Reconceptualising work in nightclubs

Christopher Murray

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Declaration

This thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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Abstract

Work in nightclubs has been understood as a task encountered by individual employees, navigating a contradiction between a profit imperative and duties under license to restrict unrestrained consumption. In this thesis, I offer a reconceptualised perspective, which decentres the individual from analysis and considers the affective forces that constitute work in nightclubs. The principal aim of this research is to theorise how bar staffs' occupational role has emerged in the NTE and to understand how affective forces shape their capacities as servers and regulators. Informed by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, the thesis is underpinned by an alternative conception of human intention, activity and experience as constituted by forces, which provides the basis for its reconceptualised perspective on the issue of serving alcohol and regulating its consumption. This research began after eight years where the author worked in the night-time economy and it adopts an ethnographic approach to the generation of data. This involved participant observation, interviews and focus groups aided by video elicitation, to account for many perspectives on the issue of alcohol consumption and its regulation at the nightclub. The thesis does not claim to definitively represent the problem of selling alcohol and regulation of its consumption in nightclubs, it offers perspectival insight into the phenomena it seeks to reconceptualise. Its insights are generated through a specific research site and a particular time and circumstance, therefore, while its findings may not be amenable to generalisation, its alternative way of thinking can challenge how work in nightclubs has been previously understood. To this end, the conceptual framework advanced in this thesis conceives work in the nightclub as the 'suspension of desire', which offers an alternative perspective on the problem of the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption in a night-time hospitality venue. The thesis draws attention to the way employees become dependent on the forces that they must restrain, posing a risk to the security of their employment and a danger to their safety. In this respect, the thesis raises concerns over the way work in nightclubs has been understood and the principles by which it is organised within a capitalist political economy.

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Introduction

This thesis offers a theoretically informed empirical study of work at a city centre nightclub in the North of the United Kingdom, specifically focusing on the sale of alcohol and regulation of its consumption in the night-time economy (NTE). Night-time industries are neglected sites of empirical research, despite a turnover of £92 billion contributing revenue to the United Kingdom's economy and representing the working lives of 1.5 million people (NTIA, 2019). Nightclubs especially seem to be under-researched in studies of work, despite posing as interesting spaces for scholarly attention as these settings may be considered 'extreme' sites of employment (Granter et al., 2015) with stressful conditions (Hadfield, 2006) and shifts typically starting after 9 in the evening and finishing at 5 in the morning. After the passing of licensing legislation which came into force in 2005 (Licensing Act 2003), bar staff working in the night-time hospitality industry have been given "the responsibility to prevent disorder and drunkenness on licensed premises" (DCMS, Licensing Circular cited in Valverde, 2003, p.239), which ostensibly renders them "deputies" of state regulation (Sallaz & Wang, 2016). A lack of in-depth research into the work of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption is a concern given the scrutiny under which bar staff have been placed for the role they are perceived to play in contributing to or exacerbating problems in the NTE (Graham, 2006). An inquiry into this occupation is also a timely one, considering Müller's (2019) observation that relatively little is known of work and organisation at night.

For employees in nightclubs involved in the sale of alcohol, their role appears to give rise to contradictory demands. On the one hand, a profit imperative solicits the maximisation of sales, and on the other, duties under license impose restrictions on unrestrained consumption. Indeed, bar staff may be encouraged to reach targets for drinks sales, but at the same time, they are expected to restrict drinking to excess. This can lead to circumstances where the same customer may be permitted service throughout the evening, spending a considerable sum of money within a venue, only to be denied it when they are deemed drunk or disorderly. The following study seeks to understand how employees negotiate these dilemmas, by examining the experiences of those working in nightclubs and through a consideration of their working practices.

In the literature on public health, alcohol, addiction studies and criminology, several scholars have argued that impractical demands placed on employees and excessive consumption in the NTE come at considerable cost to society but represent significant gains for the alcohol industry (Hughes, 2014; McCambridge, 2013). As such, the thesis presents an opportunity to critically examine how the work of bar staff is shaped by commercial, socio-economic, and political influences (Hadfield, 2006; Hobbs et al., 2003). This becomes one of the present study's overarching analytical ambitions. In addition, this thesis also generates opportunities for insight into the nature of work in settings that deal with 'problematic' commodities more broadly (off-licenses, betting shops, and festivals for example), which pose as important areas of concern for scholars of work and organisation, given the impact of over-consumption in contemporary society.

