities across a given time frame. These rhythms link places, and are those emphasised by Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the rhythm as "a transcoded passage from one milieu to another... coordination of heterogeneous space-times" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:345). These rhythms of flows may also be rhythms of movement of one place into another: "not only does the living thing continually pass from one milieu to another, but the milieus pass into one another" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:345). This movement is across space and time: the movement of the interior of *Tiger Tiger* into the public space outside of it is over both a small space and short time period; the movement of taxi ranks via radio waves and GPS signals into a taxi booking office may be over a larger space but a small time; the movement of Newcastle's

industrial past into its modern day urban night is over a longer time period but much less space. To this, I would add a third set of rhythms, which are rhythms of a mobile body or object. These rhythms are not purely mobile in themselves (Bissell, 2008a), yet are not tied to a place. In effect, they are the rhythms of objects which move along rhythms of flow and through rhythms of place. The human body is the obvious example here, but objects such as buses, radio-waves and street cleaning vehicles might also be used. The conclusion from this typology of three sets of rhythms is that rhythms are the expression of the parts of practice which make space and time multiple and heterogeneous.

Finally, then, this chapter concludes with a discussion of incessancy. Incessancy is a product inevitably resultant from the multiple, heterogeneous rhythms that emerge out of urban space. Incessancy as a concept is a portion of Murray Melbin's analysis of the contemporary sociological night, but is by far and away the most interesting (Melbin, 1987). Melbin rejects approaches which attempt to essentialise the night by focusing on certain activities, whether that be repair and renewal, sleep, nightlife, or otherwise. Rather, he is interested in the temporal division of labour across organisations, and, in particular, the way that organisations deal with the demands of incessancy. Thus Melbin's concept allows us to look at an organisation, or a person, a city, or object, and ask how it becomes organised and ordered in relation to incessancy. This, then, can create a new vocabulary and analytical approach to understanding the urban night which moves beyond normative constructions such as the twenty-four hour city. Lefebvre, sat in front of his television screen, dislikes the 'tide or swamp' of incessancy, but nonetheless has to respond to it (Lefebvre, 2004:46-48). Organisations such as Newcastle's neighbourhood services need to divide activities across the day, responding to different rhythms; taxi firms use various technologies and materialities to log and track bookings to cope with incessancy in their business. Incessancy, then, is a description for the multiplicity of urban rhythms. In researching the urban night, then, and its relation to the day and wider social processes, we might ask how organisations or individuals cope with incessancy.

In this chapter, then, I have developed the idea that rhythms and spatio-temporality of the urban night in Newcastle creates multiplicity as they bring together different actants, influences and practices from across different spatial and temporal scales, from geological rhythms to rhythms of bodily perception. These rhythms thus emerge in part from practice, that is everyday activity (Lefebvre, 2004). Incessancy is the spatio-temporal

situation of contemporary cities, in which activities reach a sufficient density to require management over a twenty-four hour period. From these rhythms, differences – that is, new practices, institutions, representations, sensations- and similarities emerge. As such, heterogeneity and homogeneity, temporariness and permanence both emerge from rhythms.   In the next chapter, I will explore further the concept of multiplicity as a description of the things which emerge from these rhythms. If through the interaction of these rhythms we see the proliferation of the number of actors involved in the urban night, and if multiplicity describes this state of proliferation, then I will also begin to introduce concepts which explore the closing down of multiplicity into discretely experienced 'enunciations'. Here, the concept of framing will be introduced to look at how different enunciations gain territory and compete for power and validity.

4. Framing, Multiplicity and Atmosphere

In their manifesto for a non-representational geography that takes practice and rhythms seriously, Dewsbury et. al. called for an end to

> "a curious vampirism, in which events are drained for the sake of the 'orders, mechanisms, structures and processes' posited by the analyst; an ontological freezing in which the excessive is recuperated for the sake of theoretical certainty, the flourish of generalisation, a well formed opinion and a resounding conclusion" (Dewsbury et al., 2002:437).

Such a call reflects Thrift's lament that the cultural turn in social sciences had become dominated by "tired constructionist themes" (Thrift, 2000:2). Of course, it would be an over simplification – one which is not made in the above papers – to suggest that non-representational theories provided the first solution to this problem, or that this problem pervaded the entirety of the new cultural geography. Anderson and Harrison identify a number of 'minor' traditions in social-science which went beyond the search for structuralist explanations which became associated with much of cultural geography (Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Amongst these are time-geography, as discussed above, but also feminist geography, specifically that which deals with performativity (Butler, 1993), Goffman's performance-based sociology (Goffman, 1974), and the ethnomethodology of Garfinkel. In this chapter, the work of both Goffman and Butler will be referred to, reflecting this position of non-representational theory as embedded within longer intellectual histories. Despite these minor traditions, a general trend can be seen in which much of the work of geography, and other social sciences, was attempting to read out explanations for activities solely in the terms of discursive or 'socially constructed' notions such as race, gender, class, age, or others.

In the context of my thesis, Hollands' analysis of 'the meaning' of Newcastle's nightlife can be seen to fall into this category (Hollands, 1995). He finds that:

> "the social significance and meaning of going out has been transformed from a simple 'rite of passage' to adulthood towards a more permanent 'socialising ritual' for young adults, and that this change is due to broader shifts in economic, domestic and cultural life (Hollands, 1995:6)"

Hollands' conclusion is not necessarily incorrect, but his use of his data depends upon an analytical distance – a distance which does not reflect either his immersive ethnographic methods or his stated aim to attend to the lived experience of nightlife. In order to hold this distance, Latour claims, a sociologist must invent a list of explanations to keep a grasp on the social (Latour, 1988:160). As such, Hollands reads into actions and practices 'deeper' meanings such as the 'rite of passage' or 'socialising rituals', without exploring fully how such rites or rituals emerge and what these consist of, and then sees these as emerging from shifts in economic and cultural factors. Practice and activity, then, are relegated to the status of symptoms of deeper structural change. Non-representational theories do not attempt to counter, contradict, or outwit such attempts at explanation, but rather to move their position away from relying purely on explanatory structures, concepts or representations and towards the elements which demand explanation. As such, the causative relationship between representation and practice is questioned. This chapter will explore this argument by focusing on framing, a concept which operates through both practice and representation. This follows on from my argument in the previous chapter that such practices are meaningful without recourse to structural explanations and, furthermore, that in fact these structural categories are assemblages which are themselves only as meaningful and permanent as the practices which make them up. We must look not to use concepts such as society and the social to explain practices, but rather ask the question of how the appearance of the social emerges in a world of practices (Latour, 2005b).

If society is thus taken to be a process or a particular assemblage/assembling[15] of relations, rather than an end point or moment of explanation, then our explanatory tools

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[15] See the following chapter for a discussion on the nuanced distinctions between Latour's notion of assembling and the Deleuzo-Guattarian concept of assemblage.

need updating. Part of the work of this thesis is to sit in this epistemological gap which currently exists. In particular in this chapter I want to develop the use of the concept of the frame as an alternative to ideas such as structure or context. As I set it out in this chapter, the frame can stick more closely to the ontologies of practice set out in non-representational and actor-network theories. The focus on temporalities and rhythms in the previous chapter was used to explain both the presence of an illusion of permanence – as rhythm always involves a greater or lesser degree of repetition – and the emergence of the new – as this repetition always involves a greater or lesser degree of difference.

This constant repetition, as I discuss later in this chapter, is productive of multiple different enunciations of the city, some fleeting and virtual, others striated and actualized. As such, the city becomes a multiplicity, that is, an assemblage whose 'multipleness' can be understood ontologically as substantive, rather than as an attribute or characteristic (Bonta and Protevi, 2004:117). Mol describes this an ontology which is based upon a "praxiographic appreciation of reality" (Mol, 2002:54), a redefined ontology which operates within a post-Derridean (and other) critiques of the ontological, but which nonetheless seeks to say something metaphysical about the nature of being (Bonta and Protevi, 2004). Crucially, this understanding of multiplicity places the multiple neither in the perspective of someone relating to an object, nor in the object itself; rather, the multiplicity is located in the relationship between the two. As such, this exploration of multiplicity will not seek to explore multiple perspectives on the city – it is taken from the extensive existing research that the urban night is already experienced from multiple positions (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009)– but rather will look at how objects themselves are understood as multiple.

In her work, then, Mol attempts to answer the question as to how an object – the disease atherosclerosis – can be multiple, yet have agency as a 'single' thing. Whilst exploring Mol's work, I also want to move on to ask how it is that multiple enunciations of an object can emerge or. To use the Deleuzoguattrian terminology, I am seeking to question the processes of becoming which result in an actualization of the virtual (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). In doing so, I recall the two functions of the frame that are suggested by Cache: firstly, that the frame separates and excludes by creating spaces and intervals within which life occurs; and secondly, that the frame then selects and connects. As Cache puts it, "the first function of the frame removed us from the territory; the second

function re-establishes connections, selectively" (Cache, 1995:24). The frame thus acts as that which delimits a given enunciation but which also establishes its territorial connections. The concept of framing is thus indicative in both understanding how different enunciations of the multiplicity emerge and how these enunciations are distinguished, to the extent that they are. Specifically, I want to discuss how framing occurs at a variety of different sites and through a variety of techniques so that certain enunciations of the city centre become to be comprehended, recognised and experienced. To repeat, in doing, so, I will use framing in a way which is similar to ideas such as context, structure and territorialisation. To begin with, then, in this chapter I want to explore in more depth the theoretical background behind, firstly, multiplicity and secondly, the frame and framing. This will then allow for a discussion of frames in relation to other contemporary geographical concepts and an explication of this in the context of differing framings of Newcastle at night.

4.1 Multiplicity and the Multiple

The contemporary concept of the multiplicity has two dominant sources within social science. The first of these is in Deleuzian ontology (Deleuze, 1994), which is emergent from his engagement with Bergson (Deleuze, 1970) and which receives further explication in his later collaborations with Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, 1987), who himself also explores the concept (Guattari, 1989, 1996c). Here, multiplicity is used in relation to processes and attempts to ask how a multiplicity can consist "of parts which can be considered separately" (Bergson, 1910:76), but which nonetheless act as a unit. The second concept of multiplicity emerges out of actor-network theory (ANT) and follows a praxiographic ontology described above. This is encapsulated by Latour and Hermant's aim in their research on Paris to move "from the entire Paris set into one view to the multiple Parises within Paris, which together compromise all Paris and which nothing ever resembles" (Latour and Hermant, 1998). Here, multiplicity emerges because of the various sites of practice and representation which interlock within an actor-network; it is an effect of addition. Before looking at how multiplicity has been taken up in geography, it is worth exploring these two approaches in greater depth.

4.1 i) Deleuzoguattarian Multiplicity

Whilst questions regarding the relationship of qualities to a substance date back to ancient philosophy, and the particular notion of unity being defined by inherent contradiction to the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus, the origin of the contemporary

concept of multiplicity can, perhaps not surprisingly, be traced back to mathematics, specifically that of Bernhard Riemann. Riemann's work is in differential geometry and opened up the scope for new fields of work within mathematics, notably topology. Of particular influence was Riemann's research into *n*-dimensionality, showing the possibility that a 'surface' could have multiple dimensions and, furthermore, that there is no inherent external coordinating dimension (de Beistegui, 2004). In other words, Riemann's work contributed to the concept that a thing can have many dimensions, and that none of these dimensions need be inherent to the thing. The implication of this, then, is that there is no fixed quality or unity attributable to a thing, so that potentially a thing can move between having a different number of dimensions and that different dimensions can alter in importance. This suggests that the unity of the whole is emergent from the shifting and malleable relations of its component parts. This is multiplicity as an active part of a thing's being: unity is no longer based on a series of inherent or permanent components which remain within a static relationship. Husserl found this idea of interest, and suggested that multiplicity could become the basis for a 'general mathematics' (Mijares, 1994). By this, Husserl did not mean to suggest that other forms of knowledge could become subsumable to mathematics, as a discipline of using symbolism to represent numerical equations; rather, that philosophy could search for truth by revealing the relations which come together to add to a whole (Mijares, 1994). From this, the links to Husserl's phenomenology can be seen. For Husserl, the truths about any lifeworld can be gained through a formalised study of the parts which come together to create it and the shifting relation between these.

Bergson was no phenomenologist, indeed his work allowed later writers such as Deleuze and Sartre to operate with phenomenological concepts but to also move beyond these (Zahavi, 2010). He did however raise similar concerns to phenomenology, and the connection can be seen through his use of the concept of multiplicity. Like Husserl, Bergson arrives at multiplicity through an interest in division; it is interesting to note this in comparison to contemporary study of multiplicity which is more commonly concerned with addition. He begins by asking about sensations and intensities and, in particular, whether they can have magnitudes (Bergson, 1910). In doing this, Bergson wants to develop a better understanding of consciousness and the relationship between perception and conscious experience. Whilst sensations and intensities are often described as having magnitudes – joy may be greater or lesser – these magnitudes differ

from, say, those of materials. Materials gain their magnitudes from extensive qualities in Cartesian space, so that a ruler which is twenty centimetres long contains the size of a ten centimetre ruler; furthermore, we could add two ten centimetre rulers to create a twenty centimetre ruler (Bergson, 1910). This quality characterises the first of Bergson's two types of multiplicity: one which is extensive, and which applies to "material objects, counted in space" (Bergson, 1910:85).

The second type multiplicity that Bergson identifies is associated with sensations and intensity. Bergson says that

> "molecular disturbances... are necessarily unconscious, since no trace of the movements themselves can be actually perceived in the sensation which translates them. But the automatic movements which tend to follow the stimulus as its natural outcome are likely to be conscious movements: or else the sensation itself, whose function is to invite us to choose between this automatic reaction and other possible movements, would be of no avail. The intensity of affective sensations might thus be nothing more than our consciousness of the involuntary movements which are being begun and outlined, so to speak, within these states" (Bergson, 1910:34-35).

In this description of affective sensations, Bergson shows that their magnitude is not a quantifiable extensive quality, but rather is an intensity which emerges through the molecular reactions to an affective sensation. As such, the intensity of an affect is a conscious awareness of these molecular disturbances; therefore, an affect which creates a greater molecular disturbance will be more intensive and will have a greater magnitude. Awareness of affect is only ever "the qualitative impression produced by the whole series" of sensations, and cannot be broken down into a set of units (Bergson, 1910:86). By contrast to the first form of multiplicity, then, great joy cannot be split up into lesser units of joy, which cannot be multiplied together to obtain greater joy. The second form of multiplicity thus acts as a whole, with a series of indeterminate parts. These parts have a dynamic relationship which produces the multiplicity as a whole.

It is Bergson's theory of multiplicity which leads most directly into Deleuze, though as DeLanda argues, Deleuze also drew from Husserl and Riemann's mathematics (DeLanda, 2002:14). In discussing Bergson, Deleuze claims that, "when we employ the substantive

multiplicity, we already indicate thereby that we have surpassed the opposition of predicates one/multiple, that we are already set up on a completely different terrain, and on this terrain we are necessarily led to distinguish types of multiplicity" (Deleuze, 1970). In other words the concept of multiplicity for Deleuze is used to hold together the notions of both 'one' and 'multiple', of wholeness and fragmentation. Through his reading of Bergson, Deleuze creates the concept of ontological multiplicity.

Deleuze also follows, in part, Bergson's dualism between two types of multiplicity: those of the unconscious, and those of the conscious. Bergson argues that "there are finally two different selves, one of which is, as it were, the external projection of the other, its spatial and, so to speak, social representation" (Bergson, 1910:231). Similarly, we can identify in Deleuze and Guattari a distinction between multiplicities of crowds or masses and multiplicities of packs. Crowds or masses are aborescent and are akin to Bergson's extensive multiplicities. They are defined by leaders and order; they may represent 'black holes of territorialisation' within which certain rhythms come to dominated (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). By contrast, pack multiplicities are more rhizomatic, in which "each element ceaselessly varies and alters its distance in relation to the others" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:34). These multiplicities are schizoid and heterogeneous, akin to Bergson's intensive multiplicities. However, the two sets are not distinguished in practice: "there are only multiplicities of multiplicities forming a single assemblage, operating in the same assemblage: packs in masses and masses in packs" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:32). This then is an important distinction compared to Bergson, as it claims the presence of both extensive and intensive multiplicities within the same assemblage. As such, Deleuze and Guattari no-longer require the distinction between space (as extensiveness) and time (as intensiveness) that Bergson relied upon. Rather than being defined by this distinction, then, the multiplicity exists through its definition "by the outside" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:9). As such, the multiplicity holds together not through any quality of its own, but through external acts of labelling the multiplicity as a whole. This opens up the space for the concept of framing, which will be discussed later.

Guattari further develops the notion of multiplicity outside of his work with Deleuze. Of most relevance for my work are the concepts of transversality and of 'enunciation'. Enunciation is a concept drawn from Bakhtin and discussed in depth by Guattari in two of his later writings (Guattari, 1989, 1996b). Bakhtin's discussion of enunciation is based

within linguistics and whilst it forms one of Guattari's four components of signification, alongside content, referent and expression (Guattari, 1996b), it takes on for a Guattari a greater and more important role as enunciation is the process through which affects or individuals become enacted. The role of enunciation is best expressed as such: "the primary purposiveness [sic] of an Icon of the Orthodox Church is not to represent a Saint, but to open an enunciative territory for the faithful" (Guattari, 1996b:165). In this quote enunciation lies at the nexus between expression and content. In likening enunciation to an orchestra conductor, Guattari states that it can articulate pleasure, flow and rhythm, or impose a solo ordering (Guattari, 1996b). Enunciation thus concerns how meaning gets made through its practice in 'assemblages of enunciation' (Guattari, 1989), that is, different arrangements of affects, percepts, meanings and practices. These assemblages, then, contain: meaning which is passed on; the form of expression that this meaning takes (or metacommunication, which is discussed later in this chapter through the work of Bateson and which is hinted at by Guattari (Guattari, 2006)); affects which support or break these meanings; and the materials which brings these together – in the case of the example above, that is the Icon.

Enunciation for Guattari is therefore about the pulling together of discrete components to produce meaning, in a way which takes into account a wider range of features than might otherwise be used in semiology (Guattari, 2006:35). In Guattari, enunciation is normally used as a verb, an adjective, or as an noun to describe a process of enunciation. Here, however, I want to develop its use slightly differently. I suggest that we can consider the differently labelled forms of any given multiplicity as its various 'enunciations'. Enunciations are the semi-stabilised forms of a multiplicity, which are generated through Cache's second function of the frame, that is, is selection of certain parts of the multiplicity, which produces "ever more singular effects" (Cache, 1995). This is not to state that a multiplicity will consist of discretely identifiable and bordered enunciations which add together to form the whole – this would be to use only Bergson and Deleuze's first form of extensive multiplicity, which accounts only for some multiplicities. Rather, enunciations are embedded within each other – "packs in masses and masses in packs" – co-constructing as meaning changes through changes in forms of expression. In the following discussion on framing, I will explore in more detail precisely how these enunciations become temporarily delineated.

If enunciation helps us understand how different dimensions of a multiplicity come into being or exist alongside one another, Guattari's concept of transversality helps explain the ability of a multiplicity to act at a number of different scales and sites. Transversality is a concept developed by Guattari to move away from the notion of 'transference' which was commonly used to describe the process of information exchange in a psychoanalytic interview; as such, it formed a key part of his critique of psychoanalytic practice and the clinic. Transversality was thus used to describe the ways that subjects come together into a spatialised "communication system whose members are interdependent, yet simultaneously in a relation of difference, but nonetheless totally involved in a collective process"(Genosko, 2000:58) . It should be apparent from Genosko's description that transversality was a concept which could be developed out to become a wider aspect of Guattari's work on subjectivity and multiplicity. Whilst Guattarian approaches to subjectivity will form an important part of the discussion of chapter six, the contribution of transversality towards thinking about multiplicity can come from its ability to describe how different enunciations of the multiplicity can act simultaneously. Through its development as part of Guattari's thought and eventual move away from Freudianism, transversality becomes a description of the ontological bridge between different strata (Guattari, 1995:125). As such, transversality shifts away from the communicative space of the clinic towards being a capacity of enunciations of multiplicity to act across different domains whilst retaining unity. A multiplicity, therefore, "singularizes and transversalizes existence, enabling it, on the one hand, to persist locally, and on the other hand to consist transversally" (Guattari, 1996a:107n2). Transversality describes this characteristic of the multiplicity as a dynamic set of interacting enunciations.

Deleuzo-Guattarian multiplicity, developed from the Bergsonian, is thus used to describe dynamic unities. For Deleuze and Guattari, multiplicities can have any number of dimensions ('enunciations') and following Deleuze's reading of Bergson they can consist of both extensive and intensive qualities. Any multiplicity, then, will consist of various enunciations which emerge through the endlessly different ways in which its components may relate to one another. These enunciations co-exist and the transversality of the multiplicity will allow it to operate over different domains simultaneously. Transversality explores how enunciations will act and reappear at different locations and points, transcending spatio-temporal divisions. Moving on to actor-network theory, then, we can

begin to ask as to how these different components come to form part of the multiplicity and the ways in which the multiplicity operates within the world.

4.1 ii) ANT and the Multiple

Actor-Network Theory and the work of Deleuze and Guattari are often elided (Harrison, 2011), which is unsurprising given their shared concerns in regards to practice, assemblage and flow. Nevertheless, they do have distinctions which can be explored in their use of the concept of multiplicity. To do so I want first to discuss Latour's concept of the multiple, and specifically focus on the part played by enrolment, before looking at Mol's book *The Body Multiple*, in which she sets out to undertake an ethnography of multiplicity (Mol, 2002).

For Latour, the social is nothing more than a series of bundles, ties and relationships (Latour, 2005b). As such, questions of social research become questions of tracing these associations. Any such research, however, will add to the associations already in place. Latour is therefore critical of both the social constructionist critiques of science and measurement, which have dismissed measurement as a false representation of the heterogeneity of life, creating a dualism between lived experience and measurement, and the reductionist move implied by measurement (Harman, 2009). Summarised, he suggests that the social constructionist argument is equally reductionist as that which it critiques. Instead, Latour argues in favour of the irreducibility of the world. So, on seeing a windsurfer, Latour claims that:

> "He [the windsurfer] explores the multiplicity of ways of being, he goes from some to many, from a little wind to a fierce gale, from a lower to a higher intensity. Yes, that's it, he is moving into enjoyment ,intensity, ways of being, alterations; and if I want to calculate his speed, I can, but I won't define the depth of his world, the backdrop of all existence, I will simply add a colour to the manly colours there already are, maybe a grey, a dark colour, but still a colour" (Latour, 1997:172)

Like a social constructivist, Latour argues that measurements of extensiveness are not able to capture the depth and extent of the intensive experience of the world. He then, however, sets himself equally apart from social constructivist claims that measurement only encaptures a 'dead' or chilled world, which differentiates from the 'real' lived

experience. Measurement, for Latour, is an act of addition to a variety of different actor-networks; for the windsurfer it is a small one, but for the hypothetical scientist undertaking the measurement it might be greater. Similarly, then, when researching Paris, Latour visits a range of different sites – those of its "engineers, technicians, civil servants, inhabitants and shopkeepers" (Latour and Hermant, 1998) – in which Paris is made and is multiplied. The multiplicity, for Latour, of an actor-network thus emerges from the ever increasing number of things which come into contact with the actor-network and form relationships with it. In more formalised ANT studies, this process, in which actors come together and some sort of position within a multiplicity is created, has been labelled 'enrolment' (Callon, 1986). As such, both extensive and intensive qualities sit aside one another to produce multiplicity. This breaks down the distinction between different types of multiplicity that Bergson introduces and Deleuze maintains. Whilst Deleuze and Guattari allow for masses and packs to be present within one another, Latour does not require this distinction as he locates the outcomes of relations not in their nature – as extensive or intensive – but in their relative importance and strength (Latour, 2005b).

Mol explores the possibilities for studying multiplicity which are raised by Latour and ANT. In her work on atherosclerosis, Mol sets out to explore "the way in which medicine *enacts* the objects of its concern and treatment"(Mol, 2002:vii). This focus on enactment and practice, rather than knowledge or perception, means that subject of research is "a slightly different one each time... what we think of as a single object may appear to be more than one... a plaque cut out of an atherosclerosis artery is not the same entity as the problem a patient with atherosclerosis talks about in the consulting room" (Mol, 2002:vii). As such, multiplicity potentially provides a move away from epistemology and towards ontology. This is an ontology that Mol describes as 'praxiographic' and located. Thus the 'is' of a multiplicity changes according to the location of the thing being defined. Moving away from Bergson who makes temporality the central feature of the intensive multiplicity, Mol uses ANT to spatialise multiplicity: atherosclerosis is a different thing in the clink, the waiting room, and at home. This multiplicity is not, however, a pluralism: the key problematic is that Mol's multiplicity continues to act as a single thing. As such, her work is about "the coexistence of multiple entities that go by the same name" (Mol, 2002:151). For Mol, the object of research is how these multiple entities are practiced in a way that they still hold together. I want to retain this problematic, with an additional question of how these entities can be multiple whilst nonetheless experienced as one.

Deleuzo-Guattarian and ANT multiplicities are very similar beings; the main difference is that ANT neither requires or produces the distinction between 'pack and mass' or 'extensive and intensive' multiplicities. Multiplicity, rather, is a more straightforward result of the addition (hence the much briefer discussion) to an actor-network which takes place through any sort of action. Indeed, one critique of ANT is that it has typically said less about division than it has about addition. So the same sort of multiplicity is produced, according to Latour, when we add scientific measurement of a windsurfer's movement as when we add the experiential affects produced by his interaction with the wind (Latour 1997). Both approaches, however, emphasise the role of multiplicity in understanding how things are in the world – Mol uses the phrase ontology to describe this. For this thesis it is too tentative to say whether or not this forms a post-critique of metaphysics ontology. Rather, its strength lies in the description of objects which are emergent from multi-rhythmic practice. In particular, the key concepts which I have highlighted in this discussion are transversality, enunciation and addition/enrolment. These make it possible to distinguish different enunciations of the multiplicity, and their agency, whilst asking how these different entities with the same name can come into being. To answer this question, I argue that we need to consider the concept of framing.

4.2 Framing

> "Over thousands of years, perhaps in imitation of crustaceans or termites, human beings have acquired the habit of encasing themselves in all kinds of shells: buildings, clothes, cars, images and messages, that they never stop secreting like a skin, adhering to the flesh of their existence just as much as do the bones of their skeletons" (Guattari, 1989)

Guattari's list is indicative of the range of things which are involved in 'framing', from materials which literally 'surround' the body through to images and messages which influence the interpretation of experience. Guattari, however, also indicates the constant process which is implied by framing: frames emerge through secretion and constant interaction with previously existing frames. Framing, crucially, implies that exclusion occurs through processes which involve some sort of relationship with that being excluded (Derrida, 1987). As such, frames imply relationality *and* structurality, inclusion *and* exclusion; or, going further, they indicate that neither a purely relational nor a purely structural understanding of society is desirable. As Dovey points out, frames are both

shaping and enclosing devices (Dovey, 1999:1). They generate some sort of limit or border between what can and cannot be understood, expressed and experienced, yet simultaneously generate a relationship of some sort to that which is excluded (Goffman, 1974, Derrida, 1987, Guattari, 1996b, Callon, 1998, Butler, 2009). As such, they are more active than 'context', yet more dynamic and less encompassing than 'structure'. Here, then, they can contribute to the new vocabularies for understanding practice. Frames are relational constructs, which are open to flux, vitality and change but at the same time the taken-for-granted borders which reduce the scope and possibilities for being (Anderson and Wylie, 2009).

It is this presence of frames which allows different enunciations of a multiplicity to coexist and to be experienced (Hinchcliffe, 2010). More broadly, framing can be understood as one of the various concepts which help retain an awareness of the limits to pure relationality and perception (Laurier and Philo, 2006, Harrison, 2007, Valentine, 2008, Wylie, 2009, Harrison, 2011). Such a demand should be an inherent aspect of non-representational theories: so for Guattari, "a certain balance still needs to be struck between structuralist discoveries - which are certainly not unimportant - and their pragmatic application, so as not to flounder in the social abandon of postmodernism"(Guattari, 1995:9-10). Whilst non-representational theories have been accused of an over-attendance to excess, vitality and pure relationalism, they have at their heart – as shown through the previous discussions of rhythms and temporalities - an inherited concern for understanding how permanence and the illusion of structure can emerge from a world of multiple potentialities. In the next section of this chapter, before discussing empirical material, I want to explore in more detail academic work on the concept of framing, and how it might then be related to the multiplicity.

Despite its general absence from geography, the concept of framing does have an intellectual history. Before moving on to discuss this, it is worth considering the characteristics of the frame that are suggested by Cache and which have been previously alluded to. For Cache, framing is the most fundamental role of architecture: it holds together the basic components of a place (Cache, 1995). In particular, he imbues the frame with two key qualities. The first is expressed by the wall, which has the effect of separation. It delimits, placing life into certain milieus. As such, "coexistence is not a fundamental given" (Cache, 1995:24), but rather a result of the separating function of

frames. The second function, which is placed after the first, is selection. This takes the form of the window, reconnecting the separated space with that which is outside of it: it selects components to become part of the territory (Cache 1995). Thus, "the frame is what establishes territory out of the chaos of the earth" (Grosz, 2008:11). The longer or more established a frame, the more singularising its role will be, that is, the more stable the enunciation that it produces. In Cache's reading, the frame gives territory to the enunciation of a multiplicity, or, as stated in the introduction, it actualises the virtual.

Most treatments of framing would agree, broadly, with these two features. The most influential of these come from Goffman, after Bateson (Bateson, 1973, Goffman, 1974), Heidegger (Heidegger, 1977) , and Derrida (Derrida, 1987). These in turn have influenced the work of contemporary writers such as Callon and Butler (Callon, 1998, Butler, 2009). In this next section, then, I will run through these writers' approaches to framing, with the exception of Heidegger, whose 'enframing' concept differs significantly from the others and is heavily embedded within the rest of his philosophy. 'Frame analysis', from the work of Erving Goffman, is perhaps the most sustained engagement with the concept of the frame in social science (see Telles Ribeiro and Hoyle, 2009 for an overview). It follows from Goffman's long-held interest in interaction and micro-sociology, and in particular his work on how individuals experience daily life through relation to each other and the space around them. Goffman begins with questions of the real (Goffman, 1974:2), specifically with a concern for the question, inspired by William James, of how individuals come to know what they are experiencing is real. For Goffman, different levels of the real may coexist, but for this to be the case then there ought to be different rules and signs which indicate to participants what it is that is 'going on' (Goffman, 1974:8). As such, Goffman is interested in a situational definition of the real – as later expanded upon by Mol (Mol 2002) – in which there is the problem of understanding how and when individuals differentiate between what I have described as enunciations of a multiplicity.

As well as James, this line of inquiry is inspired by Bateson's understanding of play. Bateson defined play not by any particular activity, but by changes in frames of metacommunication (Bateson, 1973:190). Goffman's aim, then, "is to isolate some of the basic frameworks of understanding available in our society for making sense out of events and to analyze the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject" (Goffman, 1974:10). In identifying frames, Goffman is thus hoping to achieve two things:

recognition of how participants in everyday life come to understand the rules under which their activity is occurring; and some insight into how such rules might be contingent and vulnerable in various ways. Like Guattari, he recognises the variety of influences on framing. So, whilst his main focus is on gesture and interaction, he also raises the issue of the institutional. In his famous quote on framing and theatre, he notes that:

> "All the world is not a stage - certainly the theatre isn't entirely. (Whether you organize a theatre or an aircraft factory, you need to find places for cars to park or coats to be checked, and these had better be real places, which, incidentally, had better carry real insurance against theft)" (Goffman, 1974:1).

Here, Goffman argues that institutional and infrastructural framings are as important as gestural or discursive framings.

Frame analysis was for Goffman, and remains for those who follow it (Chenail, 1995), dependent upon active interlocutors whose "interpretative frameworks are more or less adequate" (Goffman, 1974:440). This is problematic. Goffman's conception of active speakers who generate key signals which indicate frames leads him to a search for 'keys' or 'keyings'. In discussing play, for example, Goffman states that "signs presumably are available to mark the beginning and termination of playfulness" (Goffman, 1974:43). These are *set moments* at which activity passes between different frames. However, whilst such keys may exist at certain times, a search for such set moments of framing seems to be based on a misreading of Bateson's work. For Bateson, the action of framing may not be external from the content which is being framed: "the frame is involved in the evaluation of the messages which it contains" (Bateson, 1973:193). As such, there seems no reason why any given 'key' or 'keying' would be the moment at which a frame such as play is defined; rather, it would seem that framing is constant process, occurring throughout a period of interaction. Indeed, it may be that the concept of a set period of action within which all activities are to be understood through a frame is not satisfactory; rather, framing is an exclusionary process in which certain parts of interaction are highlighted whilst others are dismissed (Bateson, 1973). This is reflected too in Bateson's use of metalogues, in which the conversation of his (semi-fictional) participants both deals content-wise with a subject and, through its structure, pertains to this subject

(Bateson, 1973:12). Here there is no structural meta-moment at which keying is achieved; rather, the entire metalogue is to be understood relationally, with meaning achieved across the conversation. So, whilst Goffman takes Bateson's communication theory and turns it more towards sociological analysis, in doing so he adds an overly structuralist dimension to Bateson's work.

Goffman and Bateson both focus on communication between individuals, though for Bateson the concept of the individual is a much more extended and fluid one (Bateson, 1979). Derrida's approach contrasts slightly, taking a more directly relational approach, with an interest in the role of frames in delimiting borders. Derrida describes the parergon (from the Greek 'edge-work'), of which frames are one type, as "neither [the] work nor outside the work, neither inside nor outside, neither above nor below, it disconcerts any opposition but does not remain indeterminate and it gives rise to the work" (Derrida, 1987:9). Parergons are edges and limits which are neither different from the multiplicity, nor inherently a part thereof. For Derrida, dualisms within philosophy have operated without this understanding of the frame, which allows for the creation of some sort of relationship between that which is internalised within a system and that which is excluded by it. As such, the frame forms part of Derrida's wider project to show the dependency of systems upon those aspects which are excluded (Derrida, 1987:38-39).

While for Derrida, the frame is always somehow a part of that which is being framed, it also always stands out in some way from the thing being framed (Derrida, 1987:c.f. 55, 57, 61). This distinguishability, however, does not make Derrida's approach the same as Goffman's view that the frame is always a thing external and separate to that which is framed. For Derrida, the interest is in how frames are both distinguishable from that being framed and yet intrinsically part of the framed; indeed he goes further, questioning how it is that we can ever know the distinction between the framing and the thing being framed. So, despite framing being conceptually external, the spatiality of it might be less obvious. The question for Derrida becomes the: "where does the frame take place? Does it take place? Where does it begin? Where does it end?" (Derrida, 1987:63). Unlike Goffman, then, Derrida does not believe that the frame, at least in its entirety, is locatable or identifiable. Indeed, looking for and attempting to frame in this way leads to "the violence of framing multiplicities" (Derrida, 1987:69). From Derrida, we can take the

in-between characteristic of the frame, in which the frame stands out against both the thing being framed and the background, yet also merges into the two.