Critical analyses of work in the night-time hospitality industry and the NTE more broadly are underpinned by ethical, political, and moral concerns. Within such studies, a challenge is often made implicitly or explicitly to the necessity of certain ways of working and organising in the NTE. Existing research has brought to the fore concerns over the quality of employment and nightlife in the night-time hospitality industry and the present study takes these as its starting point. In doing so, it reviews academic literature and a series of disciplinary perspectives which have sought to explain the nature of work in the NTE or could legitimately be brought to bear on understanding it. Scholars articulate the tensions and contradictions that employees encounter working in the NTE and draw conclusions on the way these have emerged through certain political, cultural, and economic configurations. However, research in this area has limitations. These include conceptual dichotomies of order and disorder, sobriety and drunkenness, but also, and importantly for the present study, a preoccupation with the interiority of the individual in understanding how employees engage with the demands of their occupation.. Proceeding on these terms, critical analyses of work in the NTE may constrain insight into the very ethical, political, and moral questions they seek to address.

At issue here is a more fundamental concern about the relationship between alcohol, human civilisation, power, and the economy, and situated within this are philosophical questions related to the nature of existence and the theorisation of human intention, activity, and experience. This thesis will endeavour to tackle these issues, but why draw attention to these questions and not others? Why should one labour over arcane theoretical issues that might seem to express more about the pretentions of grandiose intellectualism than they do about the issues confronted by employees in the NTE working in difficult circumstances? Or is there something specific about trying to understand work in the NTE that lends itself to these questions? The perspective taken

in this thesis is that a concern with fundamental relationships between phenomena, philosophical questions of existence, and the contradictions encountered by employees in the NTE are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, one cannot be understood sufficiently without the other. Arguably, a case for this claim could be made for the study of any occupation, however, understanding the nature of work in the NTE brings the interrelation of such concerns into sharp relief. Indeed, the problems employees encounter working in the night-time hospitality sector present some of the most incisive challenges to existing conceptions of work in the NTE to date.

The task of this inquiry is to sufficiently understand how the challenges employees face are symptomatic of relations that have emerged between alcohol, human civilisation, power, and the economy, and therefore constitute certain ways of being. Understanding the nature of work in the NTE necessitates a theoretical perspective that can accommodate these concerns and therefore the thesis will be informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari. Bringing these concerns together in understanding the work of bar staff in a nightclub, the present study extends an important aspect of Deleuze and Guattari's critical project: examining the nature of existence within capitalism, a project that this thesis introduces to the analysis of work in the night time hospitality industry.

The following section outlines a series of closely interrelated philosophical ideas and perspectives from Deleuze and Guattari's analysis of life and work in a capitalist political economy, which will be drawn upon to understand and adequately conceive the nature of work in the NTE.

Theoretical perspective

The present study draws on the work of two French intellectuals of the 20th century, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. While their philosophical oeuvre spans a great variety of problems, concepts, and ideas, a theoretical understanding of forces is central to their thought, and the analysis of forces serves as the theoretical point of departure for this thesis. Developed independently by Deleuze in his study *'Nietzsche and Philosophy'* (2002)[1], and then later expanded on in a collaborative work entitled *'Anti-Oedipus'* (2000)[2], the theory of forces presents an opportunity to theorise the nature of work in the NTE without presupposing human

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[1] Originally published in 1962 and translated into English in 1983.

[2] Originally published in 1972 and translated into English in 1977.

intention, activity, and experience. Therefore, enabling a departure from the preoccupation with the interiority of the individual.

This theoretical departure is supported by three philosophical ideas from Deleuze and Guattari's work. First, a theory of concepts established in their final collaboration entitled '*What is Philosophy?*' (1994)[3], which highlights the way conceptual determinations are created to express 'problems', such as 'preventing drunkenness and disorder', but it poses the question of whether existing conceptualisations are "badly posed" or "trapped within other problems" (ibid, p.27). Reconceptualising work in the NTE involves creating a new concept to express the co-existence of forces in the nightclub, rather than through a conceptual dichotomy of order and disorder. Second, a theory of *desire* offered in Deleuze and Guattari's first collaboration entitled '*Anti-Oedipus*' (2000), which explains how forces can be understood as forces of *desire* or *social control*[4]. Drawing on a historical analysis of the social control of desire, this raises new questions about how the problem of 'enforcing social order and maintaining responsible levels of consumption' can be conceived within the NTE. Deleuze and Guattari's alternative perspective on the nature of existence and the human condition has far-reaching implications for the way self-control has been understood to underpin the notion of 'drinking responsibly'. Third, a theory of axiomatics, which is formulated across Deleuze's independent work in *Difference and Repetition* (1994)[5], and their collaborative works, *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) and *What is Philosophy?* (1994). This enables a critical examination of axiomatic principles (namely uniformity, equality, distribution, and divisibility), which obscure or cancel out *intensive differences*, providing an opportunity to consider how intensities of work are measured and systematically overlooked within a capitalist political economy.

In addition to these theoretical points, the thesis also attends to the problem of understanding the relationship between experience (meanings associated with lived experience, expressed intentions, and perceptions) and impersonal forces. It considers how meaning, experience, and intention can be analysed in relation to impersonal forces that are meaningless, in excess or beyond experience, and without intention. This problem is important, given the ethnographic approach taken for this research, and its data generation methods; participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and video-elicitation discussions. Laid out in the methodology chapter, symptomatological analysis, drawn from Deleuze's independent work in *Nietzsche and*

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[3] Originally published in 1991 and translated into English in 1994.

[4] Extending Deleuze's independent work on the theory of forces.

[5] Originally published in 1968 and translated into English in 1994.

Philosophy (2002), is not a research method that can be used to "explore individual understandings and subjective experiences of the world" (Cunliffe, 2011, p.648) and arrive at an interpretation of social reality "by discussing with different communities of interpreters" (Sandberg, 2005, p.56). Instead, it takes meaning, interpretation, and lived experience as *symptoms of the forces that constitute* them. Consequently, this perspective suggests that the principal issue of concern does not rest with "individuals' and groups' lived experience of their reality" (ibid, p.47) and the meanings they associate with it, but with the 'way of being' or *force* of existing that their lived experience expresses; active or reactive. Interpreting the provenance of human intention, activity, and experience, conceptualising encounters between impersonal forces, desire, and social control, and critically examining the axiomatic epistemology of their measurement and organisation are the key tasks of this thesis. To that end, this study insists on the importance of adequately theorising the way impersonal forces manifest in the NTE, and understanding how this could change the way work is conceived in nightclubs.

The theoretical perspective adopted in this thesis responds to a series of fundamental challenges laid down to modernist conceptions of human intention, activity and experience, and the nature of organisation itself. If, according to Deleuze and Guattari, one cannot ground an analysis of work at a nightclub with the human subject at its centre, situated within an organisation as a distinct economic entity, how is one to understand how forces, beyond human control, constitute these phenomena? Furthermore, how is one to approach their analysis empirically, when the research process itself is ostensibly bound to the activities, meanings and interpretive perspectives of human subjects? Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical commitments demand significant revisions to the grounds on which mainstream studies of organisation and management premise their analyses. The theoretical framework presented in this thesis, formed by the theories of forces, desire, concepts, and axiomatics, by no means characterises the entirety of Deleuze and Guattari's contribution to the history of philosophy. It is not the intention of this thesis to systematise their thought to construct an overarching philosophical system that can be applied to this research. But rather, these formulations present themselves as the ideas and concepts that are necessary to present an answer to the challenges above and to adequately understand the nature of work in nightclubs constituted by impersonal forces.

The following section will outline the aim of the research and its objectives, this is followed by a section that explains its contributions in more detail, and an overview of the structure of the thesis, before the second chapter reviews existing academic literature.

Research aim

To state the formal aim of this research, the present study seeks to theorise the work of bar staff in a nightclub through the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, attending to the nature of their role in selling alcoholic drinks, while at the same time holding responsibility for the regulation of their consumption. It does this by offering an in-depth empirical examination and theoretical interpretation of work in the NTE, based on nine months of ethnographic field work in an inner-city nightclub. On account of this aim and the purpose of the research as described above, this thesis has the following objectives,

1) Critically examine the management of work intensity in the nightclub.
   - This will be achieved by examining approaches to the management of work intensity and considering how intensities are systematically overlooked through practices of measurement.
2) Conceive how events emerge in the nightclub.
   - This will be achieved by decentring the individual from analysis and considering how the working practices of bar staff are shaped by the events they encounter.
3) Understand how the work of bar staff is constituted.
   - This will be achieved by interpreting the work of regulating consumption, as symptomatic of more fundamental relations between alcohol, human civilisation, power, and the economy.

Contributions

To meet the objectives of the research, this thesis makes three principal contributions. First, it engages with existing research on the phenomenon of work intensification, focusing on issues related to changes in management and organisational practices (Piasna, 2017), employer-led flexibility (Hadfield, 2006), and extreme work (Granter et al, 2015). Studies in the literature on industrial relations, labour economics, occupational psychology, human relations, and organisation studies have all identified a trend toward the intensification of work in the United Kingdom. However, less scholarly attention within these debates has been directed toward changes in management and organisational practices. Studies in the literature on human resource management point to employer-led flexibility and the management of work effort around "short and unsocial hours" as key issues, and raise concerns over whether employees have the resources to cope with such "pronounced work intensification" (Piasna, 2017, p.177). This thesis extends this research by drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatics to examine how work

is managed in the nightclub according to principles that are disconnected from the intensities that employees engage with. The thesis presents a critical analysis of the way work intensity is systematically overlooked, which raises important questions for understanding how bar staff simultaneously engage with intensities at work which differ considerably in degree and nature, yet, are managed as if they are continuous and uniform.