Butler follows on from both Goffman and Derrida. Her interest in framing is twofold. Firstly, she is interested in the role of frames in guiding the interpretation (Butler, 2009:8) of actions, images and experiences. In doing so, frames hold great political power as they can alter what it is that is deemed valuable or important: as such, they play a similar role to limits and margins in Foucault (Fox, 1997). Butler, as such, provides the most explicit theorisation of framing in relation to discourse. In particular, here, the frame is understood as constricting potential areas of action. Secondly, she is interested in the processes of frame breaking and fragility. She sees the breaking of frames as an inherent quality of their being, and that the breaking of the frame is the point at which it becomes visible. Like Derrida, she recognises that the existence of frames implies the existence of bodies, discourses, images and affects which fall outside of the frame. These do not disappear, but rather come back at certain moments and threaten to destabilise frames: so that "something exceeds the frame that troubles our sense of reality" (Butler 2009:9). This, then, is an interest in the ways in which certain enunciations of a multiplicity can be excluded. Often, objects outside of a frame may quickly rupture attempted framings:

Butler discusses the example of the photographs of prisoner torture in Abu Ghraib as revelatory of the framing of life in the War on Terror, through their frame-breaking role. These images have a certain affective power, according to Butler, and it is affect which is often the mechanism through which frames are broken:

> "because... affective response are invariably mediated, they call upon
> and enact certain interpretive frames; they can also call into question
> the taken-for-granted character of those frames, and in that way
> provide the affective conditions for social critique"(34-35).

In the case of Abu Ghraib, the images are particularly affective because their imagery ruptures dominant frames. Here, then, the power of affect lies in its ability to contradict and counteract the discursive and as such to shift or increase the scope for action. So Butler creates a schema for showing how affect can become attached to materialities, that is how certain objects can capture affects and release them elsewhere, and in doing so can break frames. In the case of Abu Ghraib, framings of the War on Terror temporarily collapsed because of certain materialities.

Developing Butler, we can also note the non-linearity of affect (Massumi, 2002). As Massumi shows, affects do not result in given outcomes, that is, we cannot guarantee that an affective response will rationally follow from the stimulus (though other writers have suggested that affect is at least 'reliable' in its responses (Damasio, 1995, Protevi, 2009)). As such, affects can therefore be an important source for the breakage and departure of frames through their unpredictability. This point is similar to Bateson's note that the recognition of signals as signals – of the metacommunication of frames- does not often work. Rather, "we all too often respond automatically to newspaper headlines as though these stimuli were direct object-indicators of events... instead of signals concocted" (Bateson 1973:178). Frames do not demand feeling: they may be missed, misunderstood, or exceeded.

So far, we have focused upon framing based around communication or response to objects which exist within a setting: photos, newspapers, bodies etc. Within ANT, there has also been a focus on the framing done by institutions and infrastructures. This links in part to Goffman's claim above that the theatrical performance is framed as much by the presence of a stage, ushers, cloakrooms, refreshments, parking spaces, entertainment licenses, and event insurance (Goffman 1974:1). Latour's study of laboratories is indicative of the work done in order to create a setting which allows certain activities (Latour, 1983). Laboratories undo distinctions between different actors in order to separate the actors out: to do so requires a lot of framing work to create these specific circumstances.

Developing the notion of framing further within ANT is Callon, who invokes the concept to look at economic externalities, that is, factors within any given economic system which influence activity, but fall outside of the control of actors within the system. For Callon, framing separates these externalities from other practices, which alters the scope for regulation and business practice (Callon, 1998). He draws two key conclusions from his discussion of framing: firstly, that framing is "rooted in the outside world, in various physical and organisational devices"(Callon, 1998:249) and secondly that "everything mobilised in the framed setting guarantees, simply by virtue of its presence, that the outside world is also present" (Callon, 1998:250). Here, then, Callon moves ANT insights further, aligning them with Derrida: the presence of things is evidence of frames and therefore evidence of an outside to the frame as well. Framing thus moves beyond

responses and interaction and into the practices, materials and institutions which surround an event. Research and description of an area of activity such as the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy cannot proceed without looking at the role of this framing.

In total we have four approaches to framing. Goffman, after Bateson, emphasises framing in a communicative context, from the explicit framing that might take place linguistically in a conversation to the meta-communicative role of gestures and other corporeal features. ANT develops the notion of the framing work of externalities, that is, of institutions and infrastructure which surround and support an area of activity. Through Bateson, we might also understand this sort of framing as form of meta-communication, in that the infrastructure and institutional surroundings of the thing-being-framed provide a context for its experience. Derrida's work is insightful through its emphasis on the relative position of frames in relation to the thing-being-framed and the background. The frame must always form a part of the thing-being-framed, yet cannot be intrinsic. Finally, Butler provides an explicit theorisation of the affectivity of framing and the role of different materials in doing this. Whilst there are significant differences among the four approaches, then, they also all share certain concerns. In particular, there are four aspects of framing which remain constant. Firstly, framing implies exclusion, but an exclusion in which some trace of relation is retained. Indeed, it is the frame itself or the act of framing which forms the relation to that which is excluded; this framing relation allows the multiplicity to maintain some characteristics of unity whilst existing in multiple enunciations. Secondly, framing takes place in multiple sites and is continuous. As such, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish completely the frame from the action being framed, whether or not the framing is considered to exist separately. Thirdly, frames can be both hidden and revealed. For some, but not all of these writers, the revealing of frames is an ethical and political moment which can expose practices of exclusion and inclusion. Fourthly, frames and framing, like rhythms, add to the explanation for the existence of quasi-permanence within ontologies of immanence or becoming.

Framing is thus a useful concept to insert into social science discussions of multiplicity. By introducing framing as an analytical tool to consider how shifts can occur between different enunciations of the multiplicity, this thesis attempts to address questions of how

these different enunciations might occur, and what sort of relationship there might be between enunciations which allows certain of them to dominate.

4.3 Framing Multiplicities in Newcastle-upon-Tyne at Night

In the following section, I want to look at five ways in which framing occurs within Newcastle-upon-Tyne at night. To do so, I will draw on a vignette, an ethnographic description of a short period of time spent in one bar. This ethnographic moment will then be expanded upon with further examples from my research as is necessary to explore the five characteristics of framing that I highlight in my analysis. Following on from Bateson and Derrida in particular (Bateson, 1973, Derrida, 1987), I will not be looking, in general, for 'keyings' or moments of framing. Rather, the frames of this ethnography emerge and jostle over an extended period of time: one which goes beyond the narrow spatio-temporality of this ethnography itself, which is why further resources will be drawn upon to discuss the different framings. The aim will be too look at the frames which take place trans-individually, often developing over a number of years or across multiple interactions. Such frames emerge through engagement and perception as a nuance of the space (Lyotard, 1988). In analysing this ethnography, then, I will look at the moments at which the framings emerge, and potential moments at which they might emerge differently or become absent.

The following ethnography describes a few moments of one night researching in Newcastle-upon-Tyne city center, in a bar called '*Revolution*'. From this description, I want to pick out how framing occurs and show how the different enunciations of the night-time city multiple can be experienced. Before doing this, there are a few methodological notes to be made. Frames are inevitably mediated and experience is always ephemeral, excessive and not fully translatable (Dewsbury et al., 2002). An account such as that below cannot be taken as pure expression of all frames and framing moments that were available in *Revolution* at that particular moment. Indeed, one of the very points about framing is that it is possible to miss the frame (Bateson, 1973). Equally, however, there are moments of keying and there are alterations to interpretative frames. As such, the comments below are mediated through my mediated experience of *Revolution*, through my recollection of this experience, through the translation between ongoing experience and note taking, through the conversion of informal notes into written records and the conversion of these records into a widely comprehensible narrative. Furthermore, this ethnography is clearly a situated one. I want to emphasise again the point made in

chapter two that this cannot and does not claim to reflect upon the *plurality* of experiences in this bar; rather it seeks to set up an analysis of the *multiplicity* of this experience. Whilst there may be a number of subjectivities and positions in any given space, any one 'subjective' experience is also an experience of multiplicity (Blacksell, 2005, Wylie, 2005b, Wylie, 2005a).

Revolution, also known as '*Vodka Revs*', is one of the multi-purpose 'chameleon bars', referred to previously. It is located in a former bank near Newcastle's railway station. It has a prime location within Newcastle city centre, and has become one of its most popular venues in recent years. *Revolution* as a company is a growing chain with fifty-nine locations across the UK at the start of 2010, and its vodka-bar theme is presented as providing discerning customers with the chance to develop an increased awareness of vodka: rather than simply drinking shots and cocktails to get drunk, its website proudly declares that its customers 'love vodka' (*Revolution* Bars 2010). There are over one hundred different flavours available, as well as vodka from different regions and brewed from different grains. On top of this, the vodka is mixed in a variety of ways to provide a menu of cocktails to choose from. This marketing clearly works, as I queue for twenty minutes to enter on a Saturday night at about half ten. The bar's prominent location is also important: it is at the head of Collingwood Street, an increasingly popular segment of the city at night in which the bars market themselves as the 'Diamond Strip'. As the marketing for this area states:

> "The Diamond Strip is basically a street in the centre of Newcastle; Collingwood Street which then turns into Mosley Street further down. The sort of people who frequent the diamond strip are 20-35yr olds, young, cool, mature people. The area attracts these kinds of sophisticated cocktails, bottle, and long drinks swilling connoisseurs. All of the bars are ultra contemporary, with comfortable places to sit and talk, as well as VIP private booths" (Diamond Strip, 2011).

Revolution's popularity thus stems from this synthesis between the marketing of the bar itself and the segment of the city in which it is located. *Revolution* self consciously attempts to turn away from the image of Newcastle's nightlife as dominated by a masculine, beer-led drinking culture. The queuing time is a little dull, and I'm glad I'm not out on my own: there's only two of us, but we don't chat to

the groups around us, who also seem a little cold (it's February) and are just talking amongst themselves. The street around me is busy, and once more I'm impressed by how taxi drivers and pedestrians continuously manage to avoid accidents, despite the number of close calls. As we reach the door, I get that feeling of nervous anticipation that I'll be prevented from entering. Perhaps this is left over from attempting to enter clubs as a seventeen year old, or perhaps it's just a response to being judged. Either way, I need not have worried – we're in.

Going inside *Revolution*, I see the bar on the right which is designed to show off this range of vodkas. I've stuck my head in before, but I've never been in for a drink. With my partner I move along, negotiating between groups of people: some are dancing, though not particularly wildly, whilst others stand and chat. I get a coke – the use of university vehicles is an incentive for me to not drink whilst researching – whilst my partner opts for a raspberry based cocktail. As there are just the two of us we can take a table, though the room is mostly full. The music is contemporary chart, with little distinguishing it from other bars and clubs in the area. I'm having a nice time here: the music is a little loud for two people to chat, but the attempts of the bar to generate an interior which feels a little more classy and comfortable than most chain bars seems to work and it is a very comfortable place to hang out. A few groups dance though there is a slightly empty space in the middle of the bar: people seem a little uncertain about creating a 'dancefloor' in this space. The practice of dancing differs from the euphoric experiences shared by large crowds often recorded in studies of clubbing (Malbon, 1999, Jackson, 2004); rather, groups drop in and out from the centre of the bar to its edge, some reacting to certain songs but others not. There appears to be little interaction between groups and little sense of a shared experience. Faces, gestures and expressions are turned towards companions with whom individuals are already dancing whilst the DJ has little interaction with the crowd. Amongst all this, bar staff move almost unnoticed, mopping the floor or clearing up glasses.

The bar itself is lined along one side of the building. The central area of the room is open, with booths alongside it; above this is a mezzanine level with room for standing. At the end of the room is a second raised level with tables and seating: we're sat here. The bar is dimly lit, with the furnishings and carpets largely red.

Lights rotate around the bar, sending different patterns in time to the music. If I was drinking, I could have a few here. To one corner of the bar, a screen relates messages about *Revolution*. It shows us images of what a night in the bar is like: pictures of people dancing and enjoying themselves. Offers come up, highlighting the drinks available and also reminding us of the bar's other identity as a daytime cafe and pizza restaurant. The bar being advertised on the screens looks less appealing than the one that I'm currently in! After finishing our drinks, we walk outside onto Collingwood Street. The road outside of *Revolution* is extremely busy: taxis, police and leafleteers all gather round this spot. The shouts and screeches of different people reverberate around the city centre, and we move on towards Florita's, another bar on the 'Diamond Strip'.

In the following discussion, I want to focus on the topic of framing. In doing so, the structure of analysis will be superficially scalar: I begin with the framing of historical discourse, down into policy discourse, down further to the architectural and infrastructural, down again to the level of the body surface and then to the molecular. Whilst this is a convenient narrative structure, however, it should not distract from the transversality of frames, that is, the way in which frames, though differentiated over time and space, interact: they may be mutually dependent, or mutually exclusive. One way in which I will achieve this is by mixing the empirical material over the different forms of framing. I also want to focus on the concept of atmosphere which, I will argue, is a specifically geographical phenomenon which shows how different frames can come-together with a spatial-temporal moment, or place. Atmospheres emerge as enunciations become more territorialised and, like de Certeau's strategies, begin to gain a *lieu propre* (de Certeau, 1984). Like Latour then the aim is to avoid the trap of explaining the micro – the framing role of bodies, architecture or the molecular – as expressions of the macro, or explaining the macro as a 'mere' aggregate of the micro (Latour, 2002). Framing necessarily begins before and goes beyond the period during which any given individual is present in a location, that is, that framing is a post-phenomenological concept which requires more than can ever be achieved in an ethnography.

4.3 i) Historical Framings

Historically, the dominant frame for understanding the night-time, and the urban night in particular, has been one of fear and danger. Controlling elites, whose power was based on their ability to see and control the population, would place curfews on night-time activity

(Burker, 1941) to avoid the possibility that subversive action could take place under cover of darkness. For people in their daily lives darkness was also feared as a 'cover', for criminals or the supernatural. As Ekrich notes, these two dangers were largely mixed (Ekrich, 2006), with spiritual dangers and warnings often operating allegorically for the more immediate dangers from humans and animals. This dominant understanding, of course, did not prevent activity from taking place: Glennie and Thrift's research shows the prevalence of timekeeping in Late Medieval and Early Modern England, and in doing so that the lived day was not simply taken to be the time between dawn and dusk (Glennie and Thrift, 2009). Furthermore, the night has always been a time at which those seeking escape from or avoidance of sovereign or patriarchal power have been able to find some respite: so that "despite night's dangers, no other realm of pre-industrial existence promised so much autonomy to so many people" (Ekrich, 2006:152).

In this, we can see the shoots of the second main frame which developed for understanding the urban night, namely, as a time for excitement, escape, and allure. Although the invention of artificial light should not be understood as a singular cause which created this framing anew, as a development it was nonetheless a historical necessity in the increase in night-time activity (Melbin, 1987). Schivelbusch and Schlör (Schivelbusch, 1988, Schlör, 1998) provide two accounts of how, through the nineteenth century, improvements in artificial lighting combined with other developing social practices to alter the ways in which cities, and the world more broadly, were used at night. Cities at night became spectacles, of which Paris – 'The City of Light' – was most famous (Schlör, 1998). On a more quotidian basis, increased lighting increased opportunities for leisure (Melbin, 1987) and work (Marx, 1930) at night, which reduced the power of mystical depictions of night. Schlör summarises these two frames by noting that "fear and fascination meet us as we approach the nocturnal city and accompany us along our way" (Schlör, 1998:9). In this, expresses the two dominant contradictory frames regarding the night, and the night-time city. The first sees the night as a site of danger, fear and threat, in which the city at night is demonized. The second recasts the night as a site of feminine allure, full of hope and possibility.

These frames can still be seen in contemporary discussions of the urban night. The two night-time cities discussed by Roberts – the 'creative city' of the twenty four hour society and the no-go areas of fragmented urbanism (Roberts, 2006) – can, to a certain extent, be

seen as re-enunciations of these two historically dominant versions of the urban night. On the one hand, night is dangerous, threatening, the home of criminals and those who pose a danger to society; on the other, it is virgin, open to expansion, the source of desire, release and play (Schivelbusch, 1988). As discussed in the introduction, these two discourses can either romanticise the city centre at night, or reduce it to a series of dangers and problems. Thus the vision of the night as site of expansion, with potential for the development of new markets (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991), the attraction of the creative class (Florida, 2002), and the creation of festivals and celebrations (Gordon, 2008), is a continuation of the vision of night as open, the source of desire and release, but also as ultimately open for colonisation (Melbin, 1987). *Revolution*'s website draws upon imagery of the female body, and advertises *Revolution* as a 'party venue'. This is a bar that people go to create that experience of the night which is present in this framing. By contrast, the vision of the night-time city as over-run with binge-drinking (Measham and Brain, 2005), generative of crime (Hadfield, 2006), and ultimately as a threat towards 'normal' society (Hobbs et al., 2005), can be understood as a continuation of the night as enemy, a time which is dangerous and needs to be closed down.

The presence of bouncers on the door of *Revolution* is further evidence of this framing, effectively attempting to keep it outside from the safe bar space. One of the reasons that a bar like *Revolution* and an area such as the 'Diamond Strip' are enjoyable is that their discourse suggests that they will keep out some of the 'errant consumers' (Hadfield, 2006) of the urban night through their exclusivity. Framing involves an active process of inclusion and exclusion. Excluded from these contemporary frames of the urban night are the various actants who are involved in processes of governance, control or management. Whilst I explore some of these in later chapters, for now it should be noted that the night-time streetscape contains the street-cleaners and taxi drivers mentioned in this thesis, as well as the police (Hadfield et al., 2009), the homeless (Cloke et al., 2008), 'street-pastors' (Middleton and Yarwood, Forthcoming), fast-food vendors, litter, animals such as gulls, and no doubt many others. Through their exclusion from this dominant imagery of night-time users as only either pioneering hedonists, or alluring but dangerous figures, they begin to take on the role of acting as the constitutive outside of the 'night-time economy'. Some of these actants are important framers, whilst others are held in a relation of exclusion (Cache, 1995). A focus on framing thus reveals the materials and individuals which shape the discursive framings which are deeply embedded within our cultural

practice, and shows the relationship which is created to those things which are excluded. As with Cache, then, who reflects on the role of historical norms of building construction in creating future frames for architecture and city planning, these narratives persist – not in a determining way, but through their shaping and moulding as frames (Cache, 1995).

4.3 ii) Policy Frames

Like the historical frames just discussed, these frames are based largely on narrative and discursiveness. For Butler, these frames determine that which is valid or possible, and that which is invalid or impossible (Butler, 2009). In the case of this night in *Revolution*, action is framed by the policy history that is discussed in chapter 2. This policy framing has, in regards to the urban night, deemed two features to be most important: firstly, the potential economic benefits emerging from a 'successful' urban night (Comedia, 1991); and secondly, the negative socio-cultural effects of the urban night, particularly that resulting from the consumption of alcohol (Hadfield et al., 2001).

There are, however, more specific ways in which policy can frame this ethnography. *Revolution* is located within an large empty public building in the centre of Newcastle (Roberts, 2006). These buildings, present following the erosion of inner-city industrial and commercial areas, were key in the development of the contemporary urban night as through the 1990s local authorities were keen to get them used for any purpose. Indeed, that bars are often located in former banks is such a cliché that it earned a reference in a long running advert at the start of the 2000s (Sapsted, 2001). Such buildings proved useful to 'pubcos' for a number of reasons. Chains such as *Wetherspoons* have used these old buildings to their advantage, often branding them with names which relate to the building's previous use ("Union Rooms" in Newcastle) or another local feature ("The Mile Castle" on a site near Hadrian's Wall in Newcastle). As such, this assists in their attempts to embed their pubs within the local area. These buildings are often also very large, allowing mezzanine floors or multiple rooms to be developed. This allows pubcos to open bars which have a variety of different experiences available. Perhaps most importantly, such buildings are often very central, fitting in to existing footfall routes.

Here then, the neoliberalisation of night-time alcohol and leisure based economy politics has directly impacted on the sort of bars that are present in the city centres and as such the actions and interactions within them. Chatterton and Hollands describe this as the specific 'playscape' of the urban night which has developed out of the manipulation of desire and enjoyment that occurs in bars such as *Revolution* (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). For them, these bars successfully sell a minimum level of responsible hedonism to satisfy escapist desire, whilst providing a reassuringly safe environment by drawing on various predictable and repeated aspects of the experience of nightlife. Whilst I would not want to suggest that the neoliberalisation of the urban night has been as homogenising as Chatterton and Hollands propose – as the previous chapter argues, even this continuous repetition is necessarily productive of difference – so a bar such as *Revolution* develops and relies upon a number of framing devices which can be attributed to its position in a 'neoliberal playscape'.

4.3 iii) Architectural and Infrastructural Framing

In the above section, I touched on the architectural framings of *Revolution*. In doing so, I began to move away from interpretative frames towards those more akin to the frames discussed in ANT, Derrida and some of Goffman. As Callon notes, the presence of a frame is evidence of the existence of an outside (Callon 1996), and where framing is architectural this is quite obvious, particularly in the case of walls. Cache uses walls as his example of frames which exclude, and windows as those which then selectively remake connections (Cache 1995). It is interesting, then, to note that *Revolution* makes use of frosted glass at the bottom of its windows. This has a number of effects. Firstly, it echoes traditional pub design, connecting the bar to expectations from licensed premises. Secondly, it serves to control the amount of light and sound which passes from the bar to the outside. As discussed later in this chapter, this has a huge influence on molecular framing. Framing in this sense is thus conceived of as operating "on a vectoral multiplicity in order to determine its "bite" on the diagram" (Cache, 1995:25). The frame travels both across time and from the architectural features to alter the 'diagram'. Cache uses this in the Deleuzian sense, that is, a diagram as a form of institution or space in which objects are put into certain relationships.

More subtle changes associated with architecture might emerge due to the ways in which spaces within the bar are either opened up or closed off. This will interact with changes intensities in light and sound to contribute towards atmosphere. As Guattari notes:

> "the sombre red colour of my curtain enters into an existential constellation with nightfall, with twilight, in order to engender an uncanny effect that devalues the self-evidences and urgencies which were impressing themselves on me only a few moments ago by letting the world sink into an apparently irremediable void" (Guattari, 1996b:160)

The design choices of bars, which play on the relationship between colours, noises and perspective, are important in generating affects: as such they frame the action within bars. Within 'chameleon bars', there are clear attempts to shift these micro-geographies throughout the day as the bar moves through various different enunciations. Returning to the example of the chameleon bar, we can see that the shifts involved in their rhythms of consisted of slight changes to the affects within the bar. Again, this example shows the relation between architectural frames and molecular frames, which are discussed later in this chapter. Within *Revolution*, then, the relatively darkened windows intensify the lighting, which is supplemented by the brightness of the many vodka bottles behind the bar. These shine out, as do the cocktails sold, encouraging consumption of these drinks. This highlighting focuses attention on the exclusivity of these drinks, marketed as 'connoisseur'. A mixture of dark and light areas allow for groups to hang out, or for couples to hide in the shadows.

Infrastructurally, *Revolution* might be understood through its key location within the city centre. The street outside the bar is full of taxis, as Newcastle's one way system funnels traffic along Collingwood Street and thus past *Revolution.* Despite the absence of a dedicated dropping off location along this street, the width of the road makes it a common stopping point for private hire vehicles. Whilst *Revolution*'s front faces out towards both the Diamond Strip and Newcastle's Central station, the alley which passes one side of it (Pudding Chare) provides a pedestrianised short-cut to the Bigg Market, the central nexus of Newcastle's nightlife (Hollands, 1995). Furthermore, *Revolution* is also on the path from the *Union Rooms*, Newcastle's longest established Wetherspoons' Bar, which is a popular early night venue, to various parts of the city centre. As such *Revolution*

benefits from customers passing from the Central Station, the *Union Rooms* or the Diamond Strip to the Bigg Market, which in part explains why *Revolution* is often busier either side of midnight; this feeds into the corporeal frames discussed below, as it increases the likelihood that at this stage of a night-out, groups of friends will still be together as a coherent whole. This framing is indicative of the importance of the geography of a night-time city to the different uses and experiences of bars and other premises. As numerous researchers have shown (Hollands, 1995, Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, Hubbard, 2005, Roberts and Turner, 2005), patterns of movement through the night-time city are often well ingrained and are dependent on a variety of infrastructural framings.

4.3 iv) Spatio-Temporal Framings

So far in this analysis, I have focused on the discursive and institutional/infrastructural framings. I am going to move on to the corporeal and molecular framings which take place, but firstly I want to discuss atmospheres as the major spatio-temporal, that is contextual, framing device. In doing so, I want to emphasise that atmosphere is a particularly geographical form of frame, applying to 'places', if not exclusively, then more so than to other multiplicities.

As Brennan suggests, common-sense understandings of atmosphere describe it as something which is 'felt' when an individual enters a place (Brennan, 2004). However, I want to show that atmosphere is a more active and dynamic thing than this, that is, it is not something which is a simple characteristic of a place that is then felt and experienced by a subject. Rather, an atmosphere emerges from the relations between the specific assemblage of affects and bodies that occurs at a location at any one moment. The concept of the atmosphere, or the 'affective atmosphere', has received a significant amount of attention in recent years in geography (McCormack, 2008a, Anderson, 2009, McCormack, 2009, Thrift, 2009, Adey and Bissell, 2010, Bissell, 2010), as part of a broader turn towards the 'earthly' (Latour, 2007). Concerns about atmosphere have emerged as writers on affect have attempted to explore further the relationship between space and bodies and, specifically, how changes in the constitution of a space, whether in its characteristics or in the bodies within it, alter its affective potential. Atmospheres are thus:

"generated by bodies – of multiple types – affecting one another as some form of 'envelopment' is produced. Atmospheres do not float free from the bodies that come together and apart to compose situations. Affective qualities emanate from the assembling of the human bodies, discursive bodies, non-human bodies, and all the other bodies that make up everyday situation." (Anderson 2009:3).

Thus atmospheres are not simply a quality of a place which is felt, but instead emerge from the specific contingent arrangement of components of an assemblage. The atmosphere that we feel is just a portion of the atmosphere of a place. As Anderson's quote indicates, atmospheres have a spatial and temporal setting: bodies *come together* and compose *situations*. As such, we can understand atmospheres as the *actualisation of the enunciation of a multiplicity* in a place. Enunciations of multiplicities exist as immanent entities, which become actualised through frames. If a significant number of frames coincide then a given enunciation gains enough strength to become an atmosphere, as it starts having affects. Despite this, however, atmospheres need not be felt; as Bissell explains, atmospheres generate "a pull or a charge that might emerge in a particular space which might *(or might not)* generate particular events and actions, feelings and emotions" (Bissel 2010:273, my emphasis). Rather, then, an atmosphere can be defined through its potential to affect, that is, its potential to be felt.

In *Revolution*, the atmosphere alters and shifts as the night goes on. In my ethnography – developed from my research notes – I use phrases such as 'classy', 'comfortable', and 'a nice place to hang out'. Although I found the music a little loud for chatting, these phrases indicate that I enjoyed the bar's atmosphere. Identifying the bodies which created this atmosphere is problematic, but it can be seen as a mixture of the features previously discussed – the institutional, infrastructural and discursive framings – and those which are to follow, the molecular framings. For example, the idea that the darkened colourings of the room are pleasant is representative of ideals surrounding a relaxed drinking experience. On the other hand, this discursive framing is also dependent upon the molecular, on the subtle differences in lighting and sound which are present in *Revolution*: the soft furnishings, for example, interact with my body to produce comfort (see Cache 1995 on the chair and framing).

This atmosphere, however, is prone to change. An example of this which regularly appeared elsewhere in my research was on public transport. Metro journeys in Newcastle at night are characterised between quick changes in atmosphere. Stations can often be very quiet locations, relatively and dark and isolated, off from street level; yet a passing train might be full, bright and lively. Certain passengers may make a train more vibrant or enjoyable, whilst others will create fear and danger. These changes in atmosphere are often more pronounced at night as the world around the rail-infrastructure descends into darkness, becoming obscured and pronouncing the affective atmosphere of the train. Atmospheres are thus enunciations which, through framing practices, have gained control over a particular place.

4.3 v) Corporeal Frames

For Goffman, frames are made through our interactions. We carry them in our bodies, expressing that which we wish to be shown and hiding that which we do not (Goffman 1974). As the work of Bateson and Derrida indicates (Bateson, 1973, Derrida, 1987), bodily framing is generally of a less calculated nature than this, but it remains an important way of framing interaction. In this section, I want to focus on the framing roles of the bodies at a surface level, whilst recognising that this is a problematic level at which to label the body, whose surface is better considered as a 'membrane' rather than an impenetrable shell (Rachel Colls, 2007). Frames, accordingly, emerge out of the communication between individuals and groups. So, an interaction with a group queuing to enter *Revolution* might generate positive framings: laughter, shared grumbles about queuing times, or hugging and singing amongst the intoxicated will frame the meeting as one amongst groups enjoying themselves. Friendships are quickly made (and lost) in this itinerant meeting space, whilst emotions will often visibly run high. Within *Revolution* groups on the 'dancefloor' are more closed off than might typically be expected in a club (see Malbon 1999). Groups dance with their backs to others, closed in a small selection of friends; bodily gestures are targeted internally. As noted above, interaction in *Revolution* is not the full throng of clubbing that Malbon and Jackson (Jackson, 2004) describe; rather it is more fragmented, taking place earlier in the night with groups more closed in on themselves.

The bodies of staff are also an important framing device in bars. Bar staff walk around *Revolution* constantly tidying up, barely noticed by those around them. In doing so, they develop over-time a series of gestures, of learnt skills and behaviours which prevent

negative contact with customers (Radley, 1995). In an informal interview conducted with two members of staff, they noted that they intentionally avoided eye contact with customers when not directly serving them. Staff also moved quickly when around tables, 'darting in' when collecting glasses and avoiding protracted conversations, unless first addressed. Such reactions can be seen as both discursive – in that staff are aware of their role as 'servile' to the affluent paying customers (Tomic et al., 2006) – and as affective, reacting to the aggressive over-gesticulation that is common after drinking, even when customers are not acting violently. Such corporeal behaviour was seen in my research with other groups, notably street cleaners. These cleaners made an effort to make themselves invisible within the night, resulting in quick movements in and around groups of people. Where they did stop to speak, they were always extremely careful to remain friendly and conciliatory, so as to not provoke any potential violence. Following Bateson, we can see how the metacommunication of gestures from these bodies frames any interaction as 'this-is-a-servile-gesture'; thus frames emerge from bodies and alter how communication is to be understood.

Bodies are also used to frame the experience of a bar through their work in developing and creating desire. Many bodies are dressed provocatively, a feature for which Newcastle in particular is renowned (Robert Colls and Lancaster, 2005:60-61). As Colls and Lancaster suggest, however, this visual sexuality forms part of a complex interplay between desire, negation and behaviour (Radley, 1995). As such, the body is far from passive. Eyes meet briefly and bodies may touch, but individuals largely separate into the friendship groups in which they arrived, at least at this stage of the evening. Sexuality here then is flirtation, in which desire is generated only to be negated (Radley, 2003). The premise of flirtation relies on the process by which sexuality is offered but simultaneously negated: the hand on the shoulder left there only briefly, or the glance then turn away. Such sexuality and desire is often used to promote and sell locations within the urban night. Many of the bars and clubs in Newcastle employ women dressed in bikinis or hot pants to stand outside their bars, whilst others use the sexuality of their customers to promote their bars: this has the added advantage of framing the bar as a place not just where a customer can see desirable bodies, but also where *he* can find desirable bodies. One example of this is *Tiger Tiger*, which has a dancing podium in the large windows of its upper floor, overlooking the main entrance. The (almost always female) bodies in this

window are on show to the street and all who chose to enter the bar, immediately framing the experience.

4.3 vi) Molecular Frames

Framing also takes place at the level of the molecular. Alcohol has an obvious framing role at a biologically molecular level, but I will leave the discussion of alcohol to the next chapter. Any activity at night must also consider the role of artificial lighting. As suggested in the discussion on multiplicity, lighting is characterised by its intensiveness, that is, by its ability to be more or less affective (Bergson, 1910). Within a bar such as *Revolution,* light and sound are combined in different ways to alter the intensiveness of experience. Intensiveness does not just correlate, however, with extensive qualities (e.g. brightness and loudness). So, louder music with brighter lights does not inherently result in a more intense and affective experience. This is intuitively known: if a club or bar were brightly lit it would prove unsuccessful, as the revealing light would reduce intrigue, mystery, the force of shadows and desire. The body can be equally affected by periods of quieter music, areas of lower lighting or, more commonly, a complex interaction between lighting and sound, as well as heat, humidity (often important within clubs), touch and the other ways in which things enter into a relation with the body, passing into it and out of it. In bars such as *Revolution*, undertaking this combination is the role of the DJ, whose job can amount to self-reflexive affect management (Hadfield, 2006). During my research I found it difficult to gain access to DJs and other professionals within the music industry in the north-east. However, in an interview with one DJ who specialised in dance music, he described his role as about the regular development of anticipation and excitement, through, for example, playing a well-known portion of one song subtly under another, before releasing this by eventually mixing into this new song. Alternatively, at times, the DJ might begin to play a song, before moving on to something else: here, the anticipation remains unfulfilled. As such, DJs must continuously use music and lighting together to manage and manipulate affects so that an enjoyable overall experience is created

Molecular frames are also experienced as flow, which implies that there is always some sort of excess. Framing within *Revolution,* for example, spills out onto the street and interacts with the frames of the city centre. As well as the discursive framings discussed previously, then, the large windows of *Revolution* allow some molecular flows to pass through them. Lighting and sound move from the bar into the street, and, to a lesser extent, in the opposite direction. As such *Revolution* can be experienced in part as it is

passed, framing the street as well as the bar space. Here, we can refer again to Cache's suggestion that windows selectively reconnect across frames: certain molecular intensities, such as heat and smell, do not flow across this frame. So, the city center at night is experienced as numerous changing intensities as we pass various different molecular flows emanating from different sites (Deleuze, 1978).[16] Furthermore, the bodies of people or materials, as noted by Butler, will help produce certain enunciations as they take affects with them around the city: affect spreads via the bodies of city centre users. People may leave *Revolution* and go outside, acting as intermediaries between the bar and the street. This might be by continuing conversations, fights, or other interactions that were continuing in the bar. As such, as well as the intensities described above, bodies experience a constant dynamism in the city, generating further forms of framing. These changing intensities come closer to the Batesonian sense of framing, in which frames emerge not out of inherent changes in sensual perception, but in changes to environment and to the meta-communicative aspects of perception; the intensity of sound and light, then, are its meta-communicative qualities.

4.3 vii) The Elusory

Moving on from this ethnographic analysis, the final comment to be made on framing in Newcastle's night is that researching frames or atmospheres – which may be elusory or which may be missed – has an inherent methodological issue at heart: that which can be missed, which exists at a level of extraction beyond experience, and which is constantly remade as an aggregate over a night cannot be fully researched, experience or expressed. To exemplify this form of framing, I want to move away from the ethnographic and towards the literary. This requires a little departure from the methodology of the rest of this thesis, but does so precisely because concepts such as framing bring us to the limits of ethnography. In doing so, I note recent calls for greater engagement from geographies of non-representational theory with the creative, literary and humanities more broadly (Castree, 2010, Wylie, 2010).