Second, this thesis engages with research informed by affect theory, on affective labour (Dowling 2007; 2012) and affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009; Michels & Steyaert, 2017). Scholars in the social sciences, organisation studies, and human geography have sought to decentre subjectivity and the presupposition of an autonomous subject from analyses (Blackman, 2008). Scholars aim to analyse relations prior to the emergence of the subject (Fotaki et al, 2017) at the pre-individual level (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012), drawing attention to the way affective forces are amenable to a degree of intervention or manipulation and highlighting tensions between designing atmospheres and their unpredictable outcomes (Michels & Steyaert, 2017). Extending this research, the present study draws on Deleuze and Guattari's theory of forces and concepts to conceptualise how events emerge at the affective level and what is involved in the creation and maintenance of commercial affective atmospheres. It postulates the concept of "suspension" to express the way affective forces in nightclubs must co-exist, rather than oppose one another. The thesis theorises how events manifest within *suspended* atmospheres of affective force and how this might change the way bar staff's work is understood. This challenges existing work which presupposes human intention, activity, and experience either alongside or prior to the emergence of affective forces. In so doing, this analysis also re-directs studies of governance in the NTE, reconceptualising work in nightclubs in a way that decentres the subject from analysis and avoids a conceptual dichotomy construing events as owing to order or disorder.

Thirdly, this study engages with research on emotion at work, empathetic and antipathetic emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983; Ward & McMurray, 2016, p.27), customer conduct (Korczynski & Bishop, 2007), and appropriate responses for employees in regulatory positions (Graham et al., 2011). Studies of emotion at work highlight two forms of emotional labour, one empathetic, where at the "toe of the corporate system… warmth is the product" and the other, antipathetic, where at the "heel", "money is owning, and it must be extracted", therefore, "suspicion is appropriate" (Hochshild, 1983, p.147). Scholars note that occupations involving antipathetic labour (Ward & McMurray, 2016) tend to attract less scholarly attention (Godfrey & Brewis, 2018; Lennard & Johnson, 2019). The present study contributes to this research by considering how the work of selling alcohol and regulating consumption is constituted as both empathetic and antipathetic emotional labour. But it goes further by theorising how dilemmas

encountered at work by bar staff are symptomatic of the tensions between social control and desire. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of desire, this thesis extends its reconceptualisation of work in nightclubs as the "*suspension of desire*". This alternative perspective brings into question the assumption that an individual can maintain control of their consumption (Nicholls, 2009), presenting an opportunity to reconsider how customer abuse manifests (Korczynski & Evans, 2013; Korczynski & Bishop, 2007; Reynold & Harris, 2006) and the way this shapes the work of bar staff in the NTE.

The reconceptualised perspective this thesis offers also challenges existing research on the governance of the NTE, which discusses how drunkenness, disorder (Hadfield et al, 2009), anti-social behaviour, violence (Tomsen, 1997), irresponsible sales and management practices (Measham, 2006) must be prevented, regulated, or designed out to offer commercially sustainable and safe environments for nightlife. Studies on these issues stress how the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption requires a systematic recovery (Hadfield et al, 2009) raising concerns over the way "bad bars" (Graham et al, 2006) contribute to many problematic outcomes (Hadfield, 2015) and a lack of public order (Hadfield, 2008). The present study, however, contests this position by demonstrating how nightclubs cannot function entirely in opposition to these phenomena. Indeed, it highlights the complex dependencies between the social control of desire, employment, and consumption. This reveals the considerable challenges bar staff working in nightclubs contend with, who are under pressure to serve as many drinks as they can, but at the same time, collect payment from customers who become increasingly intoxicated (O'Brien, 2018).

Thesis structure

Following on from the introduction, chapter two considers the literature on the NTE, sumptuary regulation, work in nightclubs, emotion at work, empathetic and antipathetic labour, customer conduct, affective labour, and affective atmospheres. This chapter highlights the contradictory demands placed on bar staff, but also shortcomings associated with the way emotion and affect are theorised, signalling a theoretical opening for the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari. Chapter three introduces the theoretical framework which offers an alternative conception of affective forces, desire, and social control. It also presents an approach to the creation of concepts and a theory of axiomatics which, taken together, offer the theoretical basis on which the empirical findings are analysed. Chapter four explains the ethnographic approach taken in this study, the research site, and data generation methods; participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and video elicitation. The methodology chapter also deals with the theoretical

issue of how it is possible to move from the experiences and observations generated by the empirical findings to their interpretation as constituted by *impersonal* forces. This completes the theoretical architecture of the thesis and is explained in a section of the methodology chapter, by following Deleuze's 'symptomatological' approach to the interpretation of *impersonal* forces. The empirical findings are presented and analysed through chapters five to seven in a theoretically informed way to reconceptualise work in the NTE. The conclusion in chapter eight demonstrates how the study has met the objectives stated for this research and reflects on the limitations highlighted in the review of literature, highlighting the contributions made by this thesis. It also discusses the limitations of this study and explores potential avenues for future research.