Literary representations of the urban night, as noted before in the discussion of time-space maps, should not be understood as attempts to gain an accurate 'image' of the city, but rather as translation into words of experience and the creation of new performances of the city. In his poem *On the Toon*, Sean O'Brien satirises Dante's inferno by re-telling

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[16] As is discussed in reference to the concept of affect in the next chapter

life in Newcastle through three cantos, each at different levels of the divine: Hell (coal-mining and a darkened night-club), Purgatory (the life of Newcastle's homeless, and the fortunes of Newcastle United) and Paradise (the city's future, and the vibrancy of the Quayside). O'Brien's text thus plays off the variety of different enunciations of Newcastle, and particularly its night-time, and their experience (O'Brien, 2009), but is unable to fully express these enunciations at any one moment. Thus, in the Hell of a bar, "there lay a wilderness of mirrorwork/And false lights framing ever-more exclusive rooms./ The whole place sweated heartless noise, to which/ Dog-headed dancing-girls performed/ In leotards of black and white, while slabs of lard/ In dandruffed suits rewarded them with absolute/ Unsmiling concentration" (O'Brien 2009:4). Here, a number of moments of framing are identifiable – the lighting, the dog-headed nature of the dancers, the dandruffed suits – which express this retelling of a sleazy bar as hell, so too are there moments where the nature of the framing escapes. The 'wilderness of mirrorwork', for example, expresses the endless excess of different lights and sounds which can be experienced, whilst the noise of the bar is 'sweated': it oozes out of the walls and the speakers, surrounding and escaping beyond the individual. By way of conclusion, O'Brien's narrator notes that "O/ Great Tyne, I was unworthy of the task./ I lacked the gifts required to convey/ The terror and the pity and the hope/ I witnessed on my night out on the Toon." (O'Brien 2009:12). Here, O'Brien acknowledges the inability to identify and express the variety of experience and affect within Newcastle's urban night.

A similar approach emerges in George Orwell's famous work *The Moon Under Water.* In this, Orwell describes provides perhaps the best description of the importance of framing for understanding a place, when he talks about the various features which come together for his enjoyment of a (fictional) pub, the eponymous The Moon Under Water (Orwell, 1946)[17]. Orwell's description includes the infrastructural, such as the pub's location relative to a bus station; the institutional, such as the rules regarding children in the bar; the affective, through the references to atmosphere or the absence/presence of a piano; the discursive, due to the pub's lack of 'ruffians'; and the elusive, as described by the phrase "the solid, comfortable ugliness of the nineteenth century". Phrases such as this indicate the problematic nature of discussing framings, and atmospheres. 'Comfortable

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[17] In an interesting addition to the story of Orwell's essay, the pub described in the Moon Under Water later has been cited as an inspiration for the Wetherspoons chain of pubs. Although the brand has diversified, many of Orwell's ideas – such as the presence of cheap food, the absence of loud music, no children and the sale of real ale – are present in the majority of their pubs. A number of Wetherspoons pubs now carry the name 'Moon Under Water'.

ugliness' appeals to memory and sensation, in the hope that the reader will have experienced the same affects as the author, but will ultimately fall short. Orwell's pub can only ever be fictional because such a solid, predictable enunciation is impossible; whilst framing may help break up the chaos of the earth and create territory (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Cache, 1995, Grosz, 2008) , it cannot remove the possibilities of change and difference, whether emergent from the fracturing ability of affect (Butler, 2009), the potential of individuals to have different experiences of the same locality (Bateson, 1973), or the inevitable difference involved in repetition (Deleuze, 1994). In looking at O'Brien's poem and Orwell's essay, we can see how in any description of a multiplicity there must be moments at which the author acknowledges their inability to capture the totality of the multiplicity, or else gives descriptions which rely on other points of reference. There is also an impossibility of describing a complete enunciation, as such a stabilised version of any multiplicity does not exist.

4.3 viii) Transversality, Enunciations and Multiplicity

This analysis has focused on frames, and specifically the different scales at which frames exist. Whilst scale is a useful narrative device, it is also necessary to move beyond its restrictions. As such, I want now to move back to the wider question of this chapter, which was that if the rhythms of practice result in the constant production of difference, how does the resulting multiplicity come to appear and concretize around certain semi-stable enunciations? These enunciations differ from one another by different frames, which cut off certain practices and selectively make connections to others. Frames thus create the boundaries between enunciations, that is, they separate different features of the multiplicity out. Frames are constantly being produced, and are always changing. As such, enunciations are dynamic and only ever semi-stabilised. As discourses change, or gestures are made or different bodies and objects become visible, so frames also change. In this process, certain frames may gain strength, blocking the connections that they halt with more force and making those which they permit stronger. In doing so, enunciations will gain more strength and stability and may begin to take hold in a time or place.

An atmosphere of a place describes the actualised enunciation, that is, the enunciation as it comes to be within a given time-space. Thus many enunciations may exist immanently, potentially emerging only where frames develop sufficiently to actualise it as atmosphere. Atmospheres cannot be used to describe all multiplicities – for example, in Mol's study it would be nonsensical to describe the atmosphere of atherosclerosis, though the presence

of atherosclerosis could contribute to an atmosphere (Mol, 2002) – meaning that these are a predominantly geographical term: they help us understand multiplicities of place as descriptions of actualised enunciations. Finally, then, it is worth reflecting on the transversality of the framings which I have discussed. Frames are transversal as they are able to influence across and beyond immediate moments and the actors involved in making them. Gestures, affectivities, discourses and objects all interact to form enunciations, meaning that a single enunciation can never be grasped: there is always something more, in between these various forms of framing.

4.4 Conclusion

Writers on the 'NTE' have pondered over the apparent contradictions that are easily visible in policy discussions and approaches to the urban night. As part of an apparently neoliberal policy turn, authorities on the one hand have lauded the reduction of regulations on the operation of venues, whilst increasing the punitive aspects of attempts to combat binge drinking and associated problems (Shaw, 2010). This can be seen in the differences between the 2010 General Election manifesto of the Labour Party, which boasted that it had "banned irresponsible promotions and strengthened police and council powers to close down rowdy pubs and clubs, cracking down on under-age and public drinking" (Labour Party, 2010: 40), and the regulation policy aims outlined by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 2004 which wanted the "removal of obstacles to the further development of the tourism, retail, hospitality and leisure industries [and] relaxed trading hours [that will] provide greater choice for customers"(DCMS in Hadfield 2006:3). Such is the change in approaches to and understandings of the city at night, that researchers have regularly accused the policy makers of being contradictory, confused or even 'violently hypocritical' (Hobbs et al., 2005). Undoubtedly, government policy is prone to change rapidly according to shifting (tabloid) media representations, whilst the two-faced approach of reducing regulation for corporations and increasing legislation on the activities of individuals is a documented aspect of neoliberal policy developments (Harris, 2009).

However, I suggest that this change in attitude, or two-faced policy making, is not simply a change in 'approach' towards the city centre at night or a populist reactionary move. Rather, understood in light of the discussion in this chapter, these changes are part of a constant dynamism between two of the more sedimented enunciations of the multiplicity that is the city centre at night. A variety of different factors have come together to

encourage this shift. Certainly, the discursive is one, but frames are also created by shifting intensities, alterations in infrastructure, and inter-corporeal communication. As such, these different enunciations more than simply competing narratives (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009).

This analysis has thus attempted to go beyond assertions that neoliberal regulation will stifle the urban night (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002), that there is an inevitable descent into binge drinking and crime (Roberts, 2006) and that nightlife has been reduced to a space purely for consumption (Winlow and Hall, 2009). We will move on to look at these questions of neoliberalism is greater detail in chapters six and seven. Equally, however, it has attempted to avoid claims that nightlife is inherently creative and alternative (Jackson, 2004) or that if only the correct sort of nightlife were available, subjectivities and behaviour would alter to less problematic types (Roberts et al., 2006). In this chapter, all of these explanations for behaviour and normative assertions of how the night-time city is or can be are understood as being grounded in a focus on certain enunciations of the night-time city. These enunciations may often be powerful and important – some, such as the neoliberalisation of the urban night are solid and require significant critical attention – but they are also contingent, based upon frames which generate an inside and an outside. These frames are formed from relations between the bodies, gestures, affects, infrastructures, institutions, discourses and regulations (Latour 1997).

Frames have been explored at various moments in social theory but have not entered geography. I suggest they are a useful tool for describing the relationship which form between different objects and which creates the enunciation that is experienced. They account for both inclusion and exclusion, whilst also holding onto multiplicity. In this conclusion, I tentatively turn towards the claim by Harman that "causal relations always occur on the inside of a third entity", which is itself a relation (Brassier et al., 2007:377). Harman labels this relation as an object, as it can be objectified by an Other: someone, which need not be a person, or a thing living, can sense my relation to a table. In making this claim, Harman locates every interaction between objects within another object, namely the relationship which forms between objects. This relationship does not differ if it involves humans, or non-human objects: the experience that a fire has of burning cotton takes place inside a relationship between fire and cotton. For Harman, this relationship explains how, despite the fact that objects can never fully grasp each other

(Brassier et al., 2007:371) – there is always excess, or in the terminology that I use there are always more enunciations of the multiplicity – they can nonetheless interact and have casual relationships, that is, they can always affect one another (Brassier et al., 2007:388). Here, the relationship of which Harman speaks – the one which allows objects to connect to one another but which keeps the objects autonomous with some sort of externality – might be very similar to the frame, which selects parts of an object and excludes others (Cache 1995). Within the relationship of the frame, experience can emerge as a given enunciation.

In the context of the thesis as a whole, this chapter should build upon my previous discussion of rhythms. Rhythms result in the constant production of both difference and similarity. This inevitability of difference and repetition means that the world must always be multiple, as it will always be produced differently (Deleuze, 1994). In this chapter, we have seen other arguments for multiplicity emerge. Significantly, for Latour, multiplicity comes because action always adds to an actor-network, it always creates more (Latour, 1996). From this acknowledgement of excess and of constantly varied and changing enunciations, we then have to move back to the empirical situation in which relationships are formed between things which appear, in that relationship, to be fairly stable and recognisable.

At this moment, framing appears as a concept which allows us to explain: firstly, how objects can both persist internally within relations with others and externally outside of these; secondly, how experience can then appear to the self as unitary whilst consisting of objects which are multiplicities; and thirdly, it opens up to research the processes through which this practice of exclusion and inclusion occur. These two chapters therefore deal with the realisation that whilst the urban night is a time-space full of opportunity and potential, certain versions - enunciations – of the urban night dominate and emerge more readily. Whilst these are never complete, never fully explainable, they nonetheless have a number of important effects in shaping policy and perception. So far, then, this thesis has looked at the explosion of activity through practice, and the discourses and institutions which surround it. This is one end of the process of the emergence of subjectivities. I want to move slowly towards the other end of that relationship, namely the 'I' which emerges. Before discussing how subjectivities are emergent out of these relationships, I want to consider in greater depth the role of affect.

In particular, I will consider how this works in relation to arguably the most significant actant in the urban night, alcohol.

5. Alcohol, Affects and Assemblages

The night-time city in the UK is dominated, both in public and in the home, by the consumption of alcohol in various locations. Almost all legislation relating to the urban night is a response to perceived problems associated with alcohol and its consumption. As such, legislation attempts, variously, to encourage people to consume more of certain products in certain places, and less of other products in other places (Hadfield, 2006). Similarly, within social science, the vast majority of academic work has been part of NTE studies which has been dominated by the consumption, production, legislation, sale and impact of alcohol in the urban night (see Nicholls, 2009, Roberts and Eldridge, 2009 for reviews, Jayne et al., 2011). By contrast, very few social scientists have studied the urban night without having some interest in alcohol consumption: the main exceptions have been within social history and historical geography (Schlör, 1998, Robinson, 2010); studies of the development and use of urban lighting (Schivelbusch, 1988, McQuire, 2005, Brandi and Geissner-Brandi, 2007); and the sociology of Murray Melbin, which focused largely on work (Melbin, 1987).

In my research, I did not originally intend to have such a central focus on bar spaces and the consumption of alcohol, but its empirical and political centrality made this unavoidable. In this chapter, I want to consider in greater detail alcohol, which has so far been haunting this thesis, as a key actant within the night-time city. In doing so, I will move on from the previous two chapters which have been (largely) engaged with the creation of the city from practice, towards looking at how subjectivities then emerge out of this. Chapters 3 and 4 looked at how practice could be analysed as it took place, whilst my engagement with the multiplicities and framings of places and institutions looked at how the plurality created by rhythms was closed down into objects and relationships. In this chapter I will move towards subjectivity, that is, along the framing relationship from my starting point of practice, and in the subsequent chapters I will consider the emergence of subjectivities in the urban night (Thrift, 2008a). To do this, I will consider alcohol as a multiplicity which, through its transversality, forms many relationships and

thus many different frames and as such comes to have affects across various different assemblages in the urban night.

This, then, requires greater consideration of the concepts of both affect and assemblage. These two concepts are most readily associated in geography with Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), though they both also have a number of differently nuanced interpretations and utilisations. They are linked, crucially, by two features. Firstly, both concepts emphasise the pre-subjective. Affect, no matter what the precise definition, involves some sort of non-conscious relationship between bodies (Damasio, 1995). As a result it emerges out of bodily responses to stimuli, though as more than simple biological reactions: "social institutions and somatic affect are intertwined in diachronically developing and intensifying mutual reinforcement" (Protevi, 2010:395) .

Similarly, assemblages are collections of relationships which take place without or prior to the emergence of subjectivity (Guattari, 1996c, Guattari, 2000). They have no controlling, knowing subject which is able to see or purvey the entire assemblage. An assemblage thus might result in subjectivity, but is ontologically prior to individuation (Guattari, 2000). Secondly, affect and assemblage both attempt to explore further how power relationships form in a world of rhythm, flow, and multiplicity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, Guattari, 1996a, Bennett, 2005). In looking at how affect spreads across assemblages, I move away from the potentiality of the enunciation of multiplicities along the framing relationship towards subjectivities. In doing so, I develop the arguments that I have made in this thesis so far, which have sought to explain stability and permanence in a world of multiplicity and rhythm. Affect and assemblage help explain the 'reliability' of society and the emergence of subjectivities and quasi-objects. I will also move towards explanations of the power of certain framings, looking at how through their affectivity certain frames will become more concrete. Before moving onto the empirical discussion of alcohol in Newcastle at night, then, I will explore the concepts of affect and assemblage in greater depth.

5.1 Affect

"affect remains hazy, atmospheric, and nevertheless perfectly apprehensible" (Guattari, 1996b:158)

Such is the enchantment of affect, both hazy and immediately recognisable, that the 'affective turn' (Hardt, 2007) of cultural studies and social sciences has spread with an

equal mixture of excitement and bewilderment. That said, however, affect has not appeared from nowhere; rather it has been inspired by readings of the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, themselves influenced by Spinoza's work on affect (Deleuze, 1978). Outside of the social sciences, the concept has a long history too, notably in: psychoanalysis; cognitive science; and evolutionary studies (Thrift, 2004a). Furthermore, different readings of Deleuze and Guattari use the concept of affect in markedly different ways, (Protevi, 2010). Due to these different influences, and cross-disciplinary uses of affect, attempts from social scientists to define the term are extremely common (Massumi, 1992, Brennan, 2004, Thrift, 2004a, Shouse, 2005, Tolia-Kelly, 2006, Hardt, 2007, Blackman, 2008, Simpson, 2008a)

Broadly, however, uses of the term affect can be seen as referring principally to two (related) concepts. Firstly, there are 'affects' as forces or intensities which are experienced by bodies. Such affects 'circulate', that is, they emerge from relations between bodies and are passed among them (Bissell, 2010). At the same time, such affects also transcend the bodies that experience them (Massumi, 2002): there is always an excess of some sort. While such affects may take names similar to emotions, they differ from emotions in that they are experienced prior to cognitive rationalisation (Damasio, 2003), and tend thus to have a less specific object of concern. For William James, emotions are reactions to bodily responses to objects, rather than reactions to the objects themselves (James, 1884); in the vocabulary developed here, the bodily response to the objects can be seen as the affects. 'Fear' as an affect might be experienced because of a darkening sky or sudden noise, emerging out of the relations between a body and the space around it; 'fear' as an emotion might be experienced before undertaking a bungee jump. 'Affects' under this first concept are forces or intensities.

The second concept of 'affect' refers to affect as the 'capacity' of a body "to affect or be affected" (Protevi, 2010). This is the more immediately Deleuzian understanding of affect (Deleuze, 1978). Here, the question of affect is a question of what a body can do and how it enters into relations which allow it to do that. When the body then gains these extra capacities, this may enhance or reduce its capacity for action. These two sides to affect are not independent of one another. Brian Massumi, for example, focuses more on 'affects' in the *Politics of Everyday* Fear (Massumi, 1993) and more on affect as capacity in his later *Parables for the Virtual* (Massumi 2002). Both books, however, include both of

the concepts of affect discussed above. For now, this distinction is made by me for my own analytical ease and is not a distinction between contradictory or exclusive concepts; far from it, as many who use the term affect do so both in the sense of the capacity of bodies and as circulating affects. Deleuze, however, in his reading of Spinoza's terms *affectio* (translated by Deleuze as affection) and *affectus* (translated by Deleuze as affect), does make a distinction between the affection-idea and affect (Deleuze, 1978). I will explore Deleuze's more considered distinction between these conceptions of affect momentarily. Centrally, however, we can see that affect is usually concerned with the relations formed within and between bodies as they experience the world. In the following section, I want to explore further the Spinozo-Deleuzian and, to a lesser extent, the cognitive science genealogies of affect.

Translations of Spinoza's *Ethics*, prior to Deleuze, usually translated the words affectio and affectus as synonyms for 'emotion' (Spinoza, 1934). These emotions, or affects, are "the modifications of the body by which the power of action in the body is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time, the ideas of these modifications" (Spinoza, 1934:84-85). Spinoza places these modifications at the centre of his *Ethics*, with two purposes. Firstly, he is intent on questioning and contradicting the then-novel arguments of Descartes and, specifically, Cartesian duality and individualism. In Spinoza, the 'cogito' of Descartes is impossible without some sort of corporeal modification because our thoughts are not gained from direct perception of the real, rather, they come from perception of bodily modifications. "The object of the idea constituting the human mind is the body" (Spinoza, 1934:47), that is, our knowledge is only of our body. The Cartesian cogito cannot exist as disembodied mind. Instead, the human mind is passive, only changing when it perceives changes to the body. Spinoza's second aim is to show that these changes to the body, or affects, are the source of good and evil. For him, evil is only the result of diminished modifications, and good the result of increased modifications. There is no necessary link between an object and the affect that it has on a body: rather, the modification of a body depends on the relationship formed between the affecting and the affected. Sue Ruddick summarises the impact of affect for Spinoza by explaining that:

> "The radical potential of Spinoza's corpus can be linked to the
> coordinates of his thought that emphasize affect as a constitutive

rather than derivative quality in political practice, and underscore the relational nature of Spinoza's ontology. For Spinoza, humans must collaborate with one another to enhance their potentia, their power to act" (Ruddick, 2010:24).

By centralising affect, Spinoza emphasises an understanding of the individual as dependent upon connections. As such, he creates a relational ethics and ontology, which sits in stark contrast to Cartesian individualism. However, such interconnectivity is not simple: the power of emotions may overcome rational thought (Spinoza, 1934:141), whilst affects may be contradictory, creating different ideas in different people: as Spinoza says, "anything can accidentally be the cause of pleasure, pain, or desire" (Spinoza, 1934:96).

Contemporary readings of Spinoza, particularly in social science, almost all use the Spinoza that comes through the work of Deleuze. As noted above, Deleuze's main development of Spinoza is his insistence on the distinction between affectio and affectus (Protevi, 2010). Deleuze translated affectio as 'affection' and affectus as 'affect'[18] (Deleuze, 1978). In this, Deleuze sets apart the distinction between ontological affect, which is at the heart of Deleuze's non-representational ontology and which forms a key role in experience, and affection as an idea, that is, as a form of perception based upon pre-cognitive reactions to this experience. Affect, firstly, is "any mode of thought which doesn't represent anything" (Deleuze, 1978). The feeling of love, for example, is not a representation of anything real; rather, it is a thought response to experience. This response, though, is not completely separated from the real: far from it, as when we love, we love a 'thing', that is, an Idea which has some sort of representational relationship to a thing-in-the-world. Deleuze thus initially places affect and the non-representational as dependent upon ideas and the representational. However, he then develops this further, in a passage which is worth quoting at length:

> "[Spinoza's] geometrical portrait consists largely in telling us that our ideas succeed each other constantly: one idea chases another, one idea replaces another idea for example, in an instant. A perception is a certain type of idea, we will see why shortly. Just now I had my head turned there, I saw that corner of the room, I turn...it's another idea; I

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[18] The words affection and affect are both identical in English and French

walk down a street where I know people, I say "Hello Pierre" and then I turn and say "Hello Paul." Or else things change: I look at the sun, and the sun little by little disappears and I find myself in the dark of night; it is thus a series of successions, of coexistences of ideas, successions of ideas. But what also happens? Our everyday life is not made up solely of ideas which succeed each other. Spinoza employs the term "automaton": we are, he says, spiritual automata, that is to say it is less we who have the ideas than the ideas which are affirmed in us. What also happens, apart from this succession of ideas? There is something else, that is, something in me never ceases to vary. There is a regime of variation which is not the same thing as the succession of ideas themselves.

"Variations" must serve us for what we want to do, the trouble is that he doesn't employ the word... What is this variation? I take up my example again: in the street I run into Pierre, for whom I feel hostility, I pass by and say hello to Pierre, or perhaps I am afraid of him, and then I suddenly see Paul who is very very charming, and I say hello to Paul reassuredly and contentedly. Well. What is it? In part, succession of two ideas, the idea of Pierre and the idea of Paul; but there is something else: a variation also operates in me—on this point, Spinoza's words are very precise and I cite them: (variation) of my force of existing, or another word he employs as a synonym: vis existendi, the force of existing, or potentia agendi, the power [puissance] of acting, and these variations are perpetual.

I would say that for Spinoza there is a continuous variation—and this is what it means to exist—of the force of existing or of the power of acting" (Deleuze, 1978 (unpaignated)).

Whilst an individual affect may thus be dependent upon an idea, what we experience in daily life is both a move from idea to idea, and a continuous variation of affect, that is, of the power of acting. Thrift's claim that "cities may be seen as roiling maelstroms of affect" (Thrift, 2004a:57) is a poetic summary of the argument employed here by Deleuze.

Crucially, for Deleuze, it is the continuous variation of affect which is more important than the succession of ideas, as it is from this variation of affect that power emerges.

If affect is an ontological feature of existence, then affection describes the bodily states which emerge out of affect: "a state of a body insofar as it is subject to the action of another body" (Deleuze, 1978). Affection is thus related to perception, in that it is the state of body produced when two bodies interact. For Spinoza, there is no action at distance, so any affection must involve the mixing of two bodies – Deleuze thus describes affection as a form of encounter (Deleuze, 1978). Affection is perception at a basic level as it tells us little about the affecting body: rather, it is knowledge in the affected body only of the effects of the affecter. As such, affection gives one little to no knowledge of causes, or of other bodies: "affection-ideas are representations of effects without their causes" (Deleuze, 1978). These encounters differ greatly from Cartesian understandings of how bodies interact, as it "excludes every apprehension of thinking by itself... I only ever know the mixtures of bodies and I only know myself by way of the action of other bodies on me and by way of mixtures" (Deleuze, 1978). Affection, for Deleuze, moves us on from this creation of power through variation and towards an understanding of how knowledge of the self, and thus subjectivities, develop through interactions between bodies. In other words, affection is the process through which affect enters into assemblages and begins to create difference.

My use of affect will draw from Deleuze's reading of Spinoza. This reflects the fact that Deleuzo-Spinozan senses of affect/affection are those which have been most readily taken up in geography and social science. In particular, affect as a corporeal capacity is perhaps that which has had most influence on geography as a discipline (Anderson and Harrison, 2010:16n12). Two articles, Dewsbury et. al.'s *Enacting Geographies* and Thrift's *Intensities of Feeling: Toward a Spatial Politics of Affect* have acted as manifestos for the introduction of affect as a topic of study in geography (Dewsbury et al., 2002, Thrift, 2004a). In particular, Dewsbury et. al. call for a maintenance of the distinction between affect/affection, and for geographers to study affect as the way through which subject and objects emerge from a world of potential (Dewsbury et al., 2002). Thrift, meanwhile, attempts a more political reading of affect, based upon the ways in which bodies affect and are affected by the changing intensities of experiences of the city (Thrift, 2004). In this, he suggests that cities have increasingly become sites in which affect is engineered in

various ways, so that the political now focuses on modifying the variations of affects in different spaces so as to encourage different affectations. In doing this, Thrift develops a specifically geographical version of the arguments that Massumi develops in his book *Parables for the Virtual* (Massumi, 2002).

Despite this dominance of Deleuzian affect, however, there are alternative accounts, which have also influenced social science. In particular, I want to briefly focus on the use of affect in psychology. Here, affect has long formed an area of research in which it is "a generic term for a whole range of preferences, evaluations, moods and emotions" (Fiske and Taylor, 1991:410). Broadly, then, affects simply refer to responses to various different stimuli, that is, the way in which the body is affected by something. This area of research looks for expressions of affect (Thrift, 2004a), historically in behaviour and more recently in neuroscience through the interpretation of brain scan images. This has then inspired numerous branches which have gone off into psychoanalysis, cognitive science, or evolutionary science. Of particular interest is Damasio, who has combined these areas of psychological affect research with Spinozan philosophy to consider the role of affect and cognition in human activity and in evolution (Damasio, 1995, 2003). Crucially, for Damasio, the part of the brain which responds to affect is evolutionarily older than that which drives reasoning and cognition; yet reasoning and cognition appear dependent on the more 'primitive' affective parts of the brain (Damasio, 1995). He argues that this proves the Cartesian duality to be incorrect: the reasoned 'mind' and the affected 'body' are not dislocated and independent.

Protevi develops a more philosophical integration of Deleuzo-Spinozan affect into biology and cognitive science. Protevi's insight is that "social institutions and somatic affect are intertwined in diachronically developing and intensifying mutual reinforcement" (Protevi, 2010:395). Neither the variation of affects which defines experience nor the individually experienced affections of the body are primary; rather, collective and corporeal affects mutually reinforce and intensify each other. He uses this to explore regionalised differences in culture, that is, "the bio-cultural production of bodies politic, which tries to reliably produce bio-affective states" (Protevi, 2010:401). He thus uses affect to create explanations for local differences in the body politic which reject both naive biological determinism and simplified notions of learned cultural behaviour. Instead, affect alters bodies in a way which shapes biology and which similarly shapers culture. In makings this

argument, which has clear implications for geographers, Protevi extends the notion of 'the body' to the 'the body politic' of a time-place.

Brennan similarly argues that "the "atmosphere" [as the contingent collective affects of a place] or environment literally gets into the individual" (Brennan, 2004:1). Affects circulate and come into the body, altering anatomical make up (Brennan, 2004:74). Again, she draws from the insights of psychoanalysis, biology and neuroscience to argue that affect has a direct impact of evolution and thus onto culture, though her discussion of hormones as the main method through which this takes place is more speculative. What links Protevi, Damasio and Brennan is their position in between the philosophical research into affect, dominated by Deleuze and Spinoza, and clinical or psychological research into affect as a term for reactions to stimuli. Their work adds empirical support to the philosophical, and as such begins to offer social scientists ways into conducting research which focuses on affect.

Latour and actor-network theory differ most notably from the work of Deleuze and Guattari on the point of affects and assemblages. Whilst, as I show below, their different approaches towards the assemblage are reconcilable, it is somewhat remarkable that the concept of affect barely appears in actor-network theory at all. Rather, Latour speaks more commonly of effects (Latour, 1996:253). The vowel shift here is important. The 'e' prefix of 'effect' comes from the 'ex-' prefix of Latin, meaning 'out of' or 'from', whilst 'fect' derives from 'facare' meaning 'to do'. Here, then, it contains the connotation of 'to come out from' or 'to do outwardly': in other words, to have an external outcome. Effects, then, come from within an object and affect those things around it. By contrast, the 'a' prefix of 'affect' comes from 'ad-' in Latin, which has the opposite meaning of 'in to' or 'towards'. Hence affect contains the opposing connotation of 'to go into' or to 'have done to': in other words, to have an internal outcome. To speak of effects, then, is to place the effecter before the effect; whilst to speak of affects is to place the affect before *both* the affecter and the affected.

As such, Latour's insistence on studying the effects of objects suggests that the bodies or objects having the effects exist prior to their relations, whilst the term affects suggests a primacy to the relations over the objects. Whilst this is the reading of Latour developed by Harman (Harman, 2009), Latour and most actor-network theory repeatedly claim that objects are nothing more than their networks: that what they have is a relational

ontology (Latour and Hermant, 1998, Law and Mol, 2008). Instead, there are two distinctions to be made. Firstly, for Latour, his claims about relations are epistemological rather than ontological: he states that we only know things by their relations not, necessarily, that things only are their relations. Secondly, the effects that Latour and others focus on are the focus because of actor-network theory's methodological focus; that is, they are those effects within already formed assemblages. As seen below, actor-network theory rarely discusses becoming in an ontological sense; rather, it is interested in the maintenance and change that occurs to actor-networks after the objects have been formed. So, objects may be secondary to their relations, but this is not the focus of actor-network theory and thus it speaks mainly of effects, rather than affects.

Affect is thus a constant variation of different intensities of experience which drives the capacities of bodies. It both forms through aggregation and collectivities, and through internalised processes of perception and subjectification. The arguments added by those who have written about affect and the urban (Thrift 2004) and those who have drawn from psychology – particularly Protevi and Brennan – begin to suggest the link between frames, as previously discussed, and affect. Frames work to separate out certain affects and thus reduce the amount of variation possible. Though Butler suggests that affect may sometimes help break frames (Butler, 2009), which it can, it is often determined by the framing of experience. It is this framing that Protevi describes as the environmental factor which might reliably produce affect (Protevi, 2010), and which Brennan suggests enters the body and alters it. However, as Deleuze notes, this constantly experienced variation of affect indicates that frames too must constantly vary and must be dependent upon affect: the two are co-constitutive. To interrogate the importance of actants within a frame, then, we need to consider how they can operate as affective actants (Latham and McCormack, 2004, Bennett, 2010). For Latham and McCormack, what is interesting about alcohol and affect is how "the affective capacities of alcohol become implicated in and come into conflict with different machinic assemblages" (Latham and McCormack, 2004:7) . To look at this, that is, to look at how the affective capacities of alcohol are important, we need to look at assemblages.

5.2 Assemblages

The concept of assemblage is another which has its roots deeply within Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). As a translation of the word 'agencement' (Phillips, 2006), assemblage "can be seen as a relay concept, linking the

problematic of structure with that of change and far-from equilibrium systems" (Venn, 2006:107). Its purpose is to explore and develop Deleuze and Guattari's ongoing attempts to reconcile the relationship between immanence, dynamism and change, and structure and stability, a concern which has ran through this thesis. In its most simplistic sense, assemblage refers to a set of relations which are 'topographical', that is, they are not innately hierarchical but do have flows and patterns which result in an uneven spread of power. Assemblage, however, does not just refer to visible or active connections, but attempts to include the virtual and the immanent to explore how different bodies affect one another. Furthermore, assemblage implies a priority of the connection: that is, it places the connection as an ontological unit which takes place before the emergence of subjectivities and is not reducible to the qualities of the things which form the connection. In this section of my chapter, I want to introduce the concept as used in Deleuze and Guattari, before going on to look at how it has been translated it into contemporary social science (Bennett, 2005, Anderson and McFarlane, 2011). As well as this, it is worth once again considering the relationship between assemblages and Latour's 'actor-networks'.

Assemblage makes its appearance on the second page of text in *A Thousand Plateaus¸* which is the Batesonian title (Bateson, 1973:113)[19] of volume two of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:4). The book that we are about to read, we are told, "constitutes an assemblage" and as such is unattributable. By unattributable, they refer to the fact that an assemblage cannot be reduced to the parts which constitute it. This irreducibility, however, does not mean that assemblages are without determination or control. Rather, and crucially, an assemblage describes something which is faced both towards 'strata' and the '*body without organs*'[20]. This is key in understanding assemblage in Deleuze and Guattari. Strata, here, describe what Deleuze in *Difference and Repetition* sets out as the 'actual': "the set of stable substances endowed with sets of extensive properties and locked in stereotypical behaviour patterns" (Protevi, 2009:11). This face towards the strata is thus a face towards structure and stability, making an assemblage a "kind of organism, or signifying totality, or determination attributable to the subject" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:4). Assemblages thus imply some sort of presence of structure and connectivity.

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[19] See the following chapter for a discussion of these titles
[20] *Body-without-organs* is always italicised in Deleuze and Guattari's writing

However, the assemblage is also turned towards the *body without organs*. Again, this corresponds to a notion from the Deleuzian ontology that Protevi develops out of *Difference and Repetition*, this time the virtual which is "a purely differential field, composed of differential elements, differential relations and singularities" (Protevi, 2009:11). In other words, the *body without organs* is the body without those things (organs) which restrict it and give it structure. As such, the *body without organs* is "constantly dismantling the organism, causing asignifying practices or pure intensities to pass or circulate" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:4). It follows that assemblages contain areas of isolation, dynamism and lack of structure, whilst simultaneously containing the connections, and structure discussed above. Thus the assemblage is "of possible fields, of virtual as much as constituted elements" (Guattari, 1995:35). Deleuze and Guattari describe those assemblages which are more virtual, or turned more towards the *body without organs* as 'rhizomatic', and those which are more actual or more turned towards strata as 'aborsecent' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987). Protevi follows their example of viewing *A Thousand Plateaus* as an assemblage by saying that whilst it is written as a 'rhizome', there are some patterns which distract from this rhizomatic status, that is, which are turned towards strata or the actual and which create some structure (Protevi, 2009:102). Indeed, a purely rhizomatic assemblage is probably neither desirable nor possible (Bonta and Protevi, 2004:21): to take the example of a book, a purely rhizomatic book would not use any language that we would recognise, and would probably not use consistent forms of print, font or colour.

Phillips suggests that this dual role of assemblage as between the virtual and the actual might be better understood with further consideration of Deleuze and Guattari's original French language term 'agencement' (Phillips, 2006). Whilst not outright rejecting the translation of agencement as assemblage, Phillips notes that Deleuze and Guattari avoid the identical French word 'assemblage'. Indeed, the problem of assemblage is that it might go too far down the route of connections and stabilisations:

> "If the sense of the term assemblage gathers to itself the unity and
> homogeneity of a theoretical concept at the level of the statement
> (which is what agencement allows) then it is also possible to
> problematise the term, to hook it back up with the fittings, fixtures

and diverse arrangements that help constitute it and help to keep

it current" (Phillips, 2006:109)

In other words, assemblage needs to retain the sense of the event (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011) which can be lost in its English translation. Phillips suggests that assemblage misses the 'common notion', that is, the idea that the assemblage is an event which works to link the virtual and the actual in a state of becoming. His example is "the unity... of a poison and the body poisoned, [which] can be regarded as a state of becoming and an event which is reducible to neither the body nor the poison. The body and the poison, rather, participate in the event (which is what they have in common)" (Phillips 2006:109). This understanding of agencement/assemblage replaces 'connection' with some sort of sense of interaction. The unity implied by assemblage is a state of becoming or an event, that is, a flow intensities between the virtual and actual. On the one hand, this disrupts the actual – that is, strata and structure – creating lines of flight and difference; on the other, it follows on from frames – which I defined previously as delimiting which possibilities of the virtual may be actualised – by grabbing on to the virtual and using intensities to actualise it and bring it into contact with strata and structure.

To summarise, then, the concept of assemblage found in Deleuze and Guattari is one which links, for them, the actual and virtual through the interacting becoming of intensities. It does not imply any *inherent* connections or interactions if completely rhizomatic, but in practice any perceptible assemblage will have some features which are turned towards structure and strata. Assemblages can thus be defined as the events and becomings which are created by the travelling of intensities, or affects, between bodies. Assemblage, however, has been taken up in geography and social science in various different ways: though the vocabulary has mainly found its way from Deleuze and Guattari, a number of theoretical traditions have made use of its broader sense of emphasising the contingent connections made between things, and the work done to create these connections (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011).

One of the most developed and useful considerations of assemblage within social science has come from Jane Bennett. For her:

An assemblage is, first, an ad hoc grouping, a collectivity whose

origins are historical and circumstantial, though its contingent

status says nothing about its efficacy, which can be quite strong. An assemblage is, second, a living, throbbing grouping whose coherence coexists with energies and countercultures that exceed and confound it. An assemblage is, third, a web with an uneven topography: some of the points at which the trajectories of actants cross each other are more heavily trafficked than others, and thus power is not equally distributed across the assemblage. An assemblage is, fourth, not governed by a central power: no one member has sufficient competence to fully determine the consequences of the activities of the assemblage. An assemblage, finally, is made up of many types of actants: humans and nonhumans; animals, vegetables, and minerals; nature, culture, and technology" (Bennett, 2005:445n2)

Much of this can be seen to follow from the discussion of Deleuze and Guattari, but the points which Bennett emphasises helps tell us a lot about how assemblage can be used in research.

Her first two points relate to the context within which assemblages can be identified and seen to operate. So, she emphasises that both historically and socio-culturally deep and shallow frames can alter the creation of the assemblage. As such, we need to take into account structuring effects of long term frames, but also corporeal and interaction based frames that emerge *in situ*. Whilst an assemblage is dynamic and lively, it also has its roots in historical practice: again, Deleuze and Guattari's example of the book stands out here. Relatedly, Bennett also notes that we need to take into account trends which both enhance and threaten the assemblage together – here, the example of alcohol consumption explored later in this chapter will prove fruitful, as the same desires and molecular affects which encourage the consumption of alcohol are also those which create problems and threaten it (Malins, 2004, Hobbs et al., 2005). Bennett's second two points refer to the spread of power within an assemblage. As noted previously, power relations in assemblages are 'topographic'. This metaphorical use of topography is intended to indicate that power relations form in assemblages not through an inherent hierarchy, but through the folding and orogenesis of certain relations so that some become the peaks and others valleys. Furthermore, this power is not just vested in

humans: rather, and this supports Bennett's materialist philosophy (Bennett, 2010), assemblages are made up of a whole range of 'actants'. From this expanded definition by Bennett, then, assemblages become important objects of research for understanding the emergence of power relations from both contextual dynamism and long-term historical frames.

Bennett's use of the word 'actant' brings to mind the actor-network theory of Bruno Latour and his related concept of 'assembling'. For Latour, the task of the social researcher is one of 'reassembling' the social (Latour, 2005b). Latour's assembling differs from the concept of assemblage: here, I want to place these differences alongside each other so that they might be productive and so that they might help develop further an understanding of the term assemblage and how it can be used in social science. Importantly, uses of the term assemblage often explicitly reference Deleuze and Guattari as their inspiration, but implicitly bring in a Latourian understanding of assemblage and the actor-network (Harrison, 2011) For Latour, assembling is used to define the social, that is, "a stabilised state of affairs, a bundle of ties" (Latour, 2005b:1). Through assembling, associations are created and from here the social emerges. It is closely linked, therefore, to the notions of translation and enrolment, as actants assemble others around them (Harman, 2009). The crucial difference, here, is that whilst for Deleuze and Guattari the assemblage implies the formation of interactions from which objects emerge, for Latour assembling implies the creation of connections between objects from which the social emerges. As Harman puts it, for Latour "there is no "becoming"... that exceeds individual actors" (Harman, 2009:101); that is, the assembling is always explainable as a result of the effects of different actants, even if the relationship cannot be reduced down to the actants themselves. Latour's more 'concrete' assembling gives priority to the actants and the work that they do. Whilst this might seem irreconcilable with Deleuze and Guattari's emphasis on becoming, most use of assemblage in social science arguably has both Latour and Deleuze and Guattari in mind simultaneously.

To reconcile the Latourian assembling and Deleuzo-Guattarian assemblage, we need to understand the concept of the machinic quality of some assemblages. An assemblage is 'machinic' if, for Guattari, it forms a functional ensemble. In a machinic assemblage the different components "are swept up and reshaped by a sort of dynamism" (Guattari, 1995:35), that is, they are shaped in a way which makes them productive. The machinic

assemblage is autopoietic, that is, it is self-creating and self-sustaining. In a machinic assemblage, the connections are sufficiently strong and secure to shape and maintain the assemblage towards some sort of function. Items within an assemblage take on roles which relate them to each other, and become-different for this ordering. Once again, Deleuze and Guattari use the book to explore the machinic:

> "we will ask what book functions with, in connection with what other things it does or does not transmit intensities, in which other multiplicities its own are inserted and metamorphosed, and with what bodies without organs it makes its own converge. A book exists only through the outside and on the outside. A book itself is a little machine" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:4)

Machinic assemblages thus mould things so that they become something else. A book is defined not just by the connections which make it a book, but also through the machinic qualities of these, that is, the new thing that is produced in the book-assemblage. I argue that Latour's assembling refers to this aspect of the assemblage, that is, the machinic qualities which emerge when an assemblage is created through the flow of intensities between bodies. This generates some sort of ordering and relationship, which then proceeds to have a machinic affect and to shape and functionalise bodies. Latour studies these processes of fucntionalisation and ordering (Latour, 1987). Using Deleuze and Guattari, however, we can see that these functionings and orderings are ontologically subsequent to the spread of intensities which creates assemblages between bodies. As such, Latour's approach to assemblage can be understood as that of a social scientist, interested in questions of how the social holds together, whilst Deleuze and Guattari's centring of the ontologically prior connections can be understood as following the role of the philosopher, exploring concepts and beings.

To conclude the theoretical discussion of this chapter, then, we can see that assemblages are autopoietic, that is, they are self-creating and self-sustaining. They emerge from the interactions between bodies, but include within them virtual and potential connections as well as the actual: as such, an assemblage does not imply complete connectivity. Rather, they are the mixture between the always differing intensities of the *body without organs*, shorn of structure and organisation, and the repeated patterns of well developed strata. They operate as machines, taking objects and functionalising them or ordering them is

such a way as so they are open to new becomings: these becomings may be stable and result in well oiled machines, or they may be unstable and may follow those aspects of an assemblage which seek to bring it to an end. Where stabilised, an assemblage becomes closer to the actor-networks of Latour, with assembling work undertaken to strengthen or maintain the assemblage. As such the atmospheres, or the framed enunciations of place which have been the topic of discussion so far, come much closer now to the Latourian sense of assemblage. However, in order to reach this stage, they have already gone through the initial moments of practice through which they are enacted. Therefore, within the theoretical development of this thesis so far, the (perceptible) assemblage emerges after the interaction of bodies. This interaction, created by the repetition and creation of difference through rhythms of everyday life, establishes frames, thus creating the potential to actualise the virtual through the variation of affect. Assemblages describe the interactions which emerge from these intensities, out of which objects emerge. In this next section, I want to move towards an empirical exploration of this by looking at alcohol as a transversal affective material across various assemblages.

5.3 Alcohol in the Urban Night

In recent times, a number of different researchers have attempted to take more seriously the affect of things, through centring the legal or political power of the thing (Bennett, 2010:44), emphasising our enmeshment in a world of things (Thrift, 2004b) or concentrating on the power of things to enchant (Anderson and Wylie, 2009). All three of these approaches emphasise the affective power of things, or materials. Alcohol, as a material, can fall into all three of these categories. Before moving on to discuss alcohol in the night in Newcastle, I want to look at how it can be, firstly, politically powerful, secondly, enmeshed with human society, and thirdly, enchanting.

As a political object, alcohol has been at the centre of legislation and debate for centuries (Nicholls, 2009). The 'gin epidemic' – famously illustrated in William Hogarth's 1751 etching *Gin Lane* – has become representative firstly of the long history of British drinking culture falling into excess and secondly of the difficulties and impossibilities of legislating against excessive drinking. Many commentators and academics have noted the marked similarity in rhetoric between the legislators and campaigners who discuss 'Binge Britain' in the early twenty-first century, and the leaders of the Victorian temperance movement (Measham and Brain, 2005). As well as being subject to legislation, however, alcohol has also been an active actant in this politics, whether through its affects on daily life, both

positive and negative (Jayne et al., 2011), or more directly at certain key moment. Anecdotally, alcohol has also been central to many politicians' lives or to key political events (Nicholls, 2009). Though this may appear to be a somewhat facetious point, in fact this role of alcohol has made it a key actant in (Western) politics for a long time. This also leads on to the second key point, which is our enmeshment with the materiality of alcohol. Alcohol takes on a number of roles in our current society. It is consumed in order to relax in the home (Holloway et al., 2008), it is involved in the socialisation of young adults (Demant, 2009, Fuller, 2010), it provides opportunity for experiments with the body and consciousness (Szmigin et al., 2008, Griffin et al., 2009), it plays a role in urban economics and regeneration (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), it can cause problems for minority groups or women (Leyshon, 2008, Valentine et al., 2010a), it can be a causal factor in anti-social behaviour (Roberts and Turner, 2005), etc. The alcoholic compound thus takes on a number of active roles in different assemblages. Thirdly, then, alcohol can enchant, perhaps more so than many other materials. Malins's discussion of the drug using body is an indication of how this enchantment operates (Malins, 2004). The drug using body is connected by alcohol to both negative substances and habits which ultimately stratify and damage the body, as well to liberation, elation, joy and experimentation. Alcohol is inherently both disruptive and calming. As such it takes on an ambivalent but vital role in first enchanting the body through the effects of the alcohol compound on the body, and then allowing this enchantment to take on a number of different routes.

So alcohol, as an affective materiality, can affect bodies in a variety of different ways, resulting in new assemblages from which new human-alcohol bodies arise. Alcohol – and other intoxicants – are thus, I want to argue, ambivalent actants in and of themselves. Rather, their power for good or bad comes through their capability to affect others by their engagement in different assemblages. Such engagements will result in what Deleuze and Guattari term 'deterritorialisations' – that is, moments of change which move away from previously existing assemblages and which create newness, eschewing structure. But such deterritorialisations will always result in 'reterritorialisations' – returns to habit and structure, which can damage an assemblage: this may be drug addiction, or the physical damage done to the body. I want to explore this further in the context of my research, by looking at how alcohol affects the various sites in Newcastle at which I conducted my ethnographies. In doing so, understanding alcohol as either a relaxing and

liberating form of leisure or as a harmful and damaging drug causing anti-social behaviour will both be shown to be inadequate. As such, this could help contribute new views and understandings to the current debate on the role of alcohol in our society.

5.3 i)Alcohol and Night-Time Mobilities

Taxis are central to mobilities in the urban night (Cooper et al., 2010). The offices of Eastwall Taxis in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, attract over 1000 calls an hour during a busy weekend night, and they find themselves running an hour behind demand at peak times, despite having seventy vehicles out at any given moment. Eastwall, a private hire company, are exemplary of the kind of taxi firm whose existence in the UK has only become possible over the last ten years, thanks to developments in technology. The firm's offices host large computer servers, which are able to use GPS to track the movement of cars around the North-East.   Inputs from a series of sources – phone operators, dispatchers and drivers – allow software to locate drivers, allocate fares and inform dispatch staff of their completion. Customers who book via mobile receive texts describing the car which is due to collect them. Meanwhile, a radio transmitter on top of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Gateshead allows the operators to communicate with drivers across Tyne and Wear. During my time in the company's offices as an ethnographer, only once did they have to turn to the trusty A-Z city map. Such a system allows the firm to operate over a much wider geographical spread than many of their rivals: whilst other companies with whom I researched had to reject fares in certain locations, Eastwall were able to collect fares all over Tyneside, including those that neither started nor terminated in either the city centre or their suburban base in Wallsend. These communicative technologies more tightly bind the various components of this assemblage, into an actor-network as discussed previously. This actor-network includes alcohol but, using the controlling and visualisation technologies of the GPS and computer software, seeks to reduce as much as possible its power for change and alteration.

This investment in technology has coincided with alcohol regulation to produce certain mobilities of the night time city. Research into drinking patterns, including that in Newcastle (Hollands, 1995, Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), has long shown a tendency for habitual routes or crawls to form as part of a typical 'night out'. Such routes emerge from a mixture of convenience, ritualism and habit. Hollands suggests that, particularly in areas such as Tyneside which have undergone deskilling and deindustrialisation, following such routes is indicative of the ongoing influence of learnt traditions from previous

generations. Taxis are used along these routes, primarily, to either complete the route, that is, to provide a hop from the final pub or bar into the city centre, or to allow people to drink in suburban neighbourhoods and then travel into Newcastle. The most noticeable district during my research that this applied to was Jesmond, which has a high concentration of students, and to a lesser extent young professionals (Hubbard, 2008). Between 23:00 and 00:00, Jesmond provided an extremely high proportion of taxis being run by Eastwall, as people took advantage of student-targeted bars and pubs in Jesmond, before heading to the city centre. Potentially, this increased connectivity provided by taxis allows for people to more quickly consume alcohol in a variety of different places, reducing 'sobering up' time. Equally, however, it can help ensure a gap is created by the wait for taxi services when busy. Either way, drinking mobilities emerge out of this nexus between alcohol regulation and taxi service provision.

At the end of the night, taxis are even more important for mobilities in Newcastle. With drink-driving laws preventing the use of private vehicles and only a handful of night-bus services running, taxis become comfortably the most dominant vehicle on the road. This is primarily caused by the effect of alcohol on driving abilities, creating the demand for taxis. The flexibility of taxi services also suits the increased spontaneity of intoxicated people, as users of the city are able to either hail hackney carriages immediately, or book private hire vehicles such as those of Eastwall with relative flexibility. For taxi drivers, alcohol becomes both a generator of a very lucrative market, but also a cause of anxiety due to the occasional assaults and threats of violence that it creates. More mundanely, alcohol can cause passengers to vomit in the taxi or to cause other vandalising damage. As such, the physical action of alcohol on bodies generates an uncertainty for drivers. Furthermore, this taxi market, generated by alcohol, has further implications for the city centre. At night, streets such as Newgate Street and Cloth Market are full with Hackney Carriages. Hackney Carriages are taxis licensed to collect fares on the street, meaning that they can be hired by flagging down or, more commonly, at taxi stances. These stances become nodes within the city at night, acting to collect people and materials as they gravitate towards them. They become intense sites of hustle and bustle, fuelled by an economics which requires Hackney Carriage drivers – or 'hacks' – to take every risk to reduce waiting and journey time in order to make more money. Whilst potentially generating danger and mess, it should also be acknowledged that such ranks are now often policed, as occurs in

Newcastle. Furthermore, such stances help quickly move a mass of people out of the city centre at night, clearing tens of thousands from within a relatively small area.

Figure 5.1: Taxis on Newgate Street

Here, then, alcohol's affect on the body creates an assemblage in which bodies become dependent upon certain services due to their inability to undertake given tasks. As such, within night-time mobilities, alcohol operates through its power as the dominant actant connecting a number of assemblages and affecting different forms of mobility (Bennett, 2004). The inherently excessive nature of alcohol can create problems, but taxi services directly respond to this as their service is based around immediate bookings and not schedules (this is particularly true for Hackney Carriage drivers). Affectively, alcohol is generative of an unpredictable atmosphere. Authorities and police appreciate and encourage taxi services which can quickly remove people from the city centre and thus nullify their affective capacity – removing the body from the assemblage so that it cannot affect others. Such a tactic is often used to remove intoxicated individuals who have the potential to cause trouble, as an alternative to locking them in the cells for the night. This process, however, can be problematic for drivers as the bound-up capacity for affect generated in the body by alcohol is shifted to their vehicle: interviews suggested that

these passengers were the most likely to be violent. Alcohol regulation also encourages drinkers to follow drinking patterns which involve travel between suburban locations – whether this means private homes or pubs – and the city centre, as part of the drinking experience. As a material, alcohol thus connects taxis into a wide range of assemblages. Taxis are able to respond to some of alcohol's affects, harnessing them to generate further capital excess (i.e. profit), though at times the violence and danger of alcohol, that is its affective excessiveness, spills over and causes problems.

5.3 ii)Alcohol and Public Space at Night

Public space at night becomes dominated for many by fear and danger (Valentine, 1989), particularly for women or others who are threatened by the dominant masculine drinking culture of the night. For Valentine, the dominance of patriarchy extends the responsibility of safety on to women, shifting blame for attack from the male perpetrator on to either the woman for being there, or the space itself. The urban night remains both a space in which levels of visible control are at their highest – through police (Hadfield et al., 2009), bouncers (Hobbs et al., 2003), taxi rank or bus stop marshals (Cooper et al., 2010), or other forms of private security – and also a space in which crime rates are at their highest (Hadfield et al., 2001). Certain groups thus feel that they are unable to use public spaces that they would happily use during the day (Roberts, 2006). Academics such as Roberts, and others in policy and popular discourse, have suggested that the central feature of night-time public spaces is the unpredictability of the behaviour of people who have consumed alcohol. Certainly, as Valentine notes, this view is often repeated by people during interviews (Valentine, 1989). However, in later work with Jayne and Holloway, Valentine also argues that the suggestion that drinkers automatically make public space dangerous is an over-generalisation (Jayne et al., 2006); rather "drinkers can be rethought of as numerous and active citizens who legitimately occupy public space" (Jayne et al., 2006:463). They thus suggest that a greater understanding of the role of drinkers in constituting night-time public space is required. Here, I want to expand this to consider the role specifically of alcohol, as it acts both through the presence of drinkers but also in other ways to produce public space at night.

Drinkers make up the majority of people in the city centre of Newcastle at night. As discussed previously, they can frame this time-space as either a space of joy, celebration and interaction, or as fear, danger and intimidation. Most commonly, they do both. Alcohol intensifies gestures and creates more immediate and pressing affects, whether

these are positive or negative. It does this through a series of affects on bodies, which drinkers then capture and spread through the city (Demant, 2009). One way in which this occurs is through the presence of large groups in fancy dress, often, but not always, associated with stag or hen tourism. Such groups often form the first visible sign that alcohol is present in the urban night. Their bright or catchy clothing attracts attention, but also works as a sign of ownership: the many groups merge into one, claiming control of the urban night. This helps explain some of the dislike which emerges for such groups from others in the urban night, both drinkers and non-drinkers (Bell, 2008): these groups act as the very visible representation of alcohol in city centres at night and can come to dominate public space. In doing so, however, they can often create relatively positive affects: particularly with the rise in hen groups and women's public drinking, these groups are often more playful than threatening. Nevertheless, they retain an unpredictability, and in my research most observed cases of minor vandalism were associated with these groups. Drinkers also make public space due to the long period of time that they spend in it. Much of a night-out can be spent in queues, or walking between venues. On weekend nights, for example, queue times for bars along *The Diamond Strip* are often at twenty minutes or more: drinkers visiting two of these and another club later on can expect to spend an hour queuing or walking between bars. Again, such presence on the streets reinforces the visibility of alcohol in the urban night, which can intimidate others who are not involved in the urban night. Furthermore, this presence helps to spill bar-spaces out into public space, claiming space for alcohol.

As well as spreading through the bodies of drinkers, alcohol also shapes and is shaped by the assemblage of public space in a number of other ways. Regulation is an obvious way in which this happens, though I want to leave this over for separate consideration. Alcohol also makes public space through the desire that it creates when it comes into contact with other bodies. This desire is made present through advertising, various examples of which have been mentioned so far in this thesis: women in bikinis on stilts, leafleteers or the bright lights of *The Gate*. Alcohol is funnelled into public space through all of these tools, capturing the desire that it affects onto other bodies and then spreading this desire around. In these various ways, alcohol is a constant presence making 'public space' at night in Newcastle. Alcohol, too, is affected by public space. Within these spaces, it has become an object of demonization and legislation. So, despite this presence, alcohol also haunts public space as a spectre due to its marked absence (Wylie,

2009). Since 2001 it has been illegal to consume alcohol in a public space (legally defined) in Newcastle if asked to stop by a police officer. As such, visible alcohol consumption is almost absent in public space in Newcastle at night: rather, it is compartmentalised, in licensed premises, private residences, or outside of the city centre. What my research suggests is that this move to ban the most visible form of alcohol consumption in city centre streets does nothing to prevent alcohol's 'absent presence' on public space through the connections it makes across various assemblages.

5.3 iii) Alcohol and Street Cleaning

Here, I want to returning to the night-shift of 'Neighbourhood Services Team' of Newcastle city council that we met in Chapter three. There, I focused on the need to coordinate street cleaning over a twenty four hour period. As we saw, night-time cleaning cannot be explained away as "cleaning the streets and collecting rubbish in the early morning when fewer people are about" (Adams et al., 2007:203). Rather, and following increased interest in repair and maintenance in recent years, which has often suggested that we must look at the 'back stage' of the city (Herod and Aguiar, 2006a, Graham and Thrift, 2007), the street cleaners in Newcastle city centre are involved in a task of management, attempting to keep an ever spiralling mixture of leaflets, food packaging and bodily fluids under control. Here, then, the night-time cleaners can be seen as having to (literally) mop up the excess of affects created by alcohol, as they get captured in different materialities and deposited across the city.

For the street cleaners of Newcastle, then, alcohol is the main cause of activity. It spills all over the place. The desire for alcohol, captured in the leafleteers described above, spills out further onto the city streets as people drop leaflets. It then mixes with the grease from fast food (see figure 5.2), the need for which has been created in part by high consumption of alcohol. In these materials, the different affects resulting from the assemblages formed as alcohol and human bodies mix spill over and affect the materialities of other bodies. Street cleaners, forming new assemblages with tools such as their street sweeping vehicles known as 'Swingos', must then come out and bring these materials into the waste-management assemblage. The Swingo-cleaner machine begins to produce waste from the leaflet-grease assemblage that the excessive affects of alcohol has created. Here, then, the infrastructural category of waste is emergent from the assemblages created by the affectivities of alcohol. Alcohol also creeps onto the streets in the form of urine and vomit (Eldridge, 2010). As shown in figure 5.3 this material has a

Figure 5.2: Leaflets stuck onto floor with grease

Figure 5.3: Vomit corroding stone at *The Gate*

corrosive effect on the floor and on the walls around it. Once again, it can capture other materials which must then be cleaned up. In my research, many groups including taxi drivers and bar workers have claimed that violence levels in the urban night are much lower than they once were. Certainly, statistics support the argument that crime numbers have at worst plateaued over the last five years (Hough and Hunter, 2008), and have probably fallen. Most groups have agreed

that violence, or threats of violence, are rare and that their experience of them is unpredictable. This contrasts markedly with the experiences of city's cleaners. Most nights, the driver of the 'Swingo' is verbally abused. Alcohol affects bodies in ways which are unpredictable, in which we learn that the body can become violent as well as playful. Swingos are regularly hit, smashed and damaged. Meanwhile, the workers manually picking up litter have to negotiate a threatening atmosphere. They exhibit a very specific series of gestures and bodily comportment, learnt over a number of years of doing this job. They avoid eye contact and keep their heads down, focusing on their job. Cleaners can walk amongst a group of people almost unnoticed to collect litter. This, then, is an example of learnt gestural behaviour of the body in response to the affective power of alcohol (Clark, 1997).

So for street cleaners, alcohol's affects tell us more about what bodies in the night can do (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987): they can urinate, vomit, be violent, walk slowly along pavements, or dart out into road. Street cleaners also see the materialised creations of the excess of alcohol's affects, that is, the actualisations of new assemblages of leaflets-grease or urine-wall. Through the work to prevent the creation of these new assemblages, another of 'waste' is produced. In this, we can see how encounters which are productive of affects create assemblages, which as machines produce new bodies and further affects again. These spread across established assemblages, giving alcohol a central role in the urban night that extends beyond the direct results of consumption or regulation. In its position for street cleaners, the creation of public space, and for (taxi) mobilities, the centrality of alcohol to a wide range of aspects of the city at night should be clear. As such, the narrow range of topics considered by NTE studies needs to be further addressed if we are to recognise the full impacts of changes to alcohol regulation and management. Whilst frames steer the consumption of alcohol towards certain enunciations, the presence of affects can also always produce new assemblages. From

these three sections on the role of alcohol in producing different aspects of urban experience, I want to move up towards two more overtly 'political' assemblages. Firstly, I want to look at the relationship between alcohol regulation and the experience of the urban night and secondly, I want to consider the place of alcohol in Newcastle-upon-Tyne's 'body politic' (Protevi, 2009, 2010).

5.3 iv) Regulating across the Assemblage

Studies of alcohol regulation are by far the most common form of research into the urban night. As such, it would take an entire PhD to develop a full programme of research to further this field. Therefore I have not made this topic a focus of my research. However, it is worth considering some of the impacts that this has on the urban night and the ways in which the affectivity of alcohol, as a transversal materiality, drags regulation across these many assemblages. In doing so, I want to focus again on the street cleaners and taxi drivers, this time considering the impact that current legislation has on their practices. As Hadfield describes in his excellent discussion of the changes in alcohol legislation through the 1990s and 2000s (Hadfield, 2006), relaxations in licensing laws which culminated in the Licensing Act (2003) were intended to be "a crucial mechanism for the regeneration of areas that need the increased investment and employment opportunities that a thriving urban night can bring (Department of Culture, Media and Sport 2004:4 in Hadfield, 2006:3)." To achieve this, opening hours were extended and blocks to concentrations of licensed premises were removed - though in practice, both of these processes had begun with other smaller changes to various laws, bylaws and legal practices over the previous decade. Hadfield focuses on the impact of these changes on crime in the urban night – understandable since he is a criminologist (Hadfield, 2006). As well as these impacts on crime and violence, and on ownership and production of the urban night (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), alcohol regulation interacts with other bodies and forms new assemblages; this an attempt to sketch two of these.

For the taxi drivers, the low cost of alcohol for off licence sales drives business. People are picked up from houses in suburbs, and travel to the city center in order to dance and/or socialise, rather than to continue drinking (Winlow and Hall, 2009). This mobilities pattern, known as 'pre-loading' (Boyle et al., 2009), is made possible by the presence of taxis and drives their provision: it is one reason for the increase in taxi use that has occurred through the 2000s (Cooper et al., 2010). Pre-loading, however, tends to lead to increased alcohol consumption, as people do not break to move between venues or to

order drinks, and as more alcohol can be purchased for less money (Boyle et al., 2009). This reflects the interview comments by drivers at the Fellside private hire firm, who said that they tended to have the most trouble from people picked up at home. Indeed, many of the drivers suggested that they preferred to collect fares from the city centre or from pubs at night, than from private homes (although the higher number of fellow drivers present at these locations contributed to this). For these drivers, the night is both the most dangerous times to operate, but also the most profitable. Few thought that anything could or indeed should be done about the potential for violence; rather, it was viewed as inevitable risk of the job. Here, then, alcohol regulation has worked to increase the places in which danger can emerge for taxi drivers, but it also shapes the assemblage of their work as it geographically disperses the location of drinking.

For street cleaners, the impacts of alcohol regulation are most keenly felt through the concentration of licensed venues. These have been allowed to increase, with licensing restrictions making complexes such as *The Gate* possible in city centres. For example, whilst magistrates had been keen historically to prevent a density of licenses developing outside of the Bigg Market (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), their power of control in this way has been reduced. Street cleaners, who previously were able to concentrate on cleaning a few key areas, must now cope with concentrations developing in new areas, such as *The Gate* and Collingwood Street (*The Diamond Strip*). Some of these, notably Collingwood Street, are not ideal for the presence of long queues and street cleaners: the flow of people along these streets block Swingos, preventing cleaners from passing along them. Further disruptions often occur: the ban on smoking inside, whilst not directly related to alcohol legislation, is bound up in alcohol assemblages, and has had two major impacts for the cleaners. Firstly, smokers must congregate outside, but typically stand near the entrance to buildings, or in doorways. This creates a build up of cigarette butts on the edge of the pavement, meaning that cleaners must go into alcoves in order to tidy up. Secondly, smoking areas which are now provided outside of bars can also inhibit the movement of cleaners around the city centre. In particular, a number of bars now use metal barriers to claim part of the street, restricting access, as shown in figure 5.4. Anecdotally, staff in interviews noted that these barriers had become sites of violence in the city centre as they often trip people up, resulting in conflict.

Figure 5.4: On street-smoking area

Framing in the city centre thus leads to the creation of certain affects, which cascade across assemblages upon which different actors attempt to exert power. An actor such as alcohol, which is highly mobile and which comes into contact with a wide range of different assemblages, has a transversality which allows its affects to have a range of impacts. Legislative changes have effects elsewhere in an assemblage because of this mobility of effects and affects. As such, any of the proposed changes in legislation would also spread across city centre assemblages. For example, changes which encouraged off licence sales to fall in relation to on licence sales, whilst having a range of benefits, might result in earlier travel to the city centre and thus a drop off in demand for taxi services. Alternatively, changes to the ability of bars and clubs to make offers might reduce the number of flyers handing out, reducing the strain on street cleaners. Of course, those two ideas are purely speculative, but they serve as illustrations of potential change across different assemblages that can take place through the alteration of one material, alcohol. Here, then, it becomes clear that we must talk about assemblages interacting, rather than just things or indeed bodies (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). In the next subsection, I want to

move away from the consideration of alcohol's affects in its various assemblages and look at what we can say of alcohol in and of itself.

5.3 v) Alcohol as Affective Materiality

Below are two accounts of the affects of the materiality of alcohol. The first is a diagram of the process of the metabolism of alcohol by the liver, whilst the second from my research diary of a woman urinating in an alley in Newcastle:

Figure 5.5: Metabolism of alcohol in the liver (Gramenzi et al., 2006)
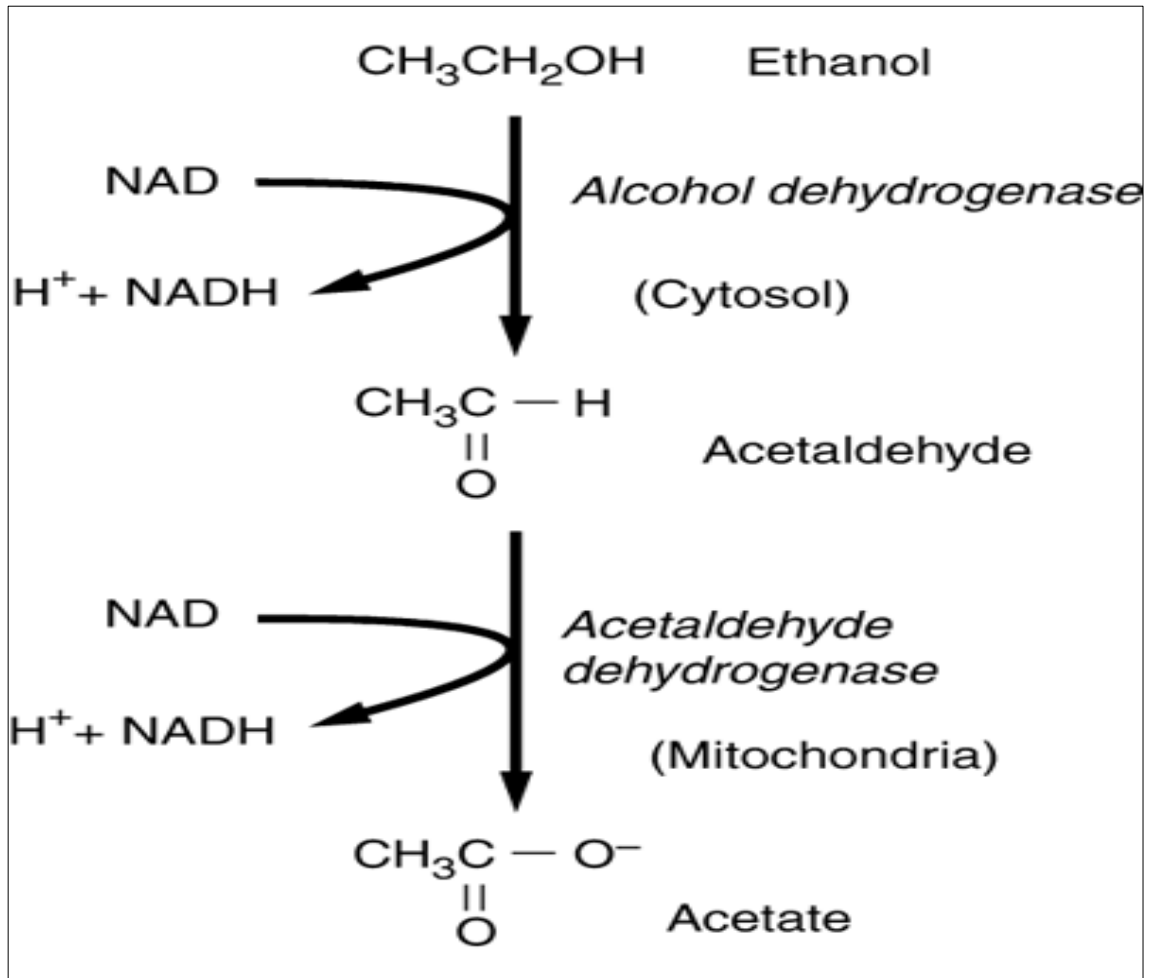
It's 03:20 on a Saturday morning. I'm sat on the top floor of a night-bus on Pilgrim Street, waiting as it fills up with passengers. I'd normally drive for research, but I was researching in a few bars tonight and didn't want to go completely without drink all night. My friends got into a taxi at about 01:30, but I decided to stay out and take the opportunity to explore the city centre around 'kicking-out' time, still 02:00 in most clubs. I'm tired, and about to start writing down my end of night summary, when I notice a woman hitching down her tights in an alleyway. It's an alley which has cropped up before in my research – the

manager of the street cleaning staff had shown me photos of them washing it down due to the large amounts of urine that collects in it every weekend. The woman obliges to illustrate this: she begins to pee. I'm not sure at first whether anyone else has noticed, or if so, whether they find it remarkable. She's far enough down the alley so that passing cars would probably not see her. Eventually I hear a couple of people sat behind me comment; "classy" says one of them, sarcastically. It's late at night and nobody walks past the alley. The woman finishes urinating, and hitches her tights back up; she walks off into the night, down Pilgrim Street.