As indicated above, the thesis begins by considering how work in nightclubs has been conceived, by reviewing the literature from various academic constituencies. The intent is to understand the contradictory demands placed on bar staff, selling alcohol, and regulating its consumption, but also, to critically examine a variety of perspectives that could be taken to conceive their work.

2

Literature review

Introduction

The task for this chapter is to critically review academic literature that discusses the context of the NTE, emotion at work, customer conduct, the intensification of work and studies informed by affect theory that could offer insight into the work involved in the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption. As such, it leads the inquiry through a range of disciplinary perspectives and debates, paying specific attention to the limitations of presupposing interiority at the centre of analysis and how this can constrain how work in nightclubs is understood. The first section of the review begins by examining how the 'NTE' has emerged in the UK and the regulatory environment this has given rise to. This offers the necessary context within which the concerns of this thesis are situated. The second section of the chapter will then move to consider debates relevant to the work involved in bartending and regulation, examining different perspectives offered by the literature.. This includes a critical examination of the psychological conception of work, presupposed in research on public health, criminology, and occupational psychology. This perspective is challenged through work on the sociology of emotions, labour process theory and studies of customer conduct. Emerging from this discussion is a sense in which the idea of a responsible, autonomous, and psychologically adaptable individual bartender does not appear to be an appropriate basis on which the study is to proceed. Indeed, this conception overstates the resilience and adaptability of individual bar staff, who may be overcome by the pressure of intensified working conditions, carried away by the exercise of power over customers, or struck into submission by the threat of abuse and violence. Consequently, this indicates a need to depart from the presupposition of a psychologically adaptable individual at the centre of the analysis.

Exploring research that has sought to attend to this problem, the third and final section of the review considers work informed by affect theory, in the literature on organisation studies, anthropology, autonomist Marxism and human geography. What comes out of this discussion,

is a sense in which the individual can be 'decentred', in favour of analysing pre-individual or impersonal affective forces. However, it will be argued that human intention, activity, and experience continue to be posited alongside or prior to the emergence of an impersonal relation between affective forces. From this perspective, affective forces can be used to shape service encounters through embodied capacities or leveraged through changes to spatial architectures and materials (for example, the use of plastic rather than glass for drinking vessels or the creation of specific zones for the dancefloor and seating areas), in the service of crafting affective atmospheres. In this, important questions are raised with concern to the autonomy of the individual and the causal efficacy of atmospheric interventions. However, in both cases, human ingenuity and embodied skill continue to be the analytical focus.

At the close of the literature review, an issue will be raised concerning the theoretical grounds on which studies informed by affect theory stand. Drawing on the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, an argument will be put forward that it seems misconceived to continue presupposing human intention, activity, and experience, alongside or transcendent to affective forces, when the purpose of the analysis is to consider encounters between forces, *prior* to the formation of the subject. This represents the point of departure for the thesis, to attend to the theoretical problem of analysing impersonal forces; conceiving their encounters in the nightclub and understanding how these constitute the work of bar staff. By no means will this offer a solution to contradictory demands placed on bar staff in the NTE, but it does offer an opportunity to adequately determine the nature of the problem, by understanding how impersonal forces shape the work of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption.

As indicated earlier, the first section that follows situates the concerns of this thesis by examining how the 'NTE' has emerged in the UK and the regulatory environment that has developed around it.

The Night-Time Economy

While the regulation of alcohol consumption has been a perennial problem for human civilisation, this thesis takes as its focus, a historically unique set of conditions in which drunkenness has become a much-valued commodity, linked to a period of urban regeneration and deregulation that has emerged since the early 1990s. The politico-economic developments that contributed significantly to this period originated in the United Kingdom's post-industrial cities, where projects to reposition the urban night in terms of economic opportunity took hold. Following the recessions of the 1980s and early 1990s, and the development of out-of-town retail centres, city centres increasingly became economically unsustainable due to processes of

suburbanisation (Heath, 1997) – a withdrawal into private spaces and domestic activities - and a perception that "youth, prostitutes and drug addicts" were their only inhabitants (Lovatt & O'Connor, 1995, p.132). This saw an influential change in urban policy, which coincided with a shift in the political and economic landscape from the Keynesian interventionism of the 1970s - concerned with public planning and regulation – to a post-Keynesian "militantly conservative state … more supplicant to the interests of capital" (Gaffikin & Warf, 1993, p.67). Neoconservative ideology held that the economic causes of urban degeneration and 'stagflation', were a result of "statutory and regulatory interference"; perceived to be redundant in the face of a globalised economy, "to which only deregulated markets had the flexibility to respond" (ibid, p.68).