These two accounts describe differently the affective materiality of alcohol. Gramenzi et. al.'s diagram illustrates how alcohol reduces the amount of Nicotinamide adenine dinucleotide (NAD) available to cells. NAD is an enzyme vital to various biological activities, but when alcohol is present it will be used instead to break down the alcohol compound (CH_3CH_2OH), specifically to remove the hydrogen atoms from the compound (Gramenzi et al., 2006). In doing so, less NAD is available to a cell for other reactions, which has a range of health implications. Meanwhile, as this reaction is limited by the amount of NAD available to the body to begin with, alcohol consumption over a certain level will result in the circulation of alcohol through the blood system, once the liver has reached its capacity. It is this circulation, as alcohol interacts with cells in different parts of the body, which results in the feeling of drunkenness. The vignette, meanwhile, is far from the only case of public urination that I saw during my research, and it was often quite a *public* act: one man peeing off the Quayside sang out "Piss on the Tyne is all mine, all mine" to the tune of the song *Fog on the Tyne*. Urinating is thus an activity that is regularly repeated in the urban night in Newcastle (Eldridge, 2010) and, whilst this is a specific instance of urination (compared to Gramenzi et. al.'s generalised description of alcohol absorption), it can stand in as representative of other urination acts.

Both of these descriptions capture aspects of the body's interaction with alcohol. Gramenzi et. al.'s diagram and the associated explanation show, firstly, how alcohol affects cells in the human body and, secondly, how this reaction has a wider affect as alcohol circulates in the blood stream. The vignette, meanwhile, describes how the body has responded to the production of excess waste fluid that occurs due to the presence of alcohol in the body, a response which is conditioned by the effects of alcohol on the brain, and thus decision making, as well as on a range of other aspects of subjectivity (for

example, in the choice to urinate in an alley and not in a busier street). Both of these responses to alcohol's materiality form part of the bodily rhythms that develop at night, as a vast flow of materials come in and out of the body. Both also result in excesses of materials and affects which spread in various ways: as alcohol through the blood stream, or as urine along a street. These flows frame the alley into which the woman urinates, as a space of hedonism, a space claimable for private activity, as a space of disgust for the viewing couple on the bus, and for me a space of research interest. In turn, this framing suggests certain enunciations of the multiplicity which might be brought into being. For example, this framing as a space of hedonism increases the chance that the alley will become a contested space, as it did between the street cleaners and the owners of local businesses, who claimed that it was being inadequately cleaned. It also increases the chance that this place might come into being as an example in a PhD thesis: on the same night I passed many alleys which did not at the time have anyone peeing on them, and which have not appeared in this research. Finally, the affects created in the space as a result of the framing activity then produce assemblages from the bodies involved in them. The alley and the urine interact, as the acid within the urine erodes at the floor; the woman and alcohol assemblage continues its activities moving on into the night; the alley continues to collect waste and becomes a less pleasant site for the customers who sit at the tables of the cafe that uses it during the day.

So the chemical reaction in cells between alcohol molecules produces an excess which then flows through the body and across the city, producing a wide range of affects an assemblages. However, these assemblages are not nested within one another, like networks; rather they are transversal, that is, assemblages can act upon one another without direct connections and by 'jumping over' hierarchies (Genosko, 2000). For example, alcohol, if taken into the body in sufficiently high quantities, will produce a vomiting reflex (Murty, 2004). Normally, however, alcohol is a sufficiently low percentage of consumed material for this reflex to not occur. Where the body is already full of alcohol or other materials, or where high concentrations of alcohol are consumed, this vomiting reflex will kick in. Such a corporeal response to alcohol will have various affects, many of which are dependent upon the geographical location of the vomiting. Nevertheless, we might here see direct interactions between cellular and legal assemblages, or the molecular with both the taxi and the street-cleaning assemblages discussed in this chapter. Whilst, then, this chapter has been moving towards subjectivities by showing

how materials such as objects spread affects around assemblages, it should be acknowledged that there are moments when subjectivities will themselves be surpassed. In the final subsection of this chapter, I want to consider those moments and particularly Protevi's concept of the 'Body Politic'.

5.3 vi) Alcohol in the Geordie Body Politic

Protvei's notion of the body politic is dependent upon the bypassing of the subject "in the imbrications of the somatic and the social" (Protevi, 2009:33). Protevi draws from a remarkable range of theoretical and empirical positions from different disciplines – complexity theory, philosophies of emergence Deleuzo-Guattarian ontology, Varela's autonomous systems theory, development systems theory, and his own hybrid theory of emotions – to explore the ways in which academics have gone above, beyond and alongside the subject (Protevi, 2009). In doing so, he does not so much challenge the notion of the bounded Cartesian subject, as explore the various ways in which it has been completely torn apart. Protevi thus goes beyond arguing that subjectivity is dispersed (Thrift, 2008a), that it is only an outcome of social forces (Foucault, 1978), or that it is merely an aggregate of various individuating process, that is "a configuration of collective assemblages" (Guattari, 1996c:196). He claims instead that as well as these things, subjectivity is at times bypassed entirely as the social and the somatic come together.[21] In doing so, Protevi's work sits alongside others who have looked at the direct relation between bodily practices and society, invoking some sort of non-subjective interaction between the two (Connolly, 2002, Saldanha, 2006, Stewart, 2007). I want to explore how much this different approach to the affective can add to our understanding of drinking culture in Newcastle, before exploring why I think that the emergence of subjectivity is still important.

The 'body politic' for Protevi refers to the capability of affects to operate politically. Damasio, amongst others, has showed the affective base of cognition (Damasio, 1995). For Protevi, this affective cognition means that cognitive responses can occur without recourse to subjectivity. This creates a circular causality in which:

> "The affective response patterns of bodies politic, which are
>
> triggered by sensation and play a key role in on-the-sport

---

[21] The use of these alliterative terms is rhetorical (Protevi, 2009:33). Protevi states he actually prefers the term 'political' instead of social; I will also follow the more common social science use of the term 'corporeal' to refer to the bodily

political cognition, are conditioned by our moods and personalities, which are themselves formed by the repetition of episodes of affective cognition" (Protevi, 2009:35)

In other words, social categories and concepts emerge from the repetition of affect. These concepts then shape affective response. So, categorisations such as race, class, or gender, are filled with the affective; they are the categories upon which affective cognition is based. Affective responses are thus not automated in a biologically determined way. Rather, they emerge as the body learns over time to respond to affect. Saldanha retells the experience of Fanon encountering a young boy who shouts "Look, there, a negro" (Fanon, 1986, Saldanha, 2006), which has been discussed by numerous social scientists to show the strength of linguistically conditioned racial understandings. For Saldanha, however, such narratives overlook the corporeality of the relationship between Fanon's phenotype and the boy's reaction: "the phenotype of humans can be shown to play an active part in the event called race" (Saldanha, 2006:9). The boy responds to the affect of the phenotype, and this then requires a response from Fanon. In the initial relationship, there is no need for subjectivity to be active; it arrives only much later. A similar discussion can be seen in Demant's research into how young people learn to respond to the affectivity of alcohol (Demant, 2009); as suggested above, responses to alcohol are not simply a matter of biochemistry but involve learnt corporeal interaction with biochemical processes. For Protevi, however, the body politic does not just apply to the individual; it also refers to the collective (hence body politic). These "second-order body politics" operate in the same way as individuals – they have physiologies and psychologies, for example, as they manage and respond to the flow of materials and liquids across the body politic (Protevi, 2009:38). Crucially, then, Protevi opens up the space for rethinking identities in terms of the body.

Various researchers have established that different regions and places have localised drinking cultures, which is reflected in amounts of alcohol consumed, types of alcohol consumed, location of drinking and attitudes towards alcohol (Shelton, 2010). In Newcastle, this drinking culture has been shown to be central to the forming of the 'Geordie' identity (Hollands, 1995). As discussed previously, however, Hollands' explanation that drinkers are seeking to reclaim a connection to the working class masculinities of their parents appears to be adding unnecessary layers of interpretative

explanation to this culture. Rather than identity, this drinking culture might be better viewed as the drinking part of a 'body politic', specifically, of a Geordie body politic. Heavy weekend drinking of beer has developed in Newcastle city center as young men and women – North East England is the only region in the UK where beer is the most consumed alcoholic drink by women as well as men (Shelton, 2010) – learn to respond to the affectivity of alcohol in certain ways (Demant, 2009). On the streets of Newcastle, then, alcohol also acts by affecting the body politic. It forms a new machine which makes 'Geordie' (Saldanha, 2006). The loud groups, the tottered walks along Grey Street and the late night fast-food all contribute to this learnt corporeal response to alcohol. Clothing, drinks, accent and forms of socialising thus all come together to create a social-corporeal assemblage in which flows can bypass subjectivity. Returning to chapter three, then, we can reassess some of the rhythms discussed: the need to make the body a continuous process of flow of liquid, food and waste is as much a part of the regulation of the Geordie body politic as it is the individual body. Protevi's conceptualisation of group assemblages – of what Deleuze and Guattari might call molar strata (Guattari, 2006:196) – as bodies which operate through affective cognition might allow for a more subtle and complex understanding of how the affect of different materials shapes social life (Protevi, 2009). Here, Geordie emerges through the relationships between bodies and alcohol as a "nonnecessary and irreducible effect of the ways those bodies themselves interact with each other and their physical environment" (Saldanha, 2006:10)

Whilst the ideas of Protevi are of interest, it is questionable whether what he describes is really a *bypassing* of subjectivity. Rather, as seen in the work of Saldanha and Stewart, the interactivity between bodies can be understood as part of the wider trend of dispersed subjectivity (Thrift, 2008a), in which some aspects of subjectivity are dependent upon other bodies, technologies and places. Despite this, Protevi's intervention introduces a focus on direct corporeal relations that might sometimes be missed in a focus on subjectivity. Furthermore, it brings into consideration the relationship between materials such as alcohol, their affects and the formation of wider groups. With Protevi and Saldanha, we can see that groupings such as the 'Geordie' are not merely linguistic or imagined constructs, or the result of habitus and habit, but involve instead learnt corporeal reactions to the materiality of bodily interaction. In this case, the alcohol-corporeal machine mixes with learnt socialisations so that when subjectivity is damaged through drinking, the Geordie body politic is created.

In this chapter so far, having gone inside into the bar to look at the emergence of frames, I have come back out onto the street to consider the role of affect in the urban night and, specifically, the ways in which a key material – alcohol – creates affects which modify assemblages, shifting them either towards strata or towards the body without organs. In the terms of actor-network theory, a material such as alcohol acts as a mediator, transforming and translating the meaning of the activity of the urban night, carrying it to different places (Latour, 2005b). This description of materials works in established assemblages – an established assemblage is, in effect, an actor-network – but at times when we look at the edge of an assemblage, as relations become uncertain and the virtual is being actualised, the pure relationality of Latour breaks down a little. Bodies exist as potentialities, before they form relations with other things, as a result of framing which reduces multiplicity that come from the difference of repetition of rhythms. Here, the affect of alcohol operates not as an intermediary, carrying meaning and altering it, but instead as part of becoming, creating new subjectivities.

5.4 To Subjectivities

The city at night, then, as well as made up of many rhythms, multiplicities and frames, also consists of assemblages. These different nouns all describe various takes on the practice of everyday urban life. A rhythmic view focuses on the movements and of materials, both through places and also as flows in themselves (Edensor, 2010). Within these flows, difference must always emerge to a lesser or greater degree, even if at the most basic level of the temporal differentiation created by 'and' (Lefebvre, 2004). Such constant differentiation results in multiplicities, that is, objects with the constant potential for difference. However, these flows and activities create frames whilst they create difference, reducing the multiplicity to a few given enunciations. These enunciations form part of assemblages, in which bodies interact and affect one another. These bodies therefore experience the world as a constant variation of affect. These different conceptual terms describe the relations that form between things: between different practices, flows and objects. As such, the previous three chapters have all been about developing an ontology of the pre-subjective. In doing so, I develop a different description of the urban night, in which regulatory changes and practices of ownership are only one of the many varied tools used by neoliberalism in order to affect change.

Following most 'poststructuralist' theories, I place these various relational concepts prior to subjectivity. Specifically, then, it is now clear that the body and the subject are not independent entities. As Damasio states, being comes prior to thinking, to the development of the self: "we are, and then we think, and we think only inasmuch as we are, since thinking is indeed caused by the structures and operations of being" (Damasio, 1995:248). Damasio provides a neurological basis for considering reason as subsequent to the passionate, to the affective, and for rejecting any split between corporeal experience and mental experience. However, this only provides a basis for considering how subjectivities emerge. Over the next two chapters I will look at the various theories of subjectivity that have developed within poststructuralist social science, particularly at performativity and non-representational theory. In doing so, I will reconsider the arguments made about the development of the urban night in British cities and review the ways in which this can be understood as a process of subjectivity management. This will move on to the final empirical material of this thesis, which will take all the conceptual tools developed into account to look at an example of neoliberal urban governance that took place in Newcastle during my research.

Before moving on to this, I want to conclude my discussion of alcohol. Alcohol is the central political material of the urban night, and the source of most controversy and most academic and political discussion of the urban night. It is likely that in the forthcoming years, further changes to alcohol legislation will be introduced which will result in varied responses from consumers and producers of the urban night, as well as from the police, taxi industry, bouncers, cleaners, off-licences, and all other industries which are tied into alcohol assemblages. The politics of alcohol is likely to continue to consist of a constant struggle to prevent the worst effects of drinking from inhibiting the various benefits and positive affects that come from alcohol consumption (Nicholls, 2009). More specifically, I am sceptical that plans to raise alcohol prices in off-licenses will have any large effect on most drinkers, unless increases are extremely high. Small to medium price increases will simply be absorbed by the assemblage which makes up alcohol consumption, whether it is through a shift in the type of alcohol consumed, speed of consumption, place of consumption or an infrastructural – such as licensed premises entrance fees – change. This is not to deny the role of alcohol pricing, but to recognise the embedded series of practices which go into the alcohol assemblage at night. Furthermore, it seems that social scientists still make few attempts to explore the full assemblages of different materials.

Whilst the actor-network theory of Law and Mol is exemplary (Law and Mol, 2008), there would be a huge benefit from greater exploration of the assemblages of various materials, alcohol included. This goes beyond a simple 'follow the actor' approach, but instead demands a consideration of the flows and affects that become captured by a material and which capture materials. From this, materials become involved in various assemblages, or create new ones. The central focus on regulation and health in relation to alcohol is understandable due to the political pressures associated with these, not to mention funding regimes. However, a wider consideration of materials such as alcohol across their many assemblages would provide a deeper understanding of these issues and their relationship to other social issues.

6. Emergent nocturnal subjectivities

In 2008, the Home Office launched a campaign against binge drinking with the tag line "You wouldn't start a night like this, so why end it that way?" A man, probably in his early twenties, is seen preparing for a night out by tearing his shirt, smearing curry down his front, urinating on his shoes, pulling an earring directly out of his ear, head-butting a door and, with a cursory check in his mirror to make sure his hair is OK, stumbling out of the house. A second video sees a woman tearing her tights, vomiting, smearing mascara down her face, breaking a heel on her shoe and hitching her skirt high up. The adverts, part of a long history of anti-drink films made by governments across the world, were designed to avoid being 'didactic'. Instead, following similar tactics to campaigns used against fast or drunk-driving, they were intended to play upon the shock of the visuality of the incorrect subjectivity. Here, the stumbling helpless drunk woman or the messy, battered drunk man were chosen as representative of the bodies of reckless 'binge drinkers'. The campaign's rhetorical question is based upon the supposed pathos between the figures of the binge drinker, and the ideal consumer towards whom the viewer is presumed to aspire. The use of 'you' in this question thus aims to personalise the campaign, suggesting that the viewer, as a good responsible consumer, would never dream of drinking to such an extent and behaving in such a way. This, however, entirely fails to recognise that much of the attraction of high levels of alcohol consumption lies in the ability to lose control, to reject a certain amount of responsibility, and to alter at least temporally one's subjectivity (Szmigin et al., 2008, Griffin et al., 2009).

Of course, it both is easy and commonplace to criticise government campaigns for 'missing the point' or misjudging their audience. More seriously, however, Measham suggests that in relation to alcohol policy a "credibility gap [has developed] between actual and desirable behaviour" (Measham, 2006:262), which dooms such campaigns to failure. As in chapter three, then, when we first met government attempts to propose policy that would curb drinking, academics and journalists alike are quick to point out the hypocrisy or lack of credibility that is apparent in policy makers. In chapter three, this was explained by the dissonance between different enunciations of the multiplicity of the

urban night. Certain enunciations are actualised by framing, reducing the heterogeneity of the multiplicity. In this previous discussion, then, Measham's credibility gap exists because government policy has, on the one hand, been productive of frames which have encouraged the emergence of certain subjectivities, whilst on the other hand pushing frames which punish those who are taken away by these subjectivities. Specifically, 'anti-social behaviour', a governmentally-created discourse in which on the one hand certain behaviour is condemned (Painter, 2006), is on the other hand encouraged by government policy which increases opportunities to consume some of its causative factors, such as alcohol. Individuals become caught between "governmental practice mandating submission to the 'free market' and the celebration of 'individual responsibility' in all realms" and "the deployment of punitive and proactive law-enforcement policies targeting street delinquency and the categories trapped in the margins and cracks of the new economic and moral order" (Wacquant, 2008b:1). Legislation which reduces the power of local authorities to control businesses requires balancing with punitive measures targeted at individuals.

In the preceding chapters, I have looked first at practice in the urban night and secondly at the assemblages and affects that are created by this. In doing so, I have sought to show the ways in which different actors mould and manipulate the circulation of affects through their practice. I have done this because I have wanted to show the ways in which subjectivity is "decentred, as a part of an assemblage, an emergent conjunction and an evolving intertwining of self-ordering forces and diverse materialities" (Blackman et al., 2008:15). Having broken down practice and begun to explore some of the ways in which this intertwining and self-ordering takes place, it is now time to return to the subjectivities discussed in the second chapter. These subjectivities, those of the "most thoroughly seduced of consumers, to the tune of a dozen lagers" (Hobbs et al., 2003:273), are those which are presented negatively in the government videos discussed above. Subjectivities emerge, therefore, from the practice discussed in chapters three, four and five. Thus, the underlying – if often unexpressed and unconscious - aim of much policy discourse, and also personal activity in the urban night, is to alter the subjectivities which are produced. Thus when drinkers state that "every time I do it [drink] I absolutely annihilate myself" (Griffin et al., 2009), they are expressing a desire to manage or alter their subjectivities in various ways. Similarly, political discourse focuses on the control of subjectivities, with politicians regularly expressing a desire to encourage people to "drink

responsibly", the latter now the generic labelling term that appears on all alcoholic beverages in the UK to advertise government support for drinkers. In this chapter, I will bring the theoretical and empirical developments of the previous three chapters to bear upon current academic research into the urban night. Prior to this, I will also look at the importance of subjectivity and various theories, many of which we have already met, which discuss the emergence of subjectivity.

The manipulation and control of 'the subject' is nothing new. Foucault showed this particularly in his histories of discipline and punishment, and of sexuality (Foucault, 1979, 1986). Crucially, across these two studies, Foucault recognised that subjectivity is subject to control and management along three axes. Firstly, governmental, state or other forms of power will seek to restrict the conditions of possibility for subjectivity (Foucault, 1978). Foucault's own work is probably the best example of studies of this, as I will discuss later. Secondly, subjectivity also emerges out of its own desire for control and management. Deleuze and Guattari most notably developed this axis, which is encapsulated by Guattari's provocative statement that "everybody wants to be a fascist" (Guattari, 2009:154), that is, every subject desires its own subjectification. Thirdly, subjectivity is emergent out of the relationships between 'itself', other subjects, and objects. These relationships are inherently spatial. Such an argument emerges out of a number of different sources, notably non-representational theory, post-ANT and the cybernetics of Bateson (Bateson, 1979, Law and Hassard, 1999, Thrift, 2008a).

Despite the fact that this manipulation of subjectivity is not novel, many theorists agree that we now see an increased and deeper regime of practices and techniques which are used to mould subjectivities and make them productive. This has been described as a feature of the development of capitalism, specifically of neoliberalism (Virno, 2008, Wacquant, 2008a), whilst others have seen it as an inevitable sophistication and development of Foucault's societies of discipline, associated with improved technology which has been able to visualise the internal workings of the body like never before (Varela et al., 1991, Deleuze, 1992). Crucially, then, the changes to the economies of 'post-industrial societies', such as those described in Newcastle in chapter 2 (Vall, 2007), require a move from production to consumption. Consumption relies inherently on certain types of subjectivity and, specifically, on the creation of the correct types of

subjectivity (Thrift, 2011). This shift thus demands a greater focus on the manipulation of subjectivity.

6.1 Emergent Subjectivities

Felix Guattari speaks of "vectors of subjectification" which:

> "do not necessarily pass through the individual, which in reality appears to be something like a 'terminal' for processes that involve human groups, socio-economic ensembles, data-processing machines etc. Therefore, interiority establishes itself at the crossroads of multiple components, each relatively autonomous in relation to the other, and, if need be, in open conflict" (Guattari, 2000:25)

Here, Guattari articulates the basic definition of emergent subjectivity, and the multiple processes that lead to its creation. In this expression of subjectivity, the topic becomes a matter of vital importance to social science. Rather than a black-box, a base upon which to build politics, subjectivity instead becomes the very stuff of governance, a spatially and temporally distributed assemblage which is act upon and which acts in various ways. In geography, the subject and subjectivity has been most commonly questioned in post-humanist theories and research, consisting largely of non-representational and post-performativity feminist theory , though in all cases it has not been as common a focus as might be expected (Dewsbury, 2007:444). In particular geographical understandings of subjectivity have been dominated by the work of Deleuze and Foucault, and specifically Foucault's concept of governmentality. Here, governance is seen as jointly a practice of controlling subjects through the exercise of power, and encouraging subjects to become their own rulers, by normalising behaviours and discourses (Foucault, 1978, 1986). Whilst Foucault's account is clearly powerful, it also overlooks the corporeality of processes of subjectification, and the relationships between affective, institutional, spatial and cognitive vectors of subjectification. Nevertheless, before moving to the work of Bateson and Guattari, it is worth considering Foucault in more detail, and the influence that he has had on other writers.

6.1 i)Subjectivities in Foucault, Guattari and Bateson

In *The Subject and Power*, Foucault sets out to describe an overview of his work for Anglophone readers. In particular, he seeks to explain why he has placed 'power' at the

centre of his research. He explains his work as a "history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982:777). Specifically, as noted above, Foucault is aware that subjectivity emerges both from regimes of control outside of subjectivity and from within the subject itself. These two sets of techniques come together in 'gouvernementalité' (governmentality), a portmanteau of 'gouverner' (to govern) and 'mentalité'(mentality),[22] which seeks to "establish a continuity in both an upward and downward direction"(Foucault, 1978:206), that is, to create a link between techniques of state and the user of power to control subjectivity, and individual 'cultivation of the self'. Thus these two regimes are intimately linked, and often this link is achieved through some sort of spatial expression. The famous example of the panopticon is such a space, in which there is "an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up" so that "a real subjection is born mechanically" (Foucault, 1979:202). According to Foucault, spaces and events, such as the execution of Robert-François Damiens, are used together to limit the conditions of possibility for activity and to establish norms of behaviour. These limits and norms together are internalised as discourse so that subjectivity is encouraged to manage itself in a certain way. Spatial arrangements like the panopticon thus operate as machines which need only occasional repair and maintenance to continue their production of subjectivity.

Foucault has had a significant impact on understandings of subjectivity in geography. Springer is emblematic in his use of Foucault to understand neoliberalism. He seeks to understand neoliberalism as a "discourse that systematically constructs subjects and the worlds of which they speak" (Springer, 2010:931). In this use of Foucault, subjectivity emerges as a nexus between "a simultaneously top-down and bottom-up (re)production through continually (re)articulated citational chains" (931). Neoliberalism is thus understood as a set of discourses and spatial diagrams from above which attempt to shape subjectivity, whilst also a set of bodily practices from below which constr(u)ict the subject. Further Foucauldian explorations of subjectivity can be seen in work on biopower and biopolitics, as an attempt again to unpack the subject from below by looking at the

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[22]Some confusion can be caused by the meanings of the words 'gouvernement' and 'government' in French and English respectively. The French 'gouvernement' refers only to executive body of a sovereign state, and is not used either as a verb or to refer to smaller-scale governance e.g. 'local government'. As such, Foucault's 'gouvernementalité' is somewhat clearer in French than in English, where the connotations of 'government-ality' (the art of governing) and 'govern-mentality' (the governance of subjectivity) are different.

processes through which the body becomes a object of governance, in order to get at the subject (Cadman, 2009, 2010). As is discussed below, both these expressions of Foucauldian subjectivity run the risk of overlooking the very object on which they focus, that is, the body. Rather than creating a corporeal geography, the body risks being completely evacuated of meaning, only ever an expression of various governmental strategies, whether they be 'top-down' or 'bottom-up'. Dewsbury's work represents a slightly different evocation of Foucault in the name of subjectivity, in which he is placed in productive contradiction alongside writers such as Deleuze and Badiou. Dewsbury thus calls for an 'unthinking' of the subject in order to better understand neoliberalism; the challenge is to avoid the trap in which "as geographers we tend not to ask what the subject is; [and in which] it has always already assumed its place" (Dewsbury, 2007:448). By unthinking the subject, we can begin to shift the grounds of political discourse. Dewsbury thus represents a bridge here between the Foucauldian work on subjectivity, and that of non-representational theory from within which Dewsbury is writing.

Foucault himself made two key arguments which, in the context of this thesis, demand exploring in order to understand the thinking of Deleuze and Guattari. Firstly, his historical analysis showed the development of places as machines that were productive of subjectivity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:593-594,n.16), that is, he showed how subjectivity was emergent from spatial arrangement. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, his analysis of the history of madness began to show the desire of subjectivity to be dominated, that is, to become a singular subject (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:247, Guattari, 2009:57). Indeed, the main link between Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari is as philosophers of desire (Baudrillard, 2007).

Perhaps unsurprisingly for such prominent a theorist, there are numerous critiques of Foucault; a few of which are significant for geographies of subjectivity. Firstly, for all of Foucault's interest in sexuality and corporeal control, many commentators have noted that the affectivity of the body is markedly absent (Radley, 1995). As noted above, the body becomes almost entirely passive, constantly acted upon but never acting. In Foucault's work, it does not particularly matter which body is being subjected to the panopticon effect: its materiality is overlooked, in favour of the generic body. In Guattari's own words, addressed to Deleuze, "it seems to me that your friend [Foucault] is getting lost in linguistics and other structures" (Guattari, 2006:35), where the subject of

representation is taken to be the whole subject. As such, Deleuze and Guattari must go to Bateson and Spinoza to explore the role of the active body (Deleuze, 1978, Guattari, 2000). The body in Foucault is a site of the micropolitics of power, but never seems to intervene in and of itself. Secondly, two related critiques from de Certeau and Baudrillard show how Foucault's account falls foul of repeating the techniques of governmentality that it analyses (de Certeau, 1984, Baudrillard, 2007). For de Certeau, Foucault overlooks the heterogeneity of spaces, by assigning certain techniques to certain spaces e.g. surveillance to the panotpicon. In doing so, he ignores the many ways in which practices evade and out manoeuvre dominant attempts to control subjectivity. He is blind, according to de Certeau, to those techniques which have not been able to gain territorial expression (de Certeau, 1984). Baudrillard, similarly, argues that Foucault's work offers no insight into practices through which the body can avoid dominant subjectivities without repeating the same techniques of power that Foucault describes (Baudrillard, 2007). Finally, it is worth noting that whilst Foucault describes a number of places in which the work of governmentality takes place, he seems to create a division between these 'diagrams', as Deleuze describes them, and the activity that takes place within them. Thus whilst there is a relationship between place and practice, it is a relationship that seems to be between two distinctly separate entities.

In Bateson, there is no such gap. Mind (for which we can currently read subjectivity) exists only in nature; though Bateson describes these as a 'unity', in truth he makes mind a subcategory of nature, a portion or small division of the natural (Bateson, 1979). As such "the mental world – the mind – the world of information processing – is not limited by the skin" (Bateson, 1973:460). Rather, practices of information processing continue outside of the body so that the concept of bounded subjectivity or being is flawed (Bateson, 1973:491). Subjectivity is thus a result of information flows between a body and its environment, stretched out in both time and space. It is worth exploring how Bateson reaches this position. He begins with the classic statement of geographical philosophy that "the map is not the territory" (Bateson, 1973:180), that is, there is a distinction between the mode of representation (the map) and the 'real world' (the territory). Rather than understanding this as a critique of representation, that is, as a failure of representations to fully capture the reality of lived experience, he instead sees this relationship as inherent to all forms of interaction between objects. 'A map' is conceived of not as a representation of the territory in and of itself, but of certain aspects or

differences of a territory. These differences pass from the territory into the retina of an observer, along neural pathways, into the hand and so on. As such, "what you find is an infinite regress, an infinite series of maps. The territory never gets in at all... all 'phenomena' are literally 'appearances'" (Bateson, 1973:460-461). For Bateson, this process of the flow of differences characterises all relationships which are developed between things; in making this argument for an infinite regress of objects between things, he precedes much of what Latour says about mediators and transformations (Latour, 1996, Latour and Hermant, 1998, Latour, 2005b, November et al., 2010).

So there is a correspondence between objects that we encounter and the 'ding-an-sich', or thing-in-itself (Bateson, 1973). This correspondence is based upon the flow of difference, or 'information', between an infinite regress of objects, or mediators (Latour, 1997). If this is the case, then mind and its reification as subjectivity emerges not out of a world in which things are directly perceived, but out of a flow of difference across what Bateson calls a system. Subjectivity is a particular perception of this system which occurs in the immanent mind of the system. This mind recognises that the system, as a whole, has acted on the world, and therefore ascribes this action to the conscious work of the body. It thus labels itself as 'subject'. The subject cannot, therefore, be said to exist solely within a body. Rather, it is a reification of the mind which is "immanent to the larger system – man [sic] *plus* environment"(Bateson, 1973:317). Bateson provides the example of a man chopping a tree with an axe. The chopping is achieved by the flow of difference across the system – which we might label as "tree-eye-brain-muscles-stroke-axe-tree" but which is in-fact more complex than this (Bateson, 1973:315). The mind which is immanent to the system identifies that the system has achieved an effect in the world – the chopping – and so attributes this effect to a 'thing', that is, the self or subjectivity: "the average Occidental sees the event sequence of tree felling ... [and] believes that there is a delimited agent, the 'self', which performed a delimited 'purposive' action upon a delimited object" (Bateson, 1973:316). In fact, nothing of the sort has happened. Rather, there has been a machine which in unison has functioned thanks to its immanent mind. Subjectivity thus emerges, for Bateson, as a result of the erroneous epistemologies which identify one's own action as that of a one.

Bateson notes that this 'pathological' epistemology extends to the relationship between the psychotherapist and the patient and then on to other forms of the exercise of power

(Bateson, 1973:494). In the psychoanalyst's office, both patient and psychoanalyst make the mistake of presuming a conversation between two bounded subjects; this, for Bateson, is wrong. The importance of Bateson for Deleuze and Guattari, and particularly Guattari, emerge from these insights. Most obviously, there is the repeated use of Batesonian titles and concepts in their work: *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, *A Thousand Plateaus* and *The Three Ecologies* all reference Bateson's concepts in their titles (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, 1987, Guattari, 2000), whilst other concepts which appear in these works, such as schizo-analysis, immanence, dispersed subjectivity, rhizome, transversality and the double bind all owe some debt to Bateson, a debt which is rarely alluded to.

In fact, there is an odd absence of Bateson in most of Deleuze and Guattari's writing, for which there are two major explanations. Firstly, Guattari in particular was disappointed with the translation of Bateson's work into systematic communication theories (Samuel, 2002). Some of this can be found in Bateson himself – most problematically in the description of the self as the reification of a *system* – but much can be explained by his reworking into sturcturalist theories, which was seen in chapter three in Goffman's use of Bateson's work (Goffman, 1974). In fact, whilst Bateson uses a largely structuralist language, a reduction of his work to its structural features sells it short (Samuel, 2002). Nevertheless, Guattari is correct in recognising that Bateson's work is lacking in an understanding of the potential creativity of desire and affect; by reducing subjectivity only to the flow of information, Bateson misses that it also includes affective flows which are creative and unpredictable and which are not 'informative'. This absence in Bateson, then, is an absence of dynamic systems or complexity, a common issue in ecological writings (Protevi, 2009). Due to this absence, then, it is difficult using Bateson to explain becoming and emergence, two key Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts.

The second issue that causes Deleuze and Guattari to move away from Bateson is more personal and intriguing. In *Anti-Oedipus* they describe Bateson as "a striking example of a career *a l'américaine*" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983:236)– in retaining the French word and phrasing the translators showed an awareness that this was intended as an insult. As such, Bateson is "the forced destroyer of his own creativity": Deleuze and Guattari narrate his career as a process of following "flows that are more and more decoded. Firstly he goes to Bali for his anthropological work; then to the clinic and the decoded flows of schizophrenics and LSD users; and finally to his research into dolphin

communication. However, such research is made possible only from funding by the American Army, which sought to capture the deterritorialised "dolphin flux" and absorb it into the war machine by using dolphins to locate underwater mines. Essentially, for Deleuze and Guattari, Bateson failed to take on the revolutionary potential of the flux and flow of communication that he found in his research, instead reterritotiralising it into structural abstractions or capitalist value. As Samuel notes, this reading of Bateson seems a little unfair to an academic whose writing and theorisation was often playful and inventive – see chapters with titles such as *Every Schoolboy Knows* (Bateson, 1979) or the creativity of Bateson's metalogues (Bateson, 1973) – but equally cannot be fully denied (Samuel, 2002). Following this absence of direct references to Bateson in Deleuze and Guattari, little of the secondary literature on their philosophy has explored his work either, with a few notable exceptions (Bell, 1995, McCormack, 2002, Chesters and Welsh, 2005).

Despite these reservations, Bateson – especially when read alongside Foucault - provides an important grounding for much of Guattari's individually authored and collaborative work on subjectivities. For Guattari, "the contents of subjectivity have become increasingly dependent on a multitude of machinic systems" (Guattari, 1996a:95). Subjectivity is thus emergent, though not only from governmentality, or communication, but from a wide variety of machines. As discussed in chapter five, something is 'machinic' if it combines certain things together to become productive (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009). In his work, Guattari sets out firstly to explore the machines that are created in psychiatric practice, and then in his work with Deleuze develops this as a theory of subjectivity and society.

Deleuze and Guattari's critique of the treatment of psychological issues is based upon the restrictive features of reducing the many components of subjectivity into the inter-subjective relationship of a psychiatrist's practise (Laws, 2009). The Freudian model of the unconscious, which sees external behaviour as the manifestations or representations of a structuring subconscious realm, is rejected. Rather Guattari searches for a 'schizoanalytic' unconscious, which "involves the most diverse material fluxes and social systems" and which "is not the unconscious of specialists, but a region everyone can have access to" (Guattari, 2009:197). Institutional psychiatry does not take place in a neutral space in which unproblematic transference can occur between analyst and patient, but rather is

one of a range of interconnected and complex sites all of which contribute towards subjectivity (Genosko, 2000). Fundamentally, "the questions raised by psychology no longer fall squarely within the realm of psychology" (Guattari, 2009:197). There are instead a number of social components, both human and non-human, material and institutional, which contribute towards dispersed unconsciousness and thus subjectivity. As such, Guattari spent much of his career working *La Borde*, a radical clinic which sought to put some of these concepts into action in the treatment of psychotic patients. From his work here on the unconscious, he concluded that:

> "Individual subjectivity, whether that of the patient or the medical staff, cannot be separated from the collective arrangements of subjectivity-production; these arrangements involve microsocial dimensions, but also material and unconscious dimensions" (Guattari, 2009:193-194)

In his later book *The Three Ecologies*, Guattari sets out more explicitly the ways in which subjectivities come to be formed. In between his time at La Borde in the 1970s and writing *The Three Ecologies*, which was published in French in 1989, Guattari published the most influential of his collaborative works with Giles Deleuze, *A Thousand Plateaus*. Whilst their previous collaborations, and much of Guattari's previous work, had been largely concerned with the implications of their combined rejection of Freudian models of the unconscious for psychoanalysis, *A Thousand Plateaus* developed in much more depth their wider philosophical and sociological analysis (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). *The Three Ecologies* can be read as an 'action plan' for *A Thousands Plateaus*, in which Guattari's focus on the formation of subjectivities brings him full circle to a variety of social issues, in which he demands that dominant vectors of subjectification be rethought in light of emerging ecological crises.

For Guattari, there are three ecological registers – the environment, social relations, and human subjectivity – between which any response to the ecological crisis must be articulated. Here, the ecological crisis is thus conceived of both as ongoing threats to the Earth's 'environment' – non-human life and the habitats that support them – but also to both individual and collective human life. Thus, "it is the relationship between subjectivity and its exteriority... that is compromised" (Guattari, 2000:19). In an ecosophical approach

to subjectivity, as Guattari labels his work, we thus cannot think of the isolated subject, but of vectors or "components of subjectification". In a key articulation of subjectivity, Guattari states that

> "Vectors of subjectification do not necessarily pass through the individual, which in reality appears to be something like a 'terminal' for processes that involve human groups, socio-economic ensembles, data-processing machines etc. Therefore, interiority establishes itself at the crossroads of multiple components, each relatively autonomous in relation to the other and, if need be, in open conflict" (Guattari, 2000:25)

Here, Guattari finally establishes the form of subjectivity which can be seen as articulated in the rest of his writings. If many writers and researchers have rejected an isolated Cartesian subject (as mentioned previously, this is discussed in Protevi, 2009), Guattari moves further by re-articulating Bateson's separation of subjectivity and the individual, but in a way which recognises that subjectivity involves more than just 'data-processing machines', that is, the flow of information. Instead, subjectivity occurs through flows which come together more or less in the individual and which establish an interiority despite many contradictions. Subjectivity can thus be found in the environment, in social institutions, in landscapes and in internal fantasies (Guattari, 2000). However, drawing on Foucault, Guattari is quick to caution that experiments in subjectivity and new subjectivities may not inherently be 'good'. In light of his work with Deleuze, then, Guattari opens up the field for a radically new way of looking at subjectivity in social science. This subjectivity has three major characteristics. Firstly, it is spatially and temporally dispersed, that is, it draws from a wide range of events and objects. Secondly, subjectivity can be of a group or of an individual; or it may be of neither. It does not reside in a human body, or even in a set of human bodies, but in the flows between these. Thirdly, subjectivity is dependent upon a wide range of actors, all of whom must be taken into consideration.

6.1 ii) Subjectivity in Geography

In geography, subjectivity is most readily associated with non-representational theory, as noted in the brief discussion of Dewsbury's work in the previous section. Nigel Thrift has had a long history of research into the subject, and is one of the major influences on

geographers in this area. He sets out his vision of subjectivity in non-representational theory in his paper *I Just Don't Know What Got into Me* (Thrift, 2008a). Specifically, Thrift is concerned with the role of space in subjectivity and what this might mean to geographers studying the concept. As discussed previously, Thrift's work developed out of studies of time-geography (Parkes and Thrift, 1979), and through a continued engagement with theories of rhythm and practice (Thrift, 1996a) shifted towards an interest in the role of the non-representational in everyday (urban) life . In doing so, Thrift has been interested in the 'fading' of subjectivity (Thrift et al., 2010), yet he also has expressed sympathy for both a notion of "collective subjectivities" and "a certain minimal humanism", in the form of transhumanism (Thrift, 2008b).

Given this rejection of bounded subjectivity, due to the influence of the variation of affect (Thrift, 2004a), the question emerges of where subjectivity might be located. Most attempts to answer this problem posit either some sort of corporeal solution, such as the brain, or an underlying structure that is created by interaction in the world, such as the unconscious (Thrift, 2008a). However, following the theories discussed above as well as the work of Gabriel Tarde, Thrift suggests that the location of subjectivity need not be a problem. Instead, subjectivity should be understood as dispersed, emerging from the interaction of vectors of subjectification which can be geographically and temporally distant. This is "subjectivity as lines or fields of concernful and affecting interaction taking place in time" (89). Thrift summarises this as such:

> "persons still exist but as much looser allocentric formations with porous boundaries over which they have only limited control. The geography of each person consists of numerous layered subjectivities flowing through them, modulated by a particular characteristic style that we might understand, as a way of composing, as soulful compositions, even as art-forms. A person becomes a shifting ensemble of states that are received and passed on, states over which that person rarely has much in the way of direct control but which can be modulated in the passing in such a way as to produce nuances or even, at the limit, quite new forms of going on" (Thrift, 2008a:89)

Subjectivity thus becomes a matter of geography. Any individual has multiple subjectivities which interact and which are composed, based upon flows over which the individual has only limited controls. Thus to research and understand subjectivity in the urban night, we must look at the different spatial techniques from which subjectivity emerges. This form of subjectivity can also pass through non-human objects (Thrift, 2008a); this is not to fully anthropomorphise the non-human, but to recognise that certain forms of subjectivity can become concreted in objects.

Despite a marked lack of attention in much of geography, various writers in non-representational theory have taken up work on subjectivity. McCormack has looked at the various ways in which bodies are open to affect (McCormack, 2003b, 2008a, 2010). He describes his research as looking for "affective sources for cultivating eddies of involvement" (McCormack, 2010:22), that is, in looking at the processes of affects entering and affecting bodies. Here, bodies are seen not as ontologically distinct from surrounding rhythms or atmospheres, but as one way "in which intensive substance expresses itself in extension" (McCormack, 2008a:419). As such his focus is not so much on the emergent subjectivities, but on the moments and possibilities of their emergence, and the ways in which affects begin to take hold of the body. Bissell's research, similarly, is engaged in exploring how affects which emerge in bodies do so as an expression of various vectors of subjectification which flow through spaces (Bissell, 2008a). He is interested in the spatial dimensions of the emergence of "pulls or charges" which may or may not generate corporeal responses (Bissell, 2010:273). Crucially, this sense of 'may or may not' reflects that such pulls or charges do not demand response: as Guattari states, vectors may completely miss certain bodies.

Harrison has also wrote extensively on the role of subjectivity in non-representational theory, but in doing so has sought to provide a sympathetic critique of such theories that emphasise the relational nature of the subject (Harrison, 2000, 2007, 2011). In particular, he has shown concern for the gaps which occur between subjectivity, upon which subjectivity may be based but which cannot be reduced to relations (Harrison, 2007:600). Like Bateson, Harrison looks at how 'the structure of address', that is relations of communication, help to show the formation of subjectivity. Whereas Bateson rejects both 'you' and 'I' as epistemological fictions (Bateson, 1973:486), Harrison sees the gap between the you and I as inherent in the possibility of communication and thus

subjectivity (Harrison, 2007, 2011). As such communication between the self and the other means that there is "the quasi-transcendental condition of possibility of any narrative, discourse, or ontology" which results in "a radical susceptibility or passivity of subjectivity; an extreme passivity from which the subject is set in motion and set in motion as obliged and responsible prior to any choice or freedom on its part" (Harrison, 2007:600-601). What Bateson labels as an 'epistemological fallacy' is in fact a condition upon which subjectivity is dependent, so that rather than constellating around self-recognition, subjectivity emerges through the recognition of another subject, to which there is some sort of non-relational gap. In positing a form of subjectivity inherently open to and dependent upon an Other, Harrison provides a link between the post-phenomenological work of Deleuze and Guattari, and poststructuralist thought which has had a tradition of focusing on the self/other relationship (Lacan, 1968, Butler, 2001). This mutual misrecognition for subjectivity is, for these authors and for Harrison, an ontological and ethical necessity (Harrison, 2011), and implies that subjectivity cannot be understood purely as the result of the relations from which it emerges.

Harrison's critique is not intended as rejection of the relational geographies discussed above, but rather as an attempt to insert some sort of gap or hesitation. In doing so, Harrison prompts us to rethink the concept of the individual as only a terminal for vectors of subjectification, which is Guattari's suggestion (Guattari, 2000). With both Bateson and Harrison, we might say that a change happens when the components of subjectification meet in an individual and these components, in unison, recognise the self and the other. In this moment, of recognition and communication, something happens to subjectivity which is more than a concretisation or sedimentation, and which allows for the subject to withdraw from the world (Harrison, 2009). Rather than an error on the part of the subject, however, this change and withdrawal is inherent to subjectivity. As Wylie states, bringing in this critique results in an understanding of subjectivity in which there is neither full presence nor absence, a subjectivity which is never just a result of relations but which equally can never be isolated and bordered (Wylie, 2010:105-106). For research purposes, this caveat on relational subjectivity should encourage hesitation and humility, to avoid making claims that the subject can be read through a series of observable flows and practices.

In urban geography, the subject has appeared less frequently as a matter of concern. In part, this is caused by the more immediately humanist concerns of much urban geography research, in which debates about the emergence of subjectivity and the conditionality of subject positions are seen as potentially threatening to debates based upon the rights of certain urban subjects. For example, in debates over urban cosmopolitanism, which I explore in more detail in the next chapter and which have influenced academic understandings of the value of the urban night (Bianchini, 1995) little is said about the nature of the subject which is to become cosmopolitan: rather, it is the epithet 'cosmopolitan' which is more commonly discussed. So debates on cosmopolitanism often claim that the city is a site for the potential of engagements with difference which foster new subjectivities " without actually spelling out how this is being, or might be, achieved in practice" (Valentine, 2008).

This said, there are areas of urban geography other than non-representational theory in which subjectivity is discussed. Often, this has emerged in feminist geographies of performativity, which are closely related to the non-representational, or in other forms of Spinozan and Deleuzian geographies, encouraging a diversification in understanding of the ways in which the subject emerge (Longhurst, 2000, Saldanha, 2006, Colls, 2007, Ruddick, 2007a, b, Cloke et al., 2008, Grove, 2009, Wilson, 2011). Longhurst, for example, explores how performativity allows us to understand the body as constituted only through its actions. Here, the subjectivities of pregnant women in the city are constantly being altered as different performative acts shift the meanings of their bodies. Without wanting to overlook such research, it often says little about how bodies and subjectivities also emerge from objects and regulations which interact with performative speech, actions and gestures. Research into urban infrastructure has explored subjectivity from this opposite end, showing the constitutive role played by infrastructural practices in producing urban subjects (Simone, 2004, Graham and Thrift, 2007, Parker, 2009). Simone extends this towards an understanding of how people become infrastructure in the city, as they take on tasks and responsibilities for generating the provision of services. Here, post-humanist critique comes full circle in beginning to recognise the human roles in systems that were previously considered to be predominantly socio-technical. Potentially, a Batesonian-Guattarian approach to subjectivity can expand on both these approaches in urban geography – feminist/performative and post-humanist/infrastructure – by merging concerns of the gestural and embodied with those of the infrastructural and institutional.

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A trend of research into neoliberalism has also sought to engage with the concept of subjectivity. Here, Larner describes the rationale of this project:

> "the implication [in a series of presentations on neoliberalism] was that state somehow `forces' people to act in this way [as neoliberals]. The complex appeal of concepts such as `freedom', `empowerment', and `choice' was rarely acknowledged and even less likely to be theorised. The significance of these silences is profound. Because these issues were not explored, the tenacity of neoliberalism simply could not be explained" (Larner, 2003:511).

Here, Larner recognises that the power of neoliberalism lies in the manipulation of subjectivities and consumption legislation and opportunity. With Le Heron, she explores how this has occurred in the education industry in New Zealand (Larner and Le Heron, 2005). Crucially, such an account – for Larner – helps reveal simultaneously the power of neoliberal subjectivising practices, and the contradictions which emerge from these. So, despite the fact that New Zealand's universities have been transformed by an "accidental sum of the parts" (p858), the changes which have happened to the sector do represent a continued neoliberalisation. Similarly, the work of feminist and poststructuralist accounts of economic geography – as exemplified by Gibson-Graham and Harris - have shown how neoliberalism can be simultaneously dominating and partial, containing within its own the practices the subjectivities which run counter to it (Gibson-Graham, 2008, Harris, 2009). My approach has much sympathy with such attempts, and builds upon their narrative. However, whilst Larner, Gibson-Graham and others have helped emphasise the partiality and contradictions that are involved in neoliberalism and the subjectivities which emerge from it, I feel that by drawing on Guattari and Bateson, my work will explore the emergence of subjectivity in significant greater depth. Arguably, previous writers have focused more closely on the theorisation of the political-economic aspects of studying neoliberal subjectivities; my approach will thus contribute a joint focus on neoliberalism and subjectivity.

To summarise this discussion of subjectivity, then, we can see that the previous chapters, having dealt with rhythms, frames, affects, atmospheres and assemblages have looked at various different aspects of what is usually described as practice. From this practice, certain vectors of subjectification are created which result in the formation of

subjectivity, an event in which the subject recognises both itself and the other and thus the necessity of both connection to the wider world and separation and withdrawal. This is largely (Deleuzo-)Guattarian, but with insights from the work of Bateson and from non-representational theories in geography. In particular, geography offers a recognition that subjectivity must be inherently spaced, both in its relational nature but also in the gap which occurs between self and other. Such an understanding of subjectivity allows for the creativity associated with the subject, but also recognises the powerful forces through which subjectivity emerges. It creates spaces for passivity and for agency. Most of all, however, it is radically geographical and thus calls for research which looks at the geographies which are necessary for the creation of certain subjectivities.

6.2 Subjectivities in the 'Night-Time Economy'

In this section, I want to revisit some of the subjectivities which we have met in the thesis so far. In particular, I want to focus on four figures. Firstly, I want to return to the analysis of two figures who have pervaded both this research and discourse on the urban night more broadly: the binge drinker, and the female drinker. In doing so, I will revisit also some of the empirical material and arguments previously made, but in light of my theoretical arguments made over the last few chapters. In considering these figures, I will look at the vectors of subjectification which contribute towards their emergence. Within this, I will bring in some of my research with the street-cleaners to consider its role in the emergence of subjectivities. Following this, I will discuss the taxi drivers with whom I researched, as an example of different subjectivities which are constructed in the urban night. Beyond this, I will bring in a briefer discussion of other subjectivities which might emerge in the urban night, as a way of moving towards the empirical discussion of the *Alive After Five* BID initiative in chapter seven. It should be noted that some of the empirical exploration of this chapter is held over to chapter seven.

6.2 i) Binge Drinkers

Perhaps the most readily associated subjectivity with the urban night is the 'binge drinker'. It is the problematic behaviour associated with binge drinking, and the negative health effects associated with this, that has prompted much of 'night-time economy studies' into existence. As Valentine, Jayne and Holloway have already noted, the figure of the binge drinker is a complex one, with different geographies and definitions at different times and in different discourses (Holloway et al., 2008, Jayne et al., 2008b, Valentine et al., 2010b, Jayne et al., 2011). Indeed, many academics have now questioned

certain aspects of the subjectivity of 'binge drinkers'. Firstly, the argument that binge drinkers form a distinct identifiable minority of drinkers has been shown to be problematic (Measham and Brain, 2005, Szmigin et al., 2008). Rather, many 'responsible' drinkers will occasionally act 'irresponsibly', drinking to levels which are deemed unsafe or creating anti-social behaviour (Measham, 2006). The rhetoric which labels certain minority groups as binge drinkers is simply rhetoric, in order to appeal to a broader sense of distinction between the responsible self and the irresponsible other. Secondly, binge drinking as a problem describes two distinct issues: anti-social behaviour which emerges from alcohol consumption (Eldridge and Roberts, 2008); and medically problematic drinking events (Holloway et al., 2008). For Holloway et. al., "discrete geographical imaginaries of problem drinking and shape distinct policy interventions, ... [therefore] the framing of problem drinking through an epidemiological model has led to a geographical focus on the city centre cluster" (Holloway et al., 2008:542). This geographical imagination has reinforced class biases, in which working class drinking, which is more likely to take place in 'public', that is on the street or in bars, is seen as more problematic (Roberts and Turner, 2005:190). Such drinking, as it takes place in public spaces, is more visible than domestic drinking, also gaining more attention. By contrast, middle class home-based drinking is less frequently problematised. Medically, however, it still often falls into the category of binge drinking, although the definition of this category is not in itself without issues: most obviously, there is a tension between single events of heavy drinking (most usually associated with the term 'binge') and more frequent consumption of low levels of alcohol (Szmigin et al., 2008).

Such research has brought into question the status of the subject of the binge drinker, but I argue that this analysis of discourse and resultant critique is only partial. Questioning the validity of the label 'binge drinker' shows the inconsistencies within it, but does not question how this subjectivity comes about in certain people Rather, by looking at the 'binge drinker' of binge drinking subjectivity as an individuation of various vectors of subjectification that emerge from practice, we can understand better how it comes about. In doing so, a wider range of vectors of subjectification which create the binge drinker being to emerge. Other than those of discourse discussed above, many of the practices which have been mentioned so far in this thesis contribute to this subjectivity.

Mobilities between bars – whether the clustering of venues around key squares or facilities, or the excellent levels of taxi provision – mean that individuals are able to move quickly between bars, reducing the gaps between drinking. Taxi provision in the night, as we have seen, also reduces the gap between domestic or suburban drinking and city-centre drinking: the two are often embedded with each other. Here, this coincides with changes in alcohol prices in order to encourage binge drinking. Alcohol regulation encourages individuals to take advantage of cheaper off-licence sales, drinking strong alcohol quickly at home before going out. As discussed in the previous chapter, this 'pre-loading' is thus encouraged both by easy mobilities between home and the city, and by current alcohol regulations.

Biologically, the sugary drinks which are provided by many clubs and bars allow for longer drinking sessions by helping maintain energy levels, as well as masking the flavour of strong alcohol (Chatterton, 2002). Many of these drinks are aerated with carbon dioxide, which means they enter the blood stream more quickly (Paton, 2005). Bar layout also plays the role, as previously noted by Hadfield et. al: the "mass volume vertical drinker" (Hadfield et al., 2001:300) has been made possible by the sort of bar manipulation discussed in chapter three. By creating dancefloors and reducing seating space, more people can be brought into a bar; they are also more likely to drink high-sugar carbonised bottle drinks which can be easily held whilst standing or dancing. The contemporary binge-drinker also emerges from the bottle, specifically from the alcopop-influenced design of bottles. Traditional drinks such as beer and cider can now be purchased in the easy-to-drink-from, brightly packaged bottles that were created alongside alcopops.

The 'binge drinker', whether as an individual, that is the problematic consumer (Hobbs et al., 2005), or as a group, that is something closer to the 'body politic' (Protevi, 2009), is thus a terminal to a wide range of vectors of subjectification. The vectors discussed above, however, are all those associated with discourse and bodies. Further moments of the formation of subjectivity can be seen elsewhere in my research. The work done to clean the city at night helps to contain and control the excess of affects produced by the intensification of flows through the body during a night out. Night-time cleaning is often taken to be a straight-forward task of renewal and repair, done at a time convenient to the efficient running of the city. However in Newcastle, as already shown in this thesis, it takes on a much more active role, managing a constant flow of materials. The literal

constraining of the materials deposited on the city streets allows for the compartmentalisation of subjectivities produced in the urban night.

Figure 6.1: Overflow of Materials

Various forms of boundary work also help the binge drinking subjectivity to emerge. As Griffin et. al. note, deliberate alterations of subjectivities are part of the attraction of drinking, in what they describe as 'controlled hedonism' (Griffin et al., 2009). Here, then, the sense of the urban night as a possible time for experimentation with subjectivity and for hedonism is in part possible because of this boundary work. Street-cleaning, for example, helps encourage these subjectivities, by providing a 'belt' around the 'night-time economy'. In preventing the material excess of the urban night to flow over into the day, night-time street cleaning permits this 'hedonism'. Without entering into repetition then, I want to simply highlight that by removing the material excess of the urban night, street-cleaning helps create a time-space in which the playful aspects of subjectivities in the night are contained and thus made safer and more accepted. This boundary work is the 'controlling' that creates 'controlled hedonism'. Indeed, it might be argued that the work of the various actants of control in the urban night – police, bouncers, street cleaners, street pastors and others – fulfils a similar role to historical practices which have

separated night and day, such as the barring of city gates and the presence of night watchmen in the Medieval City (Ekrich, 2006:61).

Whilst some vectors may take on more importance than others, then, there is no dominant process which if changed will fundamentally alter the subjectivities which emerge. Equally, however, these processes should not be viewed as somehow co-dependent upon one another; as Guattari states, they are autonomous (Guattari, 2000). Instead, their relationship should be understood as more symbiotic, evolving together but nonetheless independent and able to change (Bateson, 1973). Many of the practices which have helped to produce the binge drinker are responses to other issues – such as the production of litter in the urban night – and not direct or deliberate attempts to 'manipulate' subjectivities. Despite this concretisation of the subjectivity of the binge drinker from the urban night, however, there are excesses, or lines of flight which disrupt this assemblage. Some of this is covered in the critique of the concept of the binge drinker as discussed above, whilst chapter five is indicative of some of the excesses which emerge from affect.

Understanding the 'binge drinker' as a terminal subjectivity creates the possibility for a re-reading of analyses of research into neoliberalism which have focused on the ways in which the binge drinker or 'errant consumer' has become a target of policing (Hobbs et al., 2003, Hadfield, 2006, Wacquant, 2008a). Here, conventional analyses claim that as neoliberalism responds to the excesses created by increased flows of materials and affects that result from increased consumption, brought on by relaxations in legislation on business, it targets the individuals in whose bodies these excesses become concretized (Peck and Tickell, 2002, Wacquant, 2008a). Private security such as bouncers or authorities such as police, who are unable to prevent the emergence of the vectors of subjectification which produce the binge drinker, must instead respond to its concretization in certain bodies (Hobbs et al., 2005).

In my analysis, however, it is shown that these forms of control or punitisation of the individual form only a small part of the various responses to the excesses created by increased consumption in the urban night. Thus such mechanisms are not to be considered as independent responses of an insidious neoliberal 'project' (Barnett, 2005, Castree, 2007), but rather part of a series of immediate responses to affective and material excess. However, despite agreeing with Barnett that "what we have come to

recognise as ''hegemonic neoliberalism'' is a muddled set of ad hoc, opportunistic accommodations to... unstable dynamics of social change" (Barnett, 2005:10), I would argue that the empirical repetition of these forms of subjectivity management and formation is deserving of a label and, given the repeated cause of the emergence of social change – namely, legislative changes which encourage the emergence of new forms of excess, that is, which are liberal in their creativity – then the name neoliberalism is as good a label for these as any other.

6.2 ii) Other Drinking Subjectivities

The subjectivities of the '(young) woman drinker' have received much academic and popular attention theoretical discussion. In part, this is because the gap between the amount of alcohol consumed by men and women has closed, though research suggests that a significant gap still remains, both in the amount consumed and in the incidence of medically-defined binge drinking (The N.H.S Information Centre, 2009, Shelton and Savell, 2011). Women drinking in the urban night have always attracted various forms of judgements and sexualised attention (Valentine, 1989, Schlör, 1998), to the extent that the urban night is the time-space within which gender differences are most fully distinct and differentiated. Feminist activism has regularly drawn upon the urban night as a sight of conflict and oppression (Schlör, 1998). In the context of night-time economy studies, it has been regularly noted that media sources have had an obsession with the imagery of women drinkers (Measham and Brain, 2005). As I also explore in chapter three, this imagery is based upon the notion that women should not be drinking the same amount, to the same extent, as men. Drunken women become embodiments firstly of both desire and disgust (Leigh, 1995), and secondly of the excessive nature of binge drinking as a problem in society (Measham and Brain, 2005).

Like the binge drinker, the young-woman drinker is a terminus of various vectors of subjectification. Taxi-based mobilities, for example, fulfil an ambivalent role for women. On the one hand, they provide a form of transport straight to the home, the space of (perceived) safety in the night (Valentine, 1989); on the other, they put women passengers at the mercy of usually male taxi drivers. In my research in taxi offices, it was women who were more likely to book private hire vehicles in advance of a night out for collection at a certain time, rather than to book 'ad hoc' or use hackney carriages. Drivers

suggested that this allowed women to meet up at pre-determined points at the end of the night; there is also a perception of safety in numbers. As has been noted by various authors as well, alcohol marketing and bar layout has become more 'feminine', that is, designed to appeal to women (Hadfield, 2006). In particular, the spread of chain bars which provide certain guarantees of lighting levels, variety in drink types and number of women present are all productive of the subjectivity of the woman drinker. Women drinkers are also shown to be more aware of the various dangers of the urban night. For example, responding to the sexualisation of women in the urban night and the various associated dangers, women often support one another when drinking (Leyshon, 2008, Griffin et al., 2009). This might involve stopping drinking when friends have had too much, or ensuring that large groups do not get split. The image of the female drinker is thus more complex and emergent from a wider range of practices than is often presented.

If both the binge drinker and women drinkers in the urban night have emerged as points of interest in popular discourse through imagery, the role of production in making subjectivities is equally important but less recognised. Chatterton and Hollands claim that current policies in the urban night create "a dominant mode of 'mainstream' urban nightlife, with 'alternative' and 'residual' nightlife increasingly under threat or squeezed out" (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002:95). As has been discussed previously, Chatterton and Hollands work has been sympathetically critiqued as having too much of a focus on showing "how the scripting of consumer spaces has taken place around certain accepted, sanitized and safe norms and codes of behaviour rather than fully addressing either local difference or the social relations or cultural practices that take place in and around drinking spaces" (Jayne et al., 2006:458). As such, whilst containing both valuable ethnographic and interview research, there is a sense of absence in Chatterton and Hollands' work.

In particular, the emergence of 'alternative' and 'mainstream' as different subjectivities in the urban night is black-boxed in their research (Latour, 1987). Chatterton and Hollands presume that similarities in ownership result inevitably in similarities in experience. It is true that many venues on the periphery of the urban night have closed down in face of competition from larger chain companies. In their research, whilst interview subjects express disappointment in the spread of chain bars and operators understandably express anger the difficulty in competing with large chains with resources (Chatterton and

Hollands, 2001), such lack of diversity offered in the production of the urban night does not inherently reflect divisions in different types of city centre user. Rather, the mainstream and the alternative emerge from practice alongside one another: one individual can comfortably receive aspects of both subjectivities. In this research, I have shown that a vast number of sites make up the urban night, beyond the bars and clubs which have defined research into the night-time economy. Taxis, public squares, buses and fast food shops all form part of the experienced city at night, and these produce subjectivities as shown above. The producers of nightlife are thus not the only arbiters of subjectivity. As Hadfield shows in his research, much of the creation of subjectivities in the urban night comes not always from the intended plans of corporate owners and producers of nightlife, but from learnt behaviour of various actants (Hadfield 2006). The alternative and mainstream subjectivities of Newcastle, whilst at times opposed to one another and often contradictory, also emerge out of the same practices running across the city centre.

6.2 iii) Taxi Drivers

The experience of driving is often characterised as one of isolation, in which the self is cut off away from others, encased in the confines of the car. In Guattari, the description is a little more subtle than this, but still understands the car as framing a passenger's subjectivity: "When I ride in a car, my projection forwards corresponds to a bracketing of my corporeal schema, setting aside my sight and body, positioned in cybernetic subservience to the automobile-machine and to the signal systems emitted by the surroundings" (Guattari, 1993:139-140). Here, then, interaction with things outside of the car is reduced by to the exchange of signal information – such as light, colour, sensation (of the road) or noise.

The night-time taxi driver's subjectivity, however, is by design more complex than this. Firstly, the drivers are effectively moved around the city by forces other than themselves. Legislation forces them to drop-off or collect passengers at certain locations only, so that key points in the city centre do not become too busy. Computer software determines the passengers that are available to the drivers and, although they have the choice to reject a booking, doing this too often would result in loss of income. The decision-making and driving process of the taxi driver thus stretches to a range of actants beyond the human-car assemblage. Secondly, the experience of being in the car is affected by the lighting levels of the surrounding environment to a greater extent than is suggested by Guattari.

Drivers spoke of the contrast of moving between darker and more isolated rural roads or suburbs, and the lit and busy city centre. There was not a straight forward relationship between which parts of the city that drivers enjoyed. Some would take breaks in suburban areas or around quieter parts of Newcastle, whilst others would seek out the city centre. The experience of driving is significantly different at night, with certain objects appearing as bright and invasive, and others hidden.

If these first two observations indicate the ways in which the subjectivity of the taxi driver is constituted by the world outside of the car-driver, the third feature worth mentioning is the bodies which physically interrupt this space. The car is thus no longer a 'protective shell', because of the nature of taxi driver employment. As discussed previously, bodies enter into cars and bring with them the affects of the bars or streets in which they have been present. This might mean that the car-driver machine is invaded by the smell of a sweaty nightclub, the shouting of a drunken voice, or in worse cases, the vomit from excessive consumption of alcohol. Drivers' views on the dangers of bringing these bodies into their car varied. Some were comfortable with their presence, noting that violent incidents were rare and that the advantages of night-shift work overcame the occasional need to clean the car of vomit. Other incorporated further tools into their subjectivities, such as CCTV or panic buttons to provide extra security. The taxi driver, perhaps paradoxically, appears as a rather passive subjectivity – this is despite the stereotypical, and ever present, aggressive driving style. Drivers emerge from flows of people, information, objects and affects; the car is a permeable space which is constantly open to the outside.

6.4 iv) Creating Subjectivity Producers

Before moving on to a longer empirical exploration of the emergence of subjectivities at one particular event in Newcastle at night, I want to explore briefly one further site of the production of subjectivities from my research. In particular, this focuses on the processes of producing subjectivity producers, that is, those who are employed to work in the night and, through their body and attitude, create the atmosphere of a bar. In doing so, I also point to a broader limitation of this thesis, which is that, a focus on practice on the city streets and in the bar space overlooks the production of the subjectivities of the policy-makers, workers and managers of the city at night, much of which occurs elsewhere.

During my research, I attended a 'hiring event' at one of Newcastle's larger night-clubs. The club was planning a new night on which it had previously not opened, and so needed around fifteen new members of staff. Around thirty of us attended the hiring day, which was scheduled to last around three hours. After an initial period of form filling, we were taken into one of the club's rooms for the first section of the hiring process. We were given a pep talk by the bar's general manager, who talked about the chain of bars of which this venue formed a part, and explained the course of the day – two activity sessions, followed by interviews. He emphasised both that we were free to leave at any time of the day, and equally that people could be removed at any stage during the process. The applicants were nearly all under the age of thirty and the majority were students or recent graduates. Many were searching for a job in order to subsidise their learning. Others were locals seeking reemployment, with previous bar and service work experience. Only one man appeared to be significantly older than the others; he was a former bar manager and was considerably more nervous than the other participants. There was a reasonable mixture of male and female amongst the applicants, and of Geordie and non-Geordie. A few people appeared to know each other. The two activity sessions were intended as an opportunity to show that we were 'bubbly and friendly', two words repeated numerously though the day. The first was an ice-breaker style event. As a group we stood in a circle and passed a ball around. When catching the ball, we had to state our name, our previous job, what we were best known for amongst our friends and family. The second task was to create a performance as a group. Our performances needed to include the words 'giraffe', 'peanut', 'helicopter' and the club's name – humour based on attempts to indicate the fun-loving and 'random' side of working at the club. Groups were encouraged to put on performances that were loud, unusual and involved lots of action

These two tasks were all about ensuring the correct subjectivities would emerge amongst staff working in the bar. They were sought to test our ability to *communicate* – to make a group of strangers laugh and understand us in a quick piece of conversation. As such, this was part of attempts to foster a work force whose corporeal capacity for interaction and being with others is their main tool of production (Virno, 2004), that is, those people who had the greatest capacity affect others (Deleuze, 1978). Whilst some of this hiring process did circulate around the homogenisation of the bar spaces – applicants were being tested, especially in the first task, to see if they conformed to behavioural norms which

would best suit them to a mainstream bar space (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001) – what was emphasised in the hiring process was corporeal capacity. Such an event opens up two caveats to the above discussion of emergent subjectivities. Firstly, there is the limitation hinted at previously: if subjectivity is emergent, then the various sites from which vectors of subjectification flow are too many to grasp. This results in a necessary black-boxing so that, for example, the 'bubbly and excited' subjectivities of some workers in bars and clubs is taken for granted. This point should be held in mind during the following chapter, in which the subjectivities of the Business Improvement District (BID) staff members with whom I researched are taken as pre-existent. In actuality, subjectivities always emerge from "heterogenesis" (Guattari, 2000:45) , that is the constant tumbling flow of vectors of subjectification, which never stop at an individual but pass through them. Secondly, it means that any practice-based approach must acknowledge that it misses certain practices. This is a much returned to problem, which is evoked by Latour when he states that "the world is not a solid continent of facts… but a vast ocean of uncertainties speckled by a few islands of calibrated and stabilised forms" (Latour, 2005b:245). In research, we can only ever establish a few of these islands, a few of these points and we must leave the ocean of uncertainties from which they emerged temporarily unknown; the borders must be taken as a given. These two points – the heterogeneity of emergence of subjectivities, and the need to black box certain subjectivities in research – are not particularly novel, but they bear repeating in the context of the theories discussed above.