In contrast to "urban hygiene" projects and attempts to introduce the "arts in urban regeneration" during the 1980s, cultural planners lauded night-time regeneration strategies as capable of extending the "vitality and viability" of urban centres, and potentially "doubling the city's economy" (Bianchini, 1995, p.124). Local authorities envisioned growing the NTE as "part of wider urban renewal strategies … and civic 'image-building'" (Chatterton and Hollands, 2005, p.2), through revenue generation, longer business hours and increased occupation of vacant premises (Shaw, 2010, p.894). The promise of a night-time led regeneration of urban centres was characterised by a significant degree of optimism; a means of "bringing people back in to the city … as a culturally vibrant realm of play, socialisation [and] encounter" (Lovatt & O'Connor, 1995, p.30). Regeneration strategies were conceived to promote the "deregulation of licensing and planning laws so that more mixed-use city centre developments could be created to foster [a] perceived 'Continental European' lifestyle" (Shaw, 2010, p.894). This was underpinned by "links between profitability and inter-urban competitiveness [and] cities re-inventing themselves as consumption sites" (Liempt et al, 2015, p.410).

During the 1980s, the emergence of a rave culture posed a significant threat to the alcohol industry, as a large proportion of young adults were choosing ecstasy and drinking less alcohol. But the alcohol industry quickly adapted by positioning drinking and the locations within which drinking took place as psychoactive experiences (Nicholls, 2009). By taking advantage of the normalisation of drug use in youth cultures (Parker et al., 1998), for the first time, the alcohol industry took an opportunity to market drunkenness as one of the main values of alcohol consumption (Measham & Brain, 2005). Following the 1994 Criminal Justice Act, this effectively ended outdoor rave events and nightclubs sought to welcome this lucrative market with open doors. It was not long before the night-time high street was populated by pub-club

crossover premises with sophisticated sound systems, lighting displays, dancefloors and DJs, satisfying the wants of a new generation of hedonistic young adults drawn more to party anthems than real ales (Nicholls, 2009).

During this period the role of local authorities was no longer one of managing the drink trade, but one of "actively promoting it to the extent that it became critical to their long-term strategic visions" (Nicholls, 2009, p.220). This uncomfortable marriage between civic governance and the alcohol economy led to unchecked growth of licensed premises, fast-food outlets, and an alco-centric monoculture. A visit to a night-time district bears little resemblance to the 'café society' vision promised by urban regeneration initiatives (O'Connor & Wynne, 1996). Instead of the "European café drinker" (Shaw, 2010, p.896) and an atmosphere conducive to such 'aspirational lifestyles', critics argue that the night-time high street has become alcohol-fuelled and consumption driven (Hadfield, 2006; Hough & Hunter, 2008), characterised by high levels of alcohol related and violent crime (Hadfield, 2006). Jessop (1998) suggests that an unchallenged market imperative looms over urban "beauty-contests" of civic renewal, which places a thin veil over the excessive consumption of alcohol that forms the commercial core of the NTE. The alcohol industry, looking to ensure return on investment, often cluster where commercial opportunities are already well established, and these locations present themselves as inexorable hotspots of crime and disorder (Garland, 1996; Liempt et al, 2015). More recently, the optimism that had once characterised urban planning and policy debates during the early 1990s has subdued. A decade later, research has highlighted a naiveite in urban regeneration strategies, which has contributed to many unanticipated problematic outcomes, "criminogenic, environmental and social" (Hadfield, 2015, p.607).

The alcohol industry has made efforts to promote voluntary alternatives to regulatory provision. The Portman Group, a trade body for the alcohol industry, claims to "consistently challenge the industry to deliver high standards of best practice" and ensure the "responsible marketing and promotion of alcoholic products to UK consumers" (Portman Group, 2021). Best Bar None[6], a national award supported by the Home Office and the Purple Flag[7] scheme - an accreditation process for town and city centres - are illustrative examples of a move towards partnerships between local authorities, NTE businesses and drinks manufacturers under a corporate social responsibility agenda in projects of urban governance. But critics have suggested that private interests escape largely unscathed, as the "alcohol industry has appeared to have captured the

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[6] Best Bar None sponsors: Bacardi, Brown Forman Brands, Diageo, Heineken and Molson Coors.

[7] Purple Flag main sponsor: Diageo (drinks manufacturing multinational)

means of their own regulation" (Hadfield et al, 2009, p.467). Hadfield & Measham (2015) have also expressed their reservations over the trend towards 'off-the-shelf solutions' friendly to alco-centric NTE businesses, as they are perceived to be deficient in their accountability to the public. However, current policy framing continues to laud partnership schemes as satisfactory and cost-effective ways of implementing the regulation of alcohol consumption. While Local Alcohol Partnerships (LAPs), Pubwatch schemes, community groups, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) and Street Pastors may ease some of the strain on local authorities, health services and police forces, the principal regulatory device available to the government remains a centralised disciplinary power of licensing (Valverde, 2003), which is devolved to local authorities. The following section discusses the early history of UK licensing or 'sumptuary law' and draws out the long-standing tensions in the political economy of alcohol consumption.