6.3 Conclusion

"I am suggesting that what we need is an epidemiology of subjectivity, understood as a study of the shifting distribution of subjectivity in a population of actor" (Thrift, 2008a:84)

Though neither this thesis nor this chapter can claim to have achieved such a grand end, they should both have begun to move towards what the sort of research that Thrift describes above might look like. By looking at practice and how difference is simultaneously created and negated, and the subsequent flow of affects which occurs, we begin to see this shifting distribution of the emergence of subjectivities. In returning to the ideas expressed in the literature in light of the intervening chapters, we can see the potential for new readings and new understandings of the urban emerging. In researching the urban night, 'night-time economy studies' has been successful in showing the ways in which changes in legislation, and in the wide variety of practices of management which occur in the urban night, have resulted in changes to the drinking environment and thus

the emergence of certain subjectivities. However, such work has had two limitations. Firstly, it has not been able to explore the mechanisms through which this emergence occurs. Rather, this work has tended to fall onto sturcturalist explanations such as the 'criminogenic environment' (Hobbs et al., 2003) or the mainstream playscapes (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). Such explanations simply do not take into account the diversity of experiences in the urban night, and do not show how difference and alterity can and does emerge from within the heart of the most corporatized and striated urban streets at night. Secondly, such work has overlooked that vast range of influences into the formation of subjectivities at night. As such, they have not been able to provide descriptions which do justice to the traces of a vast range of practices which feed into the emergence of subjectivity and which the urban night also effects (Latour, 2005b).

In this chapter, I have begun to show how the subjectivities associated with the urban night emerged from a range of practices. These practices go beyond legislative and policy changes only, instead incorporating diverse industries and locations such as street cleaning or the hiring process of chain bars. 'Night-time economy studies', I have argued, has failed to fully appreciate the range of practices which go into the emergence of the subjectivities of the urban night. However, whilst not usually explicitly or consciously expressed as such,[23] policy making often seeks to have impacts at the level of practice in order to attempt to cultivate, manage, prevent and encourage various subjectivities. Neoliberalism, it is argued, is characterised by increased intervention into practice and increased attention to the emergence of subjectivities, as part of the project of shifting responsibility for social well-being away from government and institutions and towards individuals (Harris, 2009). The large number of vectors of subjectification which contribute to the emergence of subjectivities mean that complex and often contradictory subjectivities emerge from the urban night. Policy in one area, such as the liberalisation of alcohol legislation through the 1990s and 2000s can contradict policy in another, such as the increased punitisation of 'anti-social behaviour' (Hobbs et al., 2005). Going even further, policy relating to smoking, leaflet distribution, hackney-carriage stance locations, light pollution levels and public transport operating times, amongst others and at multiple scales, all contribute to the emergent subjectivities of the urban night. Nevertheless, for

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[23] Though see the 2010 document *Mindspace* produced for the Cabinet Office which explores behavioural psychology as offering "a potentially powerful new set of tools" for influencing behaviour (Institute for Government, 2010). Further developments of a 'nudge' agenda have begun to appear in current government policy.

many policy makers the belief remains that the correct policies can produce the correct affects and environment so that the correct subjectivities begin to emerge from the practice of the city, feeding again into the correct practices and further correct subjectivities which continue to emerge. What this chapter has hinted at is that the excess of subjectivities represent a limit to policy capacity.

This analysis opens new potentials for urban geography in particular. In the next chapter, I want to explore more of this potential through a discussion of an empirical case study to further support the arguments made in this chapter. In doing so I will draw from the arguments and ideas made across the thesis, to explore how one intervention in the urban night – the Alive After Five initiative which promoted late night shopping and a variety of other activities in Newcastle between 17:00 and 20:00 and which was launched in October 2010- is involved in the formation of subjectivities. This case study will attempt to also reflect upon the empirical material used so far, and the continuing problematic which has been present in this thesis, namely, the apparent contradiction between the territorialising and restricting management of the city at night and the openness, deterritorialising potentialities of the material and affective excess present at the same time.

7. Alive After Five: A Case Study of Subjectivities Governance in the Urban Night

In the previous chapter, I began to show how the subjectivities associated with the urban night emerge from a range of practices. These practices go beyond legislative and policy changes only, instead incorporating diverse industries and locations such as street cleaning or the hiring process of chain bars. 'Night-time economy studies', I have argued, has failed to fully appreciate the range of practices which go into the emergence of the subjectivities of the urban night. However, whilst not usually explicitly or consciously expressed as such,[24] policy making often seeks to have impacts at the level of practice in order to attempt to cultivate, manage, prevent and encourage various subjectivities. Neoliberalism, it is argued, is characterised by increased intervention into practice and increased attention to the emergence of subjectivities, as part of the project of shifting responsibility for social well-being away from government and institutions and towards individuals (Harris, 2009). As has been shown in the previous chapter, however, the large number of vectors of subjectification which contribute to the emergence of subjectivities mean that complex and often contradictory subjectivities emerge from the urban night. Policy in one area, such as the liberalisation of alcohol legislation through the 1990s and 2000s can contradict policy in another, such as the increased punitisation of 'anti-social behaviour' (Hobbs et al., 2005). Going even further, policy relating to smoking, leaflet distribution, hackney-carriage stance locations, light pollution levels and public transport operating times, amongst others and at multiple scales, all contribute to the emergent subjectivities of the urban night.

Nevertheless, for many policy makers the belief remains that the correct policies can produce the correct affects and environment so that the correct subjectivities begin to

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[24] Though see the 2010 document *Mindspace* produced for the Cabinet Office which explores behavioural psychology as offering "a potentially powerful new set of tools" for influencing behaviour. (Institute for Government, 2010) , and more recent government thinking on the concept of 'nudging'.

emerge from the practice of the city, feeding again into the correct practices and further correct subjectivities which continue to emerge. Indeed, whilst affects do not operate deterministically, their results can often be reliable (Massumi, 2002, Protevi, 2009). As such, interventions into practice and affect can and do have impacts on subjectivities (Connolly, 2002, Thrift, 2011). The city centre at night can therefore be understood as a constant process of affective variation, in which affective change can, but does not necessarily, cascade across the various processes of emergence of subjectivities (Thrift, 2008a). Some readings of this narrative might suggest that this results in an inescapable spiral, in which geography, discourse and practice are mutually determining so that the same safe (neoliberal) subjectivities always emerge. Deleuze and Guattari describe such feedback processes as machines and suggest that:

> "Instead of opening up the deterritorialised assemblage onto
> something else, it [a machine] may produce an effect of closure,
> as if the aggregate had fallen in to and continues to spin in a
> kind of black hole" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:368).

The neoliberal machine of Newcastle's urban night produces subjectivities which then feed back into the machine as its raw material. However, machines never function with a hundred percent efficiency. There is, therefore, always an excess, always something escaping, something different emerging with every repetition (Deleuze, 1994, Lefebvre, 2004).

So whilst the neoliberal machine might be productive of an urban night with less heterogeneity, less opportunity for alterity and greater criminalisation of those who fall foul of new forms of governance (Hobbs et al., 2005), so too is there never a determined, singular 'neoliberal' subjectivity that is produced out of the contemporary urban night (Jayne et al., 2006). Returning to the introduction and the picture painted by the Arctic Monkeys' lyrics, we can recall that there remains a sense of playfulness, of hope and excitement despite the repetition and lack of diversity. However, as de Certeau's division of practices into tactics and strategies suggests (de Certeau, 1984), certain practices or subjectivities have not successfully captured a space – or, in my terminology, created an atmosphere – and so disseminate, unnoticed, across the city. For a researcher, these fleeting moments are often difficult, if not impossible, to capture.

In this chapter, I want to reflect on the various concepts and themes of the thesis so far, through a single case study. This will help explore further the theoretical claims and assertions that have so far been developed alongside the first portion of empirical work that I did for this thesis. The empirical moment in question is the 'Alive after Five' late-night shopping initiative that was introduced by 'NE1', the Newcastle city centre Business Improvement District (BID) delivery company in Newcastle in October 2010 and which attempted to 'bridge the gap' between the day-time economy and the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy. Through this research, which was undertaken a number of months after the rest of my thesis research, I hope to be able to reflect on the work done so far. Therefore this will help explore how Alive After Five, variously, attempted to initiate new rhythms, new frames and ultimately new subjectivities.

7.1 The Cosmopolitan Evening and Night-Time Economy

The 'Alive After Five' leaflet promises "an unrivalled nightlife boasting a huge selection of bars, pubs and clubs. Classy and sophisticated or traditional yet stylish, quiet amongst friends or clubbing 'til the early hours" (Bubble Bubble Marketing, 2010). Meanwhile the website of its publishing company promises that it will help present a 'cosmopolitan' town, attracting tourists and local residents into the town centre. The only problem with this quote, for my study of the 'Alive After Five' initiative in Newcastle, is that the cosmopolitan town in question is Barnsley. Barnsley, like Newcastle, has an industrial heritage surrounding coal mining, though, unlike Newcastle, it does not make claims towards either the status of 'regional capital' or 'world city'. For many, its status as a 'cosmopolitan' town might be questionable and it is telling that the only people to appear in Barnsley's 'Alive-After-Five' leaflet are white. Before Newcastle, and indeed before even Barnsley, towns and cities such as: Charlotte, North Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; Jacksonville, Florida; Sanford, Florida; Boise, Idaho; Billings, Montana; Atlanta, Georgia; Brighton, UK and Liverpool, UK all had various initiatives, projects and programmes called 'Alive After Five'. Dolly Parton's '9 to 5' song, it seems, has very little application in the (post)modern, cosmopolitan city.

In these examples, creating a connection between the day-time economy and the urban night is part of a strategy to turn the images of former industrial cities into 'vibrant' or 'cosmopolitan' cities. 'Cosmopolitanism' is arguably one of the key discourses of recent times in which subjectivity is a central issue. In this chapter I want to consider how such initiatives and events come about and how they show the ways in which the night-time

city is managed in order to foster certain subjectivities. In doing so, I do not intend to focus on why there have been so many attempts to market town and city centres as active places with a vibrant evening economy – though I will consider it – but rather I will be looking at the means through which these take place. I want to begin by considering the subjectivities which are imagined by such projects, before focusing in more detail on the specific aims and rationale of Newcastle's Alive After Five initiative, as depicted in various newspaper articles and media appearances. I will then look at how Alive After Five has been undertaken, focusing on the mechanisms studied in this thesis, before moving on to look at the related emerging subjectivities.

As discussed previously, the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy is a central part of some of the 'weak entrepreneurialism' of many urban marketing strategies (Jessop, 1998). It engages in urban competitiveness, but does so in a way which simply aims to copy from other cities and take investment and business away from them. In doing so, then, it requires that cities draw heavily from accepted discourses and practices, either through the following of 'best practice'(Bulkeley, 2006), or narratives such as the popular 'Creative Class' doctrine (Florida, 2002). In the context of the urban night, these discourses merge into the vague idea of the 'cosmopolitan' and, perhaps somewhat contradictorily given that cosmopolitanism hints at trans-local subjectivities, the 'European' (Bianchini, 1993). It is worth here considering in greater detail what is meant by these two terms, which in this context are commonly used interchangeably. As Young et. al. suggest, the notion of the 'cosmopolitan' contains two related, but distinct, connotations. The first is a sense of cross-national and anti-parochial citizenship; the second is a series of skills and knowledges associated with engagements with difference (Young et al., 2006). Contained in both of these is a notion that cosmopolitanism is centred deeply around a subjectivity or disposition towards the world so that "to be a cosmopolitan one has to have access to a particular form of knowledge, able to appropriate and know the other and generate authority from this knowing" (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004:42).

Cosmopolitanism is thus more about the self than it is about difference or the other: as Condradson and Latham suggest, cosmopolitanism is an aspirational state which people set out to achieve through a series of learning or becoming experiences (Conradson and Latham, 2007) . Given this centrality of self and experience to the notion of

cosmopolitanism, it is perhaps not surprising that the relation to difference implied by cosmopolitanism is not a relation to any difference, but rather to specific acceptable differences (Young et al., 2006).   As such, cosmopolitanism can be distinguished from other urban forms of subjectivity which may necessitate engagement with the other: this cosmopolitanism involves active attempts to fashion new forms of selfhood (Conradson and Latham, 2007), often with class-connotations (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004). For example, it could be argued that the use of a local Asian supermarket by inner-city residents in the UK is not a form of cosmopolitanism if the use is done out of necessity – that is, if it is the closest, most convenient and cheapest shop. Rather than this non-conscious re-constellation of subjectivity, cosmopolitanism involves a deliberate engagement with difference, dependent upon the mobility and wealth to be able to chose to engage with the other. In the context of urban cosmopolitanism, a similar level of choice needs to be present: the mixed race urban populations of West Yorkshire and East Lancashire is not viewed as a form of 'cosmopolitanism' (Swanton, 2009) , whereas cities developing new forms of alterity-based consumption, such as a 'European' urban night, is.

Within this sense of cosmopolitanism, then, nightlife forms a central part. As an interview subject in Young et. al.'s research stated, "it [the cosmopolitan city] is . . . well, the bars and nightlife" (Young et al., 2006:1709) . This is also indicated in the Barnsley leaflet quoted at the opening of this chapter, where the notion of cosmopolitanism is central to how the urban night is marketed and presented. Within this, then, the difference which is largely being fostered to create 'cosmopolitanism' is towards the 'European'. In the previous chapter, I noted that little had been done to ever define specifically what is meant by the 'European NTE'. Despite this, we can define a few characteristics of the supposedly European NTE. As Jayne et. al. note, the notion of a European drinking culture is based upon a dichotomy between:

> "'wet' Mediterranean countries (where wine is the customary
> drink, alcohol consumption is high but unlikely to result in
> intoxication) and 'dry' northern European countries such as the
> UK (where beer or spirits are the established drink, alcohol
> consumption is lower overall but more likely to result in
> intoxication, and access to alcohol has been more closely
> regulated)" (Jayne et al., 2008a:252).

Whilst the veracity of this distinction has been questioned, including by Jayne et al., its basis in reality is, for this chapter, less important than its effects as creating a desirable other around which the cosmopolitan self can coagulate. The European NTE is thus thought to: include a focus on eating as well as drinking; involve a later start and finish to drinking; consumption of wine over beer; and consist of cafe-style drinking venues which will provide a range of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks. It was this vision of the urban night that was discussed in the previous chapter and which was sold to policy makers in the 1990s (Comedia, 1991, Bianchini, 1995). If these aspects of the urban night were successful because of their appeal to neoliberal policy ideals (Shaw, 2010), then the 'European cosmopolitan' identity also proved popular because it was an easy cosmopolitanism that could be promoted in urban centres without large financial reserves or diverse populations. Whilst a 'chameleon bar' serving cheap wine and food until relatively late in the night is an easy prospect – "no one wanted to plonk a Red Lion in the middle of a city centre redevelopment, but an All Bar One or a Bar Havana was an altogether different proposition" (Nicholls, 2009:225) - a cosmopolitan alcohol and leisure based economy involving a wider range of difference is much more complex and difficult to obtain, particularly for towns and cities such as Barnsley and Boise with majority white English and American populations respectively. Ward, then, is quite clear in the suggestion that such evocations of cosmopolitanism are in fact " rather narrow and exclusionary" attempts to "support the reclaiming of downtowns by the white middle classes" (Ward, 2010:1190).

Cosmopolitan subjectivities in the urban night thus emerge from a series of different sources, of which this chapter has discussed three. Firstly, they emerge from conscious decisions, or forms of care of the self (Foucault, 1986), in which individuals will attempt to act as cosmopolitans. Secondly, they come from city centre spaces which are designed to attract 'cosmopolitans' or encourage cosmopolitan behaviour. Thirdly, cosmopolitan subjectivities emerge from other unintentional outcomes of the urban night. As such, even though they do not necessarily involve an actual engagement with difference, some sense of the European NTE remains, in public discourse, a key part of cosmopolitan urban life. Returning to *Revolution*, as discussed in chapter four, we can see a clear continuation of cosmopolitan values in the enacted enunciations of this bar. There appears, then, to

be some disconnect between the 'strong cosmopolitan' often discussed within academic literature as a potentially positive feature of urban citizenship (Amin and Thrift, 2002), and the 'weak cosmopolitanism' of much policy in which desire and aspiration towards the cosmopolitan is fulfilled through an engagement not with difference, but with a series of cosmopolitan-looking places. Returning to Conradson and Latham's suggestion that cosmopolitanism is about a corporeal experience (Conradson and Latham, 2007), so weak cosmopolitanism involves the minimal satisfaction of desire through affect and imagery which satisfies the body. The concept of developing a 'cosmopolitan' urban night, then, is one that has been taken up by many cities. As such, the following discussion of Alive After Five in Newcastle is just one example of the new urban strategies of cosmopolitanism.

7.2 Alive After Five in Newcastle

In Newcastle, this has been an ongoing aim of various developments and initiatives, in what Sean Bullick of NE1 (see below) described in a newspaper article as an attempt to "create a more cosmopolitan way of life in Newcastle" and give it a "culturally more European feel" (Carmichael, 2010). Alive After Five is the latest attempt to do this, created by the BID delivery company, NE1 (a name taken from the Newcastle city centre postcode, which is pronounced to be homophonous with 'anyone'). BIDs, which have a long history in North America and have since been exported as a policy tool across the world (Graham, 2000, Ward, 2007), were facilitated in England and Wales by the Local Government Act 2003. In the English and Welsh version, then, BIDs draw their funds by an extra levy on the property taxes ('rates') of all businesses over a certain size within their given geographical remit. This extra levy is compulsory, but the BID remains accountable to the businesses from whose tax it draws its finance: a vote on the continuation of a BID must occur every three to five years (Ward, 2007). This vote is not one of equals: rather, the weight of a business' vote is proportional to the levy that it pays into the BID. The BID, once created, takes over certain aspects of service provision, either as an alternative to local authorities or, more commonly, to supplement or improve the current local service provision. It can thus be understood as a central part of urban neoliberalisation, in which greater control of services and urban infrastructure is passed on to businesses, in accordance to their size (Ward, 2007). NE1 is a relatively new BID, having been founded in April 2009. Alive After Five represents the majority of NE1's spending for the 2010-11 tax year.

In this chapter, I conceive of the BID through the lens of ANT. BIDs have very little executive or legislative power, and that which they do have is restricted to the competencies set out in their BID proposal, or negotiated by the BID whilst it operates. BIDs have relatively short terms, and so could be seen as dependent on the whims of their constituents (the rate-paying businesses). However, they rarely 'fail', in the sense of not-having their terms renewed (Hoyt and Gopal-Agge, 2007). Evidence also suggests that they are able to effect significant changes, both superficial and more deeply developed, in the city centres in which they operate (Briffault, 1999). These successes are often put down to the belief that "BIDs have harnessed private sector creativity to solve complex municipal problems and have made cities safer and cleaner" (Garodnick, 2000:1733), and even those who are critical of the neoliberal ideology of BIDs have commented on their success at achieving their aims (Ward, 2007). Garodnick, in-fact, expresses the key skill of BIDs that ANT can explore, namely, the fact that they 'harness' in order to solve 'problems'. BIDs gain their power as they are able to act as intermediaries and enrol a number of different actants: businesses, local authorities, transport firms and other public-private service providers. By enrolling these various actants to act towards the same or similar ends, that is by aligning these actants, BIDs are able to achieve what these groups cannot either individually, or in unison without an adequate intermediary. BIDs thus gain their power by making more and more effective connections (Latour, 2005b). Thus the power of the BID is contingent upon its ability to make these connections and to get other actants to act.

The aim of the Alive After Five initiative is, primarily, to close the gap between the 'day time-economy' and the 'night-time economy'. To do so, there are two central goals: firstly, to increase the number of opportunities for consumption within Newcastle city centre between 17:00 and 20:00; and secondly, to facilitate easier access to and from the city centre at these times. For the first of these goals, the primary method being used is the extension of shopping hours in Newcastle's city centre. Prior to October 2010, the month of Alive After Five's launch, the majority of retail outlets in Newcastle closed between 17:00 and 18:00. NE1's aim is to create a permanent new closing time of 20:00. As well as this, NE1 have been encouraging bars and restaurants to provide more 'early evening' offers on food and drinks to attract customers at the end of the working day and before the urban night gets going. To promote and support this, NE1 have funded street performers to appear in the city centre between 17:00 and 19:00. For the second goal,

that is, to facilitate access to the city centre, NE1 have secured free parking at all council owned car parks in Newcastle city centre. In addition, some bus routes are extending their peak service provision later in the day, though the changes to public transport provision are minimal. Overall, then, a series of infrastructural and service changes have been made as part of this project. NE1 intends to fund Alive After Five until the end of the tax year in April 2011, but is hoping to continue this through 2011-2012. In this chapter I want to begin by focusing on the empirical material that I collected about Alive After Five, by running chronologically through the project. As such, I will begin by focusing on the planning and development of Alive After Five, before moving on to how it was promoted and described. I will then use ethnographic and photographic data to look at Alive After Five being practiced, and finish by discussing the emerging subjectivities that come from this. Throughout this the concepts of the thesis in this chapter – that is, rhythms, multiplicity, framing, affect and assemblage – will be brought in to assist in this analysis.

7.2 i) Planning Alive After Five

A long concern of city planners, in relation to the urban night, has been the limitations of the 'traditional' rhythms of city life. 'Nine to five' workers use the city centre for employment only, travelling into the city early on and travelling back out either home or to the suburbs at the end of the working day (Karrholm, 2009). Leisure time is then typically spent either at local venues in the evening – such as local sports clubs, community centres or pubs – and then only in the city centre at the weekend. It is telling, for example, that Hägerstrand typically used these rhythms to illustrate his time-space diagrams (Hägerstrand, 1982). Of course, urban rhythms have always been more complex and heterogeneous than this, but the deindustrialisation and depopulation of city centres in the UK through the 1970s and 1980s exacerbated the effect of dominant traditional rhythms to leave city centres often empty, with little scope for entertainment, living and consumption (Gaffikin and Warf, 1993). This has been further extended by the 'suburbanisation' of everyday life, in which people now live, work and play in the suburbs, removing the need to use the city centres (Young and Keil, 2010). Though less prominent in the UK than in the USA, such a trend has been encouraged by the development of sites such as the Metrocentre in Gateshead, and associated office and retail parks. As Hubbard points out, these sites have also developed some nightlife provision as well (Hubbard, 2005). One of the many attempts of regeneration has been to shift these rhythms so that more activity – and ultimately more consumption – takes place in the city centre; as this

chapter will show, some of this has involved moving the techniques of retail park and suburban management into the city centre.

It worth, then, first considering the rhythms of Newcastle before the introduction of Alive After Five. NE1 staff that I interviewed were very clear about the problems of the rhythms of Newcastle,

> "specifically, in terms of attracting families in [to the city] and I suppose what stemmed from that [the initial aims of NE1] is Alive after Five and bridging this gap from the daytime economy where Newcastle closes from a retail point of view at around about half past five or six o'clock, or previously had done. And then Newcastle had very much a perhaps hostile perception is perhaps the wrong word but ultimately with the shutters down, lights off and nobody on the streets, not a nice place to be."

People, particularly families and workers, would leave Newcastle between 17:00 and 18:00 and not then return. NE1 thus had a very clear image of the city centre as dead and inactive at this time. Certainly, as discussed earlier in this thesis, this period has previously seen less activity in the city centre as a whole; this is why street cleaning managers take the opportunity to have a two hour gap between afternoon and night shifts during this period. Certain locations, however, such as the area around the Central Station or The Gate complex are as busy, or even busier, during this period than at other parts of the day. Busses too become busier and increase in number. As such, it is not a complete evacuation of the city centre that is the problem for the businesses which fund NE1, but rather a reduction in the use of the city centre as a space of consumption. Furthermore, the greater influence of larger businesses – typically major retailers – on a company such as NE1 will emphasise this period as a time of economic downturn, whilst smaller businesses such as pubs and small restaurants might experience this period as busier. As such, it is worth reflecting that to speak of the rhythms of the city centre as a whole is to overlook the multiple interacting rhythms between different places and practices. NE1 does identify a shift in certain rhythms in Newcastle, but this gap is one in certain forms of consumption and spending only.

In planning Alive After Five, NE1 faced the task of enrolling various agents. Enrolment is a key concept of ANT, particularly of early ANT. It describes the process by which actors

achieve goals through the co-option of other actors into their network; in doing so an actor "succeeds in ordering a larger section of the social world in terms of its simplifications" (Callon and Law, 1982:620). Enrolment occurs when one actor can align others towards its aims. As Lefebvre puts it, an "intervention through rhythm... has a goal, an objective: to strengthen or re-establish eurhythmia" (Lefebvre, 2004:68), and this is best achieved through the alignment, or enrolment, of multiple actors. NE1 was in a strong position to achieve this enrolment through its pre-existing connections: members of local transport groups and the local council sit on its executive board. The funding that NE1 receives from local businesses means that there was already mutual interest in businesses following NE1's lead. NE1 were also able to use marketing data, which showed high levels of public support for extended retail opening hours, to help align the interests of major retailers with NE1. Here, then, marketing data can be understood as a tool of enrolment for NE1. There were some difficulties in enrolling companies, however. Most notably, many of the chain shops had complex management structures, in which it was not clear who had the authority to allow for later opening. Furthermore, NE1 had no particular power to oblige companies to open: as such, there was no guarantee that shops would fulfil their promises. Indeed, as a staff member that I interviewed commented, on the first night of Alive After Five some shops were shut that he had been told would open, whilst others which had given no promise decided to stay open. Enrolment here was thus still dependent upon the different internal practices of each actor.

Infrastructurally, NE1 also made use of an advantageous situation – that Newcastle City Council own most of Newcastle's central car parks – in order to obtain free parking. However, despite close network connections, they were largely unable to enrol local transport companies into Alive After Five. The staff at NE1 with whom I spoke explained this by the popularity of day or week tickets, which are valid at any time: the result of these is that any extra services that would be provided to support Alive After Five would generate little extra income. Here, then, NE1 were unable to enrol local transport companies into Alive After Five and have instead attempted to "remind the public of the excellent range of public transport options already existent in Newcastle". This planning stage was thus a question of how rhythms might be altered through the enrolment of more actors. In doing so, to follow Lefebvre's orchestral metaphor (Lefebvre 2004:68), more players should be playing the same tune, making it stronger. Rhythms of course are

not just set by institutions, opening times and transport schedules: they come from constant repetitions-with-difference (Deleuze, 1994, Lefebvre, 2004) of action and practice. Nevertheless, key actors can attempt to enrol others into their rhythms and effect changes.

7.2 ii) Advertising and Promoting Alive After Five

In the run up to the launch of Alive After Five in October 2010, various members of NE1 appeared on a series of local media platforms: the Evening Chronicle and The Journal, Newcastle's two local newspapers; the BBC's '*Look North*' regional news and ITV's '*North East Tonight'*; as well as on local radio stations. In all of these appearances, NE1 pushed the message of a new, open and cosmopolitan city centre. NE1 spoke of the unfairness of the current set up, with customers being "turfed out" of shops at 18:00 and the city centre being "dead". By contrast, Alive After Five would be active and make the city 'cosmopolitan'. NE1 were quick to liken Alive After Five to Sunday shopping, something they also did during my interviews with staff. On Sundays, we are told, "the pace of shopping is slower, people feel less hurried, there's a more cosmopolitan feel". Positive meanings are also created through association with Sunday shopping, which has been broadly seen as a success in the UK.

These different advertisements and publications also hint at what it is that NE1 refer to by 'cosmopolitan'. Firstly, from the previous quote, there is a sense of a different speed or rhythm of the city – one base around a slower pace of living. In fact, this more than simply just a slower pace. Rather than less being done, or the same amount of activity being done more slowly, this sense of slower place suggests more time being taken over more consumption. The cosmopolitan city centre user of Alive After Five is a member of the middle classes who has the luxury of leisure time to spend in the city centre (Ward, 2010). Secondly, then, it is implied that the those using Alive After Five will be workers in non-industrial service industries, and even more specifically, office workers. In his article for the Evening Chronicle, Sean Bullick wrote that workers will be:

> "staying longer in the city after work to do a spot of shopping, getting
> something to eat or drink before heading to the cinema or theatre or
> back home later than usual to avoid the traditional, mad rush-hour
> dash" (Bullick, 2010)

Again, the users of Alive After Five have disposable income which they are able to spend on leisure time. They are workers involved in a range of city centre activities, and not the traditional city centre users in Newcastle, based upon industrial working class drinking culture (Jayne et al., 2008b, Ward, 2010). This promotional material has thus deliberately emphasised workers and families as appropriate users of the city centre between 17:00 and 20:00. Ironically, then, this might have the danger of further fragmenting the urban night as something different from and independent to the day time economy: as a time when those who are inappropriate for Alive After Five might use the city. Thirdly, it is worth noting that in marketing Alive After Five, NE1 were keen to emphasise a change in atmosphere, by making Newcastle a "friendly, more welcoming place" with a "nicer environment". I will explore this further with my ethnographic work in the next section of this chapter. A fourth feature of the marketing of Alive After Five played upon the strong sense of Geordie local identity (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001). Comments in local papers suggest that it is the people of Newcastle and the city's duty to compete with other 'regional capitals'. In drawing on this sense of identity, the promotional material helped make Newcastle's attempt at cosmopolitanism a form of place-based development of self.

Such aims are hardly new, and can be seen in numerous attempts at rejuvenating the evening economy (Comedia, 1991). Ward's research in Wisconsin shows that many BID's have attempted to evoke the notion of the cosmopolitan city centre user in their marketing and promotion (Ward, 2010), whilst this chapter indicates that this practice extends further to other BID's. Promotion and advertising are the first steps in NE1's intension of creating a new atmosphere. They have recognised that many people conceive of the city after 17:00 as a 'no-go' area (Roberts, 2006) and that there is thus a need to change the framing of the night-city. Advertising and promotion take on two roles in altering frames. Firstly, they change the interpretative frames of Newcastle at night (Goffman, 1974, Butler, 2009), by attempting to show a new side to the city centre and create new frames within which to understand activity. Secondly, and more subtly, by encouraging different people and thus different bodies into the city centre, NE1 also seek to frame Newcastle at night differently. In particular, promotional material has deliberately emphasised office workers and families as the people who should be using the city during Alive After Five, and the theatre and cinema as appropriate activities. By acting as a spokesperson for various actants, NE1 alters the expectation of what people

will be encountered in the night-time city, and what they will be doing. As discussed in chapter four, however, framing involves more than interpretation.

7.2 iii) Practicing and Producing Alive After Five

NE1 had successfully aligned the interests of most of the relevant actants, and had taken on the role of spokesperson for Newcastle City Centre's evening economy. In doing so, they took on an important framing role with regards to the city centre between 17:00 and 20:00. However, this actor-network still needs to create attachments (Latour, 2005b:218), or in the Deleuzian terminology used elsewhere in this thesis, the actualisation of the assemblage must turn towards current strata. These phrases are both attempts to express that any planning stage enters into a series of rhythms, frames, assemblages and affects, that is, practice. Alive After Five attempts to create a machinic network which makes these practices productive. Creating the frames allows for the actualisation of certain enunciations of the multiplicity, but the resultant assemblage will by necessity have multiple lines of flight which both undermine and reinforce the assemblage. As was noted in chapter four, atmosphere is a particularly geographical concept which can be applied to multiplicities of place: atmospheres are actualisations of enunciations of a multiplicity of place. If frames corroborate one another, then an enunciation will gain more strength and may be 'actualised', that is, may become real enough to be experienced as if it were a coherent whole. In relation to Alive After Five, the atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult thing to engineer (Latour, 2003). To do this, NE1 have had to attempt to work on affects, in order to achieve a change in the atmosphere of Newcastle between 17:00 and 20:00.

Firstly, then, to the city streets. Alive After Five launched with significant support from many of the city centre businesses, though there were some who kept their shutters down. Street performers were hired by Alive After Five to provide support to the event and to help alter frames, as discussed below. This first extract from my research diary describes the third day of Alive After Five:

> *Atmosphere- not much, note the closed shutters, staff cleaning up,*
> *lights off, end of day, closing up time, darkness, relatively quiet, feels*
> *like a quiet Sunday. One slightly forlorn juggler, first goers out on the*
> *scene.*

8 – some nightlife, first people in uniform about, Blu Bambu has music blaring out, some bouncers and lights are on at takeaways, but I'm one of just 6 people in Bigg Market. Late night-shopping atmosphere, conspicuousness of cleaners.

Some two months later (14th December 2010) I took the following notes:

Northumberland Street at 6. Pre- Christmas. A few stalls set out in road selling flowers. Very busy. Lights are on everywhere & all shops are open. Police on horseback. Fenwick's *window attracts a crowd. Band playing and light. Like the Day-time*

In the short run of Alive After Five, it is impossible to distinguish seasonal effects from those created by the initiative. Nevertheless, it is clear that by the second selected visit that the number of people in the city centre and the number of businesses opening had increased. The distinction between shutters on shops and the lights of open businesses is marked, and one which greatly alters the city atmosphere. It frames the space as open, alive and active, compared to the closed off and unwelcoming face of shutters. Research in January and February 2011 has suggested that Alive After Five has retained its presence in a concentrated area of Northumberland Street and Eldon Square. Whilst the city centre as a whole is not as busy as in the pre-Christmas period, these areas have succeeded in retaining a 'day-like' atmosphere. In effect, by the date of the second ethnography and in more recent visits, a portion of the city centre has in the early evening economy been 'lost' by the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy, effectively now part of an extended day. Here, then, the rhythm of the evening period as a time dominated by public transport and day-workers leaving the city, which is then replaced by drinkers going out, has been altered.

The major investment from NE1 into altering frames of interaction is through the use of street performers. Street performers are often a key part of attempts by city authorities to create a certain experience or atmosphere in the city centre (Simpson, 2008b). They operate as a key indicator that "this is play" (Bateson, 1973) , that is, that we are in a consumption-led playscape (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). Their actions have the appearance of spontaneous creativity, and whilst they do attract crowds based on the affective appeal of applause and other appreciative noises, their performances are also

within neatly delimited spaces. Figure 7.1 below shows one such act, a man dressed as a nun on playing a piano which is mounted on a vehicle resembling a mobility scooter. As can be seen in the image, this performance which moves around the city centre attracts a lot of attention.

Figure 7.1: Mobile piano-playing nun

Certainly, during my research visits, this act proved the most successful in creating a different atmosphere of play, with interaction creating a space in which laughter spread along Northumberland Street. The act also caught the attention of children, highlighting the number of families present. These street performance acts thus created a variation in affects (Simpson, 2008b), encouraging certain bodies or capacities of bodies – playful and performative – to be enhanced.

The atmosphere of Alive After Five also emerges out of the infrastructural work which goes on at the time. During the period of 17:00-20:00, lighting engineers, street cleaners and shop cleaning staff become more visible in the city centre as these instruments which maintain the city are brought out (Latour, 2003). Figure 7.2 shows some of the problems of this. Here, shoppers walk through litter, which has built up during the traditional change-over in shifts of the city centre street cleaning team. As discussed in chapter three, in order to cope with the incessancy of the city centre (Melbin, 1987), there is an early evening gap in shifts which has made use of the slower build up of waste during this

period. However, increased footfall in shopping districts during this time will cause more waste to develop, resulting in more waste, and a more visible waste creation and

Figure 7.2: Northumberland Street during Alive After Five

collection process. Figure 7.2 also shows a delivery lorry using this normally pedestrian street. This shows: firstly, that if Alive After Five is to be a long term development, legal issues regarding street-vehicle access times may need rethinking; and secondly, that shops have yet not altered their institutional patterns of coping with incessancy. Delivery times are typically reserved for periods when the shop is shut and the street outside is empty, whilst Alive After Five removes this coping device. Furthermore, within shops, staff are quick to tidy up and restock during the 17:00-20:00 period. When out towards the end of this period, that is after 19:30, it was clear in many shops that staff were attempting to close up as their shifts came to an end. In these examples, infrastructural practice has not been completely shifted to fall in line with Alive After Five

A further key contributor to the atmosphere of Alive After Five is the weather, that is, the meteorological atmosphere (McCormack, 2008a). Alive After Five was launched in October 2010; in any year, October in Newcastle is likely to be wet and cold, and within the first two months of its operation Alive After Five had suffered from the coldest temperatures and heaviest snow fall seen in November and December in the North-East of England for fifty years. The staff at NE1 were aware that "the weather at this time of year is not conducive to our aims in Alive After Five", but the launch was undertaken

during the winter months due to its coincidence with traditional Christmas late-night shopping. On a more prosaic note, the weather affects how darkness is experienced: the night with rain can seem a duller, emptier and quieter place as the atmosphere closes in, compared to a clear night. This might encourage fear or angst to develop, and put people off using the city at night. By contrast, it is hoped that in summer months daylight and warm evening weather will encourage greater use of the city centre. Here, the discursive link between warm evening weather and the 'cosmopolitan European' lifestyle, as evoked above, is being imagined. It is instructive to note that the comparisons to Sunday afternoon shopping work best where the 17:00-20:00 period is imagined as a period of daylight, something which is true for only half the year. Whilst weather and lighting time are clearly externalities outside of control, they still frame and thus alter practice (Callon, 1998). Indeed, such frames are also an explanation as to how the capability of enrolling institutional actants cannot fully describe the functioning of the world. Alternative framings, and thus affects and assemblages, emerge from external factors which cannot be controlled, such as the weather, or through the ongoing rhythms which are already in place in the world. The atmosphere of Alive After Five thus represents a mixture of the intended changes and the existing practices which were already in place in Newcastle at night.

7.3 Alive After Five and Subjectivities in the Urban Night

As for the night-time alcohol and leisure based economy, Alive After Five appears to have had less impact. A relative lack of change in the drinking and eating industry might be explained by the relatively low levels of influence that these groups have on NE1, as they are dwarfed as rate payers by the larger retail sector. However, it might also be explained by the fact that NE1 was attempting to align the evening economy with the values and ideology that already existed within the urban night. Many of the bars and pubs in Newcastle city centre were already offering happy hour drink or food deals before the launch of this scheme (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001), and the closure of shops at around 20:00 still leaves a gap on many nights before city centre drinking venues become busier. Nevertheless, both in my interviews and in marketing literature, there was a focus on the use of drinking and food deals to keep people in the city centre after 17:00. In doing so, NE1 repeat the rhetoric of academics and policy makers of the 1990s (Hadfield, 2006, Shaw, 2010). Here, the increased opportunities for consumption of alcohol were marketed as an opportunity to change and alter public behaviour and subjectivities, as I

explained in the previous chapter. As I also noted, this agenda failed completely, and subsequent discussions of it have explained its failings as based upon its class-biases (Shaw, 2010:897), its neoliberal hypocrisies (Hobbs et al., 2005) and a basic misunderstanding of drinkers and drinking practices (Jayne et al., 2006, 2008a). As such it is a programme and discourse which has been widely criticised and has been rejected by many at a policy level as well as by academics.

Figure 7.3: Happy Hour at Opera, in *The Gate*

The continuation of this neoliberal discourse in this latest guise of Alive After Five in Newcastle indicates is the ongoing attraction of the suggestion that the correct drinks offers, in the correct places, at the correct times will result in unproblematic increased consumption. NE1 has thus plugged itself into previous assemblages which have suggested that the creation of proper neoliberal subjectivities will make for a better urban night. Alive After Five has yet to produce any great changes in the bars making these offers: certainly, whilst there are some groups who come to the city centre a little earlier than they might otherwise have done, this is not in a significant number. Equally, there seems to be little evidence from ethnographic work for a significant shift in the number of people staying out beyond work for food and drinks.

Alive After Five thus seems to represent an attempt to continue the ongoing alignment of city centre rhythms and thus frames and assemblages towards some sense of 'European cosmopolitanism'. As such this reuses both the rhetoric and practices of the various attempts that have been made as part of neoliberal regeneration strategies since the mid 1990s to foster links between the 'traditional' NTE of heavy (masculine) drinking and the day time, retail and service based economy. Alive After Five is therefore centred around attempts to promote and develop certain subjectivities which will result in both more, and better, consumption.   By drawing on a rhetoric of cosmopolitanism and Europeanization, NE1 imagine that it will be possible to translate a desire for increased shopping hours into a driver of wider consumption and use of the city centre at night, or at least in the evening. Alive After Five is thus a project, fuelled by a mixture of a class-based expectation of proper ways of using the city centre, and a profit motive that drives NE1, which as a BID is a privatised form of city centre governance. This confirms much of the work of Chatterton and Hollands on neoliberal developments of the 'NTE', and Ward's discussions of BIDs and cosmopolitanism (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, Ward, 2010).

It is far too early in the lifetime of Alive After Five to judge its overall success or otherwise. However, this research has reconfirmed that BIDs appear to be very efficient at planning and providing services and infrastructure. Furthermore, this research has suggested that rather than explaining this as a feature of the inherent creativity of the private sector (Garodnick, 2000), the efficiency of BIDS emerges from their privileged position as successful intermediaries and spokespersons. This explains why NE1's vision of a 'cosmopolitan' urban night was both easily created and easily enacted. As intermediaries, NE1 were able to enrol and align various different actors, and so shape institutional and corporate rhythms so that they could guarantee the provisions of Alive After Five. This was followed by marketing and promotion which appealed to people's desire to get more use out of their city centre and which played upon the notion of the importance of Newcastle as a regional capital, in which NE1 acted as a spokesperson. At the level of practice, NE1 were less able to directly use the power gained from their position in the network, because of the liveliness of affect and the unpredictability of atmosphere. Nevertheless, studying BIDs as part of an actor-network can help show where their power and success can come from. In developing this, we might gain a better

understanding of how the privatisation of urban services is developing under Western neoliberalism.

Alive After Five does thus not demonstrate a radical or alternative break or change to previously ongoing enunciations of Newcastle's urban night. Indeed, as pointed out above, Alive After Five should not be expected to be radically different, precisely because it comes from within a number of discourses and framings that are well accepted within contemporary urban planning and policy. As such, my analysis cannot make the radical claims of Jackson's 2004 study of alternative clubbing spaces in which he argues that the non-mainstream alterity of clubbing can result in permanent changes to subjectivity; or Hobbs' et. al.'s work with bouncers, which shows a relationship between corporeality developed in the urban night and other aspects of embodied subjectivity (Hobbs et al., 2003, Jackson, 2004). Rather, the example of Alive After Five is closer to the normal drinking and entertainment practices studied by Latham or Hubbard (Latham, 2003, Hubbard, 2005). These 'normal practices', whilst creating less immediate affectual ruptures, can be understood as just as important in the generation of difference and the emergence of subjectivities. Following the arguments of Protevi, it is the constant repetition of similar activities which creates reliable subjectivities out of affects (Protevi, 2009). Alive After Five thus helps to reinforce the neoliberalising subjectivities of the urban night which have been developed through the processes described by many other researchers (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). It is worth noting that much of the work done here has had the effect of producing the same arrangement of actors that are found in retail parks and shopping malls. Free parking, late opening times, a cross-over between spaces of retail and spaces of leisure and the presence of uniformed information assistants are all features of shopping malls that have been transplanted by NE1 into the city centre in order to create Alive After Five. As such, the 'cosmopolitanisation' of the city centre is nothing more than reterritorialization of shopping mall governance practices in the city. It seems, then, that despite the many critiques of how the urban night has been regulated or managed, the attraction and ease of consumption-based neoliberal discourses remains.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how the development of Alive After Five has reinforced the understanding developed previously in my thesis that the urban night has been subject to

management which attempts to generate the correct subjectivities. Practice, through the analytical vocabulary that I have developed, is shaped and moulded at every moment in order to make a success of Alive After Five. Through identifying a problem in practice – with the wrong rhythms – NE1 identify a way to develop the city centre commercially. Their work of enrolment was able to frame the multiplicity so that certain affects were produced; these spread across assemblages and particular subjectivities emerged. By looking at the work of the BID through this lens, we begin to understand more of the work and appeal of neoliberal policy discourse. Here, the BID has operated as a mediator in an actor-network, and done so to shape practice and produce appropriate subjectivities, which are those of the office worker and his [sic] family.

In the context of the argument that I develop in this thesis, then, Alive After Five works to expand upon the arguments made previously. Local authorities continue to respond to the supposed challenge that "city centres in the West are becoming, in many cases, day-time office and shopping districts, almost a wilderness after the afternoon rush hour" (Bianchini, 1995:121), with schemes that are focused on creating a 'proper' nightlife in which consumption dominates. Whilst this does not result in an urban night without creativity or difference, as I've hopefully shown so far, it is true to recognise, as Ward does, that such techniques are a reterritorialization of those used in other locations (Ward, 2010). However, what this approach adds to Ward are two things. Firstly, as well as a sign of the international spread of urban policy, BIDs also show a movement from the suburbs to the city centre. Secondly, and more centrally for this argument, Alive After Five is a reterritorialization of a form of practice management developed particularly in the urban night over the last twenty years, although it is neither exclusive to the night nor this time period. This management of practice seeks to develop certain correct subjectivities, to a number of ends. In the concluding chapter of this thesis, I want to set out the various concepts studied in the terms of an analytical vocabulary of practice.

8. The View from the End of the Day: Concluding Chapter

At 03:00 on most mornings in Newcastle the last of the nightclubs shut, and scattered revellers soon collect their chips, kebabs and burgers and disappear from the city streets. Street cleaners and the single night-bus punctuate the lonely hours that follow, when the kittiwakes and seagulls come out to feed. Pecking at the food cartons or the multi-coloured piles of fast-drying vomit, they briefly dominate the city, a reminder that the built environment caters for both animal and human rhythms. Commercial activity grinds to a halt – members continue to gamble in the twenty-four hour casino, while stag parties attend the three euphemistically named 'gentlemen's clubs' scattered across backstreets. Only McDonald's is open to the general public through this time. Slowly, however, the various rhythms begin to resume. The first bleary eyed travellers make their way to the train station for the 04:40 service to London, or the first 'Megabus' coach service of the day. More regular bus services begin between 05:00 and 06:00, as the final night-bus is passed on its journey home by the first timetabled day service. The first workers for the day begin to arrive; deliveries are taken at shops, whilst the night shift from the cleaning team goes home. By 06:00 any remaining sign of 'nightlife' will be well and truly gone and the city begins to move towards a new day.

In this conclusion, I'd like to initially do three things. Firstly, I want to take a more explicit look at some of the research areas that have been scattered throughout the thesis, specifically: taxi; street-cleaners; and urban temporalities. Here, I will aim to summarise my discussion of these topics. Secondly, I want to present my conceptual terms together, in doing so reinforcing both the relationship between them all and the complexities of developing vocabularies of practice. I will explore in this section the relationship between policy imagination, practice and subjectivities, and the claims that this thesis can make. Thirdly, I will comment on the limitations of this study and potential future developments for its theoretical claims.

8.1 Taxis at Night

Larger taxi companies in cities use complex computer software to plan and manage the location of their drivers across the night. This software is dependent upon radio and computing infrastructure, as well as the technological infrastructure present in cars. This assemblage is intended to be responsive to the demands created by the urban night. As such it translates certain practices and actions into a series of bits of information which then inform the decisions made both by the software and by the operators in the dispatch office. Organisations with such great geographical and operational capacity are only possible because of this integration of technology into their working practice. That said, this technology is only a partial determiner of taxi activity, which also relates to other practices in the city centre. Most obviously, private hire vehicles and hackney carriages are not able to make use of the same sites, due both to congestion and legislative requirements. Private hire firms, such as those with which I researched, develop locations at which they collect customers. These locations then begin to act as smaller nodes in the night-time city themselves, but without any official permanent surveillance. Taxis make up the predominant form of vehicle on the roads of Newcastle at night. Whilst the purpose of their driving, making money, could create problems due to associated rush and aggression, in practice there is little evidence to suggest that this is actually an issue.

Provided as a form of public service, but with profit extraction at the heart of the business, taxis fit well into the narrative of the 'neoliberal' urban night (Cooper, 2006). They are demand responsive, whilst the above mentioned computing technology and the specific employment relationship between drivers and companies in which drivers are essentially contracted freelancers means that services are tailed around user requirements (Cooper et al., 2010). For drivers, the urban night provides a financial incentive for working, despite the dangers and trouble associated with working in this period. Generally, drivers did not find a pattern or a normal circumstance in which violent or troubling behaviour would emerge, although they could give circumstances in which problematic behaviour arises. In particular, whilst the practice of bundling drinkers into taxis to get them out of the city centre can make much sense when just looking at the centre, for drivers it can create problems as the bodies of those in the taxi carry with them the affects that caused the violent atmosphere to emerge (Brennan, 2004). Indeed, a focus on taxis at night can reveal many of the connections which are formed between

the city centre – the object of study in this thesis – and the rest of the urban area. More broadly, then, taxis might be viewed as transmitters of affect across and around the night time city and a future study might take this up.

8.2 Street-Cleaning

Night-time street cleaning in this thesis has been shown to be not a case of renewal and recuperation of the city centre in advance of the new day (Melbin, 1987, Tomic et al., 2006). Rather, it is a necessary part of the management and control of the flow of materials which occurs in the night-time city. In particular, this flow of materials is one through the body: alcohol, music, heat and images flowing in, with various waste fluids and objects being deposited out. Such bodily excess is managed by the removal of these deposited materials from the streets. This results in a very visible form of infrastructural work, in contrast to the invisibility of much infrastructural work in the global north. Due to the incongruity of street-cleaners amongst the 'playscape' of the urban night, they must constantly negotiate their visibility, avoiding any escalation of their rupturing presence. In doing so, the cleaners themselves develop a series of techniques and bodily practices, both consciously deliberate and corporally learnt, which attempt to reduce interaction with those around them.

Night-time street cleaning is thus one of the many framing practices which forms a 'belt' around the urban night. Here, then, I am somewhat in agreement with the argument that cleaning works to 'manufacture modernity' (Tomic et al., 2006). This, however, shouldn't necessarily be viewed as part of a deliberate project in which agents of neoliberalism hide the 'truth' of the city. Similarly, it is wrong to suggest that night-time street cleaning somehow determines or is singularly vital for the formation of subjectivities in Newcastle at night. Rather, it is one of many vectors of subjectification which are "relatively autonomous in relation to [each] other, and, if need be, [are] in open conflict" but which nonetheless come together to establish subjectivity in individuals (Guattari, 2000:25). By controlling the flow of materials which takes place in the urban night, Newcastle's cleaners make it easier for both city centre users at night to separate their night-time hedonism from their daytime selves, and for those who aren't present in the city at night to view it as a different time of others, which has little impact on their daily lives. This results both in the creation of 'binge drinking' subjectivity, but also helps contribute to the subtler and more nuanced complexities of subjectivities who use the night-time city.

Night-time street cleaning can also inform studies of waste and infrastructure. As Crang and Gregson suggest, research into waste has tended to focus on waste management, that is, on the movement and treatment of waste as part of wider techno-scientific or policy-oriented studies into the management of resources. A result of this is that waste has been remarkably fixed as a concept within academia, a feature of modernity which "just is: [waste] is the stuff that is being governed, or that which is the outcome of policy" (Crang and Gregson, 2010:1027). Whilst this focus is understandable, it means that there has been few attempts to rethink or trouble the category of waste. Night-time street-cleaning in Newcastle can be understood as forming the first stages of the 'waste assemblage' (McFarlane, 2009). Discarded materials first become litter and secondly begin to interact with the workers and objects of infrastructure to become 'waste' (Bennett, 2004). In doing so, they reveal the work which goes into this assemblage, but also its contingency and multiplicity. Further focus on the practices of the formation of the mass categories of infrastructure shows that these categories are moments in the movement of matter (Gregson et al., 2010), and that the matter which makes up these categories does not do so 'naturally': rather, it is subjugated to constant processes of moulding and management for this to take place.

8.3 Urban Temporalities

Studies of the urban night in the West have tended to periodise it into three stages. Firstly, the night of Medieval and Early Modern Europe, in which the dark was a period of little state or official action and surveillance, but which was largely feared for dangers both real and mystical (Ekrich, 2006). This is followed by a period of literal 'enlightenment', in which the increase in state capacity to govern, technological developments in lighting techniques (Schlör, 1998), expansionist demands of capital (Marx, 1930), industrialisation and the domination of 'clock time' (Glennie and Thrift, 2009), all combined to increase both work and leisure activity at night. In a third stage, then, a shift towards 'the twenty-four hour city' driven by increased communication speeds and globalisation, in which the urban night which appears much the same as the day, has been posited (Melbin, 1987, Heath, 1997, Kreitzman, 1999). Critiques of narratives of the smoothing effects of globalisation, however (Law, 2003b, Law and Mol, 2008, Sloterdijk, 2009), have largely caused this third stage of the narrative to be rejected. However, in throwing out the concept of the twenty-four hour city, academia

now says relatively little about the ontologies of the night and how it continues to differ from the day.

In my research, I have argued that urban temporalities need rethinking, through integration with the theoretical and research findings of time-geography and geographies of rhythms (Crang, 2001, Edensor, 2010). Specifically, by understanding the night as a period in which most rhythms go through low intensity, but certain rhythms in certain places are intensified (e.g. the intensification of material flow through bodies in city centres), then we can begin to recognise a night which is defined not as inherently separate from the day but not as the same, forming part of the polyphonic rhythms of the incessant city (Melbin, 1987, Lefebvre, 2004). In Newcastle, the rhythms of consumption associated with shopping, for example, decrease after 17:00, but with the launch of Alive After Five have what we might call an evening phase from 17:00-20:00. They are then in 'night' mode till staff arrive and deliveries begin the following morning. Bodily rhythms are often more complex, and may have different forms of night and day at different times e.g. a Friday night or Saturday night bodily rhythm can be different from the midweek. Broadly, and as I discuss in chapter three, this concept of incessancy can be taken further for future studies of temporality in the city as a way of avoiding deterministic narratives of technological progress .

8.4 Emergent Subjectivities: A Conceptual Overview

It is worth returning to the conceptual overview provided at the beginning of the thesis:

Figure 8.1: A conceptual map of the thesis
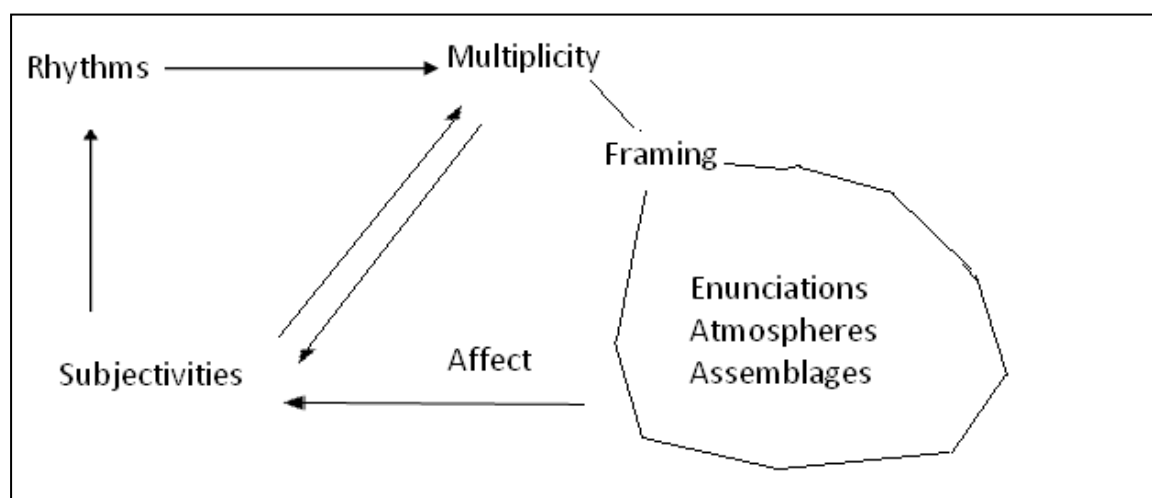
I began in the top left hand corner of this diagram, though in practice any of these terms, arrows, lines or spaces could be points of entry (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Rhythms

are the result of repeated patterns of action, but this repetition always introduces some form of difference, even if this difference is only of spatio-temporal distinction. From this constant creation of difference there is, even in the most rigid of rhythms, multiplicity. Multiplicity also comes from the heterogeneity of subjectivities that are involved in rhythms, as subjectivities hold contradictions and potential for difference together. Multiplicity describes objects in their state of being-multiple, that is, of connecting to both the virtual and actual through the potential of constant difference. Just as multiplicity is created, however, framing, a result of discourse, gestures, bodies, histories, place, context and a variety of other features, quickly begins to reduce multiplicities, to prevent virtual enunciations from being actualised. The multiplicity is thus only ever experienced through a few of its enunciations, though these enunciations contain within them deterritorialising moments. Where these enunciations are spatialised, as in the analyses of de Certeau or Foucault, they become atmospheres and potentially 'micro-fascisms', in Deleuzo-Guattarian terminology. They thus dominate a place, using a variety of strategies of control. Whilst 'enunciation' describes these collections of framed things in relation to the multiplicity, assemblage describes the form that they take, as they consist of many objects which themselves interact across multiple enunciations. This gives assemblages a transversal quality, as they are able to interact across bodies and scales. Affect is generated by bodies – that is, all objects and concepts – within these assemblages, as the bodies gain the capacity to affect one another through their relations. Subjectivities, then, emerge from this circulation of affect as they produce vectors of subjectification which come to interact in a body. These vectors cause bodies to recognise themselves and others as subjects and to become subjectivities, which are then constantly evolving. Subjectivity is thus emergent from this constant flow of practice, creating affect, which is captured in bodies. Any moment of this diagram can be studied and together these concepts form a vocabulary through which we can describe practice.

In creating a vocabulary of practice such as this, it has been my aim to bring four theoretical positions in particular into conversation. Firstly, I have sought to locate my work within Non-Representational Theory (NRT). In doing so I see this as an area of geographical research which has been most insistent in theorising and researching together the linguistic and discursive significations which are constructed between subjectivities, and the material and affective intensities upon which subjectivities are

developed (Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Whilst in NRT there have been numerous attempts to explore the role of affectivity in the constitution of subjectivities (Anderson and Holden, 2008, Latham and McCormack, 2009) and the role of practice in generating affects (McCormack, 2003b, Darling, 2010), the attempts to explicitly follow the flows between practice, affect and subjectivities (Dewsbury, 2007, Harrison, 2007, Wylie, 2010) have often been divorced from the empirical work of NRT (though see Wylie, 2005a as some of the exceptions to this, Bissell, 2007, MacPherson, 2008). A vocabulary of practice which relates to affect and subjectivities does not so much fill upon a *gap* in NRT, as much as it attempts to more explicitly pause and reflect upon some of the unexplored aspects of the work currently being undertaken in this field.

Secondly, then, I have sought to reflect more explicitly on the relative contributions of Deleuze and Guattari and actor-network theory as the two most influential philosophical pillars behind NRT. In particular, by attempting to draw explicitly from both of these influences, I have explored the productive differences that exist between the two in concepts such as multiplicity/the multiple (Deleuze, 1970, Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Mol, 2002) and assemblage/actor-network (Guattari, 1995, Latour, 2005b). Again, whilst this is far from the first work to read NRT and ANT together, I hope to have done so in a way which recognises both their similarities, and their moments of difference. In particular, it should be recognised that Latour's refusal to consider his work as ontological (Harman et al., 2011) restricts him, and many actor-network theorists similarly, to assemblages that have already been actualised: the topic of actor-network theory is typically to understand retroactively this process of actualisation, or becoming. By contrast, Deleuze's self-positioning as a metaphysician (Deleuze and Villani, 2007:42, Villani, 2007) allows him to talk about the virtual and about assemblages which are not-yet-made. Whilst Latour's approach is closer to the concerns of us as social scientists, Deleuze and Guattari perhaps offer an additional explanation for both the emergence of difference and the maintenance of similarity than is available through actor-network theory.

Thirdly, this vocabulary of practice is in part a response to the attempts of this thesis to explore in greater depth the work of Bateson, the singularly-authored work of Guattari and the relationship between these, than has hitherto occurred in geography. Both Bateson and Guattari emphasise, above all, ontologies of immanent subjectivity, in which

the subject is entirely dependent upon an 'environment' or ecology, which itself is dependent upon the subject (Bateson, 1973, Guattari, 2000). Bateson's work represents a long passage – which he characterises as a series of 'steps' – of interdisciplinary work, merging biology, anthropology, medicine, philosophy, sociology and psychiatry to develop an 'ecology of mind'. This draws upon a cybernetic understanding of structure, in which all elements of a system can be mapped into a set of relations. Bateson uses this approach to show that mind is a necessary result of "appropriate complexity" which "occurs in a great many other places beside the inside of my head and yours" (Bateson, 1973:490). Guattari frees Bateson's work from the constraints that a structuralist cybernetic approach brings, insisting on an interaction of crossing vectors, rather than an incorporation of objects into a system (Guattari, 2000). Both Bateson and Guattari recognise that such an understanding of subjectivity brings a further political dimension to the evolving ecological crises of the late twentieth century. Thus by exploring both Guattari and Bateson, we can firstly achieve a better understanding of Deleuze and Guattari's co-authored work, and secondly explore this extremely geographical understanding of subjectivity (Guattari, 1993) in which subjectivity, the everyday urban environment, and global ecological processes, are inherently linked.

Fourthly, then, I use this vocabulary of practice to bring these theorisations to bear on contemporary understandings of neoliberalism in geography. As a concept, neoliberalism holds the odd place of being both an immensely popular description or explanation (and the differences in those two terms should not be underplayed) for events and assemblages, and a much maligned concept accused of "compound[ing] rather than aid[ing] in the task of figuring out how the world works and how it changes" (Barnett, 2005:10). Barnett's analysis is particularly scathing: here, both political economy work on neoliberalism and versions "affected by a heavy do se of French regulation theory" (Barnett, 2005:8) prevent analysis of everyday practice by insisting that it stands separate from hegemonic or top-down analyses of the world. For political economists, Barnett tells us, neoliberalism is further proof of ongoing class struggle; for poststructuralists it is an easy and important marker of the 'relevance' of their work. Barnett's critique does provoke thought, and in particular the dangers of positing a 'hegemonic' neoliberalism. Nevertheless, what it does not deal with, as I noted in chapter seven, is the repeated forms of policy and subjectivity management which have spread across the globe since western economies began to deregulate economic practice in the 1980s, whilst global

pressures created by institutes such as the IMF encouraged countries in the global south to do the same.

When looking at urban geography, it is impossible to deny that something – whether it is "cities as maelstroms of affect" (Thrift, 2004a:57) or a series of policy tools and practices (Ward, 2007) – has spread and travelled between cities on the back of intensified global flows. Indeed, what a focus on neoliberalism works to do in this thesis is to provide the example of how the city is viewed from a certain position – from the stand-point of the various neoliberal policies with regards to the urban night that have circulated in the UK over the last twenty years. By looking at these policies, and how they imagine the city, I have then been able to show how practice is always able to somehow exceed this imagination, making it impossible to produce the 'correct' subjectivities. Contra Barnett, then, I believe, firstly, that neoliberalism is an appealing name for these new common tendencies. In Newcastle, it is possible to identify various moments in the urban night where there are attempts to govern practice in order contribute to the formation of neoliberal subjectivities. Secondly, a focus on practice can explore how neoliberalism can be at once so homogenous, yet at the same time not a project. Barnett is correct in asserting that, for example, BID managers in Newcastle do not form part of a planned attack on welfare by the state. Rather, a practice based approach can show the ways in which neoliberalism emerges as a set of contextual responses and decisions but that, because of ongoing rhythms, framings and atmospheres, these responses and decision are often strikingly similar.[25]

8.5 Limitations and Future Directions

Any thesis, of course, is limited, and it behoves the writer to reflect on these. Whilst a practice based-analysis provides insights into a greater range of empirical areas 'on the street', it does so very much with the understanding that a whole range of practices, accessible and inaccessible, play a role in the emergence of the assemblage of the urban night. In this thesis, for example, I risk at times overlooking the practices and

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[25] The arguments found in the book 'Mobile Urbanism' (McCann and Ward, 2011) , which was published after most of this thesis was written, have the potential to push on the debate about neoliberalism in geography. It has not been possible to fully incorporate my response the ideas from this book into this thesis. However, to offer some brief thoughts, I think that this work shows both the strength of looking at 'policy circulation' as one of the defining aspects of neoliberalism, and the need to combine this with a study of practice and of attempts to create new subjectivities in order to explore the limits of policy imagination and governance. As such I think it reinforces the need for the type of analysis of neoliberalism that I begin to move towards in this thesis

subjectivities which take place in the policy making arena.[26] Simply put, to interview policy makers at the end of the process of creating a policy is to miss the work which goes into making policy. Furthermore, it would be wrong to assign a homogeneity to actants such as councils and BIDs: they are also multiplicities, made up of diverse humans and non-humans, each of which has a variety of roles and activities. More broadly, then, studies of practice need to acknowledge the areas of practice which they have 'black-boxed' (Latour, 1987), that is, taken as immutable or homogenous givens with a single purpose. By visiting further the practices through which decision making and policy formation take place, we can further destabilise the notion of a hegemonic neoliberal project, whilst developing a deeper understanding of those practices and ideas which circulate across policy settings. A related danger is that studies of practice can be ahistorical. I have attempted to avoid this through an inclusion of rhythmanalysis and time-geographies, but again this something to which there might be further attention.

In this thesis, I chose not to conduct many interviews or go-along ethnographies with those using Newcastle at night. In part, this was to avoid the repetition of research done by many others already within night-time economy studies (Hollands, 1995, Malbon, 1999, Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, Hadfield, 2006, Adams et al., 2007, Jayne et al., 2008a, Szmigin et al., 2008, Griffin et al., 2009), which has already established the heterogeneity of voices, views and experiences which take place in the urban night. Rather by focusing my research on those workers involved in practices surrounding the booze economy, I hoped to gain a different perspective from those which users provided. Nevertheless, this does mean that my comments about the behaviour of city centre users are either based on: my observations and conversations, and should thus be taken as relatively generalised or superficial ; interviews with night-time workers, which again have the same issue; or my readings of secondary sources. On a related note, my ethnographic work is of course located within my subjectivity: I was able to express the data that I have done because of the various vectors of subjectification that flow into and through me. This is an unavoidable aspect of the work of individual ethnography, and should not be seen as a significant *limitation*; rather, it can be viewed as contributing to the form of situated knowledge which is created with such research methods.

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[26] I am indebted to a discussion with Steve Millington at the 2011 *Association of American Geographers Conference* for this point.

My research site was very much the city centre. Hubbard, through his research into out-of-town leisure complexes, and Jayne et. al. through their research into alcohol consumption in rural areas and the home, show that the issues discussed in this thesis extend beyond the city centre (Hubbard, 2005, Valentine et al., 2010b). Future research, then, could these spaces of the night-time city more seriously. Research into suburban nights, for example, might further explore the geographies of alienation and danger which can come at night, or the use of the home at night as a space for a variety of activities. In doing so, we might begin to understand further practices which contribute to the management of the night-time city.

Research into the urban night and the 'night-time economy' has continued to broaden as I have written this thesis, particularly in geography. This is reflected both by two recent collections which have sought to provide overviews of research into the urban night, one by geographers and one by urban planners (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009, Jayne et al., 2011) and by sessions at both the 2011 Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting and the 2011 Royal Geographical Society Annual International Conference on the themes of geography and the night. As such, it can no longer be claimed that the night is particularly neglected or overlooked in geography. However, there are two research routes down which night-time research in geography can progress. Firstly, whilst there are a wide range of topics studied in the night, the night 'aspects' of these topics are often looked at in isolation. Alternatively, this might be understood as the day still remaining the normal timeframe within which research takes place. This often makes sense - the night is typically a time of less activity – but what I have hopefully shown in this thesis is that the night forms, alongside the day, an incessant rhythm in which tasks are spread over the across the twenty-four hour period. To overlook the night is to miss out on the constitutive background of many practices. Secondly, geographical research into the night needs to continue to make connections between urban geography and other sub-disciplines. Thus, future research projects might also take in experiences of darkness, lighting techniques, the politicisation of the night, the relationship between urbanism and light pollution and the use of night-time cities in the context of transitions of lower-carbon societies, amongst many other possible routes.

8.6 Practicing the Urban Night in Newcastle

In May 2011, the television series *Geordie Shore* began its broadcast on MTV UK. An adaptation of a highly successful American show *Jersey Shore*, the show provided the

television network with its highest ever viewing figures of 401,000. A reality television show, it revolved around the life of six 'real Geordies', living in a house in Newcastle with a number of small tasks or jobs used to generate a narrative about their lives. Inevitably, the contestants were chosen based on their fondness for heavy drinking, sex and flirtation. As such, much of the show's drama was based in and around Newcastle's nightlife: arguably, it was the city and its bars which were the star and the object of the show. The representation of Newcastle as a 'party city' is unlikely to go anywhere, and indeed it is will probably continue to drive tourism and development in much of the city centre for years to come. The urban night forms a cornerstone of Geordie identity, driving local forms of cultural production: ultimately, it also a way for the city's inhabitants to relax and enjoy themselves.

Newcastle's urban night thus replicates the neoliberal night-time high street, in which chain bars offering cheep alcohol deals can come to expand at the expense of locally owned bars, whilst the local BID provides extra services for larger city centre businesses, taking on previously council-run services. Yet it is also much more than this. It is soggy takeaways under shop fronts at 02:00. It is stag parties from Glasgow singing Rangers songs as they march down the street. It is workplace groups sharing cocktails at 18:00. It is taxi rides from suburbs to city centre clubs. It is late night shoppers or city centre workers bumping into people arriving at the train station dressed for nights out. It is a lonely night-bus journey home in the early morning light. It is the grease outside McDonald's front door. To posit that the problems of the night-time city are created by certain aspects of 'neoliberalisation' need not be to posit a neoliberal system of dominance. Instead, if the city is viewed as a complex assemblage, in which attempts to govern practices and subjectivities are always only able to achieve partial success as other practices and subjectivities escape and emerge, then neoliberalisation becomes understood as a series of mobile, repeated, contingent practices which can never dominate as a full system. In the much more poetic words of another, then (O'Brien 2009:12):

> O
> Great Tyne, I was unworthy of the task
> I lacked the gifts required to convey
> The terror and the pity and the hope
> I witnessed on my night out on the Toon.

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