Sumptuary regulation

The state regulation of private consumption has long posed a dilemma to liberal market states. From the early modern period to the present day, the licensing of the drinks trade has been a problematic issue, not just for Westminster, but for local communities where the deleterious consequences for the population encourage authorities to shape and implement centralised policies in a way that fits local priorities (Brown, 2013). The tension between the fiscal contribution of the drinks industry and the disorder and crime associated with drinking establishments has been encountered early in the history of drink policy. With the passing of the Ale Houses Act of 1551, the first piece of legislation aimed explicitly at drinking establishments, magistrates turned a blind eye to unlicensed ale houses to offer relief to the destitute, but also to avoid the necessity of signing up more dependents on parish rates (Hindle, 2004, p.59-60). This was a bold move, given a third of cases presented to court involved alehouses or the activities that went on within them in some localities (Wrightson, 1981). In this way, local authorities as early as the 16th century exercised discretion in the enforcement of sumptuary law, out of an awareness that ale houses, legitimate or not, could ease pressure on the municipal budget.

In the 19th century, out of growing faith in laissez-fair free-market principles, the Beerhouse Act of 1830 was passed out of a reaction to a brewer monopoly on production. This act passed under the assumption that "opening up the trade in beer would not increase drunkenness …, but it would allow market forces to ensure that the product and the environments in which it was consumed improved across the board" (Nicholls, 2009, p.90). But in practice, the act had little effect on the brewers' monopoly and instead, widespread public drunkenness ensued, which was not altogether surprising, given the earlier experience of the gin craze in the 18th century. A select committee concluded that 'considerable evils' had emerged since the Beerhouse Act and

called for a return to stricter magisterial control on licensing applications. This period demonstrated the importance of the state's involvement in the drinks trade, but the question of its influence became of great political importance (Nicholls, 2009).

Determining the reach of government intervention in a liberal state is a challenging problem because it is dependent on the consent of the governed. Hence, in contrast to medieval aristocracies, liberal market states are averse to ruling directly over what citizens eat, drink, wear or watch, as this would not only encroach on the espoused civil liberties of citizens, and their sacrosanct right to consume how they will (Sallaz & Wang, 2016; Fawcett, 2015), but it may also ill-serve the business interests of state-corporate capitalist coalitions. Hunt (1996) explores the history of sumptuary regulation in the United Kingdom, through a historical account of the transition from theological discourses on luxury, to economic discourses on protectionism, purity movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to the voices of prohibition which are now largely absent. For many legal scholars, Hunt observes that sumptuary law is perceived as a relic of the past and simply a cause of amusement for modern sensibilities. However, he stresses that sumptuary law still exists and is in operation in liberal market economies, such as that of the UK, only its objectives and means of enforcement have transformed. Indeed, Sallaz & Wang argue that the regulation of consumption still operates "quite extensively" (2016, p.554) and Larner (2000, p.12) has suggested, "less government" does not necessarily mean "there is less governance", it is rather, "the character of governance that changes", and given there may be an aversion to direct regulatory intervention from the state, alternative governmental strategies may involve changes that can be put in place as a means to govern "individuals from a distance" (ibid, p.6).

Studies in the literature on human geography, for example, have suggested that the state's role has become an arbiter of information designed to encourage responsible choices at the individual level. An illustrative example of such measures can be seen in the provision of online drinks calculators, promoted by the Department of Health, the NHS, the DrinkAware Trust and Alcohol Concern. The aim of these is to communicate risk and to assist "automatic minds to make more reflexive decisions" (Jones et al, 2010, p.487). However, this approach to the regulation of alcohol consumption has been met with scepticism. As Measham (2006, p.262) points out, "just because people know something is risky or potentially harmful does not necessarily mean that they will stop the behaviour". Indeed, studies on the governance of the NTE, from the literature on urban studies and criminology, present a picture of nightlife as a 'perfect storm' of "negative cultural signifiers such as drinking, making noise, vandalism and hanging out in groups … binge-drinking, substance use and the related health risks" (Liempt et

al, 2015, p.413). Hadfield (2008, p.431) argues that while the Licensing Act 2003, Private Security Industry Act 2001 and the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006, have "strengthened the hand of the police, licensing and enforcement agencies", there is a perception that police forces and local authorities are struggling to 'batten down the hatches' in a "chronic necessity" to focus on "crowd control, public order maintenance and visible reassurance in nightlife zones at peak times", resulting in "limited capacities for arrest and routine proactive visits to licensed premises (Hadfield et al 2009, p.478). Such attempts are considered as 'sticking plaster' approaches (Crawford & Lister, 2007), attending only to the "symptoms of distempered social order, but ill-equipped to promote its systematic recovery" (Hadfield et al, 2009, p.478).

The difficulty of "the post-2003 Licensing Act context", has been surmised as a "complex one in which the art of urban security governance involves attempts to balance the seductions of the market, consumer freedoms and civil liberties, with surveillance, securitisation and repression" (Hadfield et al, 2009, p.481). This is a challenge negotiated by police forces that face several difficulties from "establishing guilt, close relationships between police and bar owners [and] limited resources" to an "ambivalence about interfering with other people's enjoyment" (Graham, 2000, p.628). Buvik (2017, p.3) also observes that law enforcement "strategically ignored minor incidents, such as alcohol related nuisance and disorder" and this "raises dilemmas of governance in terms of the limits of regulation and control" (Hadfield et al, 2009, p.467). Far from being the promised forms of unstructured and organic social encounters, Hobbs et al (2005, p.166) have argued that the NTE is experienced "not as a liberating and creative form of social engagement, but as a structural pressure". Thus the night time offering has been perceived to have led to "overheated, overcrowded leisure venues in high density locations with poor infrastructure and irresponsible sales and management practices [which] have implications in terms of health, safety, security and public order" (Measham, 2006, p.261).

In the contemporary era and seemingly in reaction to these trends, the UK government has sought to make those who sell 'problematic' commodities responsible for managing the associated risks, ensuring their responsible consumption through legislation and the small print of statutory guidance (Valverde, 2003, p.238). While this is not a novel approach to the regulation of the drinks trade (Nicholls, 2009), the scope and depth of this agenda is far more extensive than it has been in the past. In this way, the government retains a liberal image *prima facie* by upholding its protection of civil liberties, while devolving the responsibility and cost of maintaining social order to the market. This form of 'market governance' (Larner, 2000), on the one hand, coveys a symbolic gesture towards regulation and responsible consumption, "something is being done" (Hadfield & Measham, 2015, p.527) but on the other, reins in the

size and reach of state intervention. What this has meant in practice, is a shift in the onus of regulatory provision almost entirely onto the shoulders of service workers in the night-time hospitality sector, which brings us to the principal area of concern for this thesis.

Bartending and regulation

Alcohol legislation in the United Kingdom is clear about the responsibilities of bar staff following the 2003 Licensing Act. A view that is broadly reinforced by public health scholars, when it is claimed that bar staff can be a "resource in preventing overserving and alcohol related harm" (Buvik & Tutenges, 2017, p.7). However, the expectation that bar staff will enforce responsible consumption is an area of contention for those writing in the literature on alcohol studies and criminology. Graham et al (2006), for example, have put their working practices under scrutiny since they are perceived to contribute to or exacerbate issues in the NTE. Bar staff are said to initiate aggression (Graham, 2005), set "unfriendly confrontational" tones and "incite patrons to engage in violence" (Tutenges et al, 2013, p.4897), while selling alcohol to "blatantly intoxicated people" (Hadfield & Measham, 2015, p.526). Drawing attention to potentially irresponsible or incapable employees is an important concern for these scholars, but the conduct of employees working in the night-time hospitality industry should be understood within the context of the NTE's profit imperative. As Bellis & Hughes note, drunkenness in the NTE is both tolerated and even "necessary to generate the amounts of alcohol consumption needed to finance night-life venues" (2011, p.542). In these circumstances, bar staff may be put under considerable pressure to generate sales and therefore serve anyone in the venue, provided they can afford to pay (Tutenges & Bøhling, 2019). In this respect, drinking establishments like nightclubs and bars may be considered principal sites for the encouragement and facilitation of heavy drinking (Hobbs et al, 2003), but it is important to recognise how they are situated within a highly competitive economic environment.

As part of attempts to uphold standards of privatised enforcement, the UK government sends "undercover decoys into service establishments and [has them] attempt to purchase problematic goods or services without proper identification" to create a "panopticon effect"; threatening "penalties for non-compliance" (Sallaz & Wang, 2016, p.564). The assumption is that employees will err on the side of caution, enforcing regulatory measures out of anticipating the repercussions for breaching their legal responsibilities. However, as Hughes et al (2014) argue, despite UK law prohibiting the sale of alcohol to anyone who is already drunk the conviction rate for such offences is extremely low. This effectively makes an empty threat of the penalties for non-compliance and despite the insistence of alcohol retailers maintaining that sales to those

already drunk do not occur, Hughes et al (2014, p.453) argue that "70% of emergency department attendances between midnight and 5:00 am being alcohol related suggest otherwise".

A perception of the irresponsible bartender has contributed to the rise and growth of Responsible Beverage Service (RBS) programmes across many countries, including the United Kingdom (Graham, 2000). RBS programmes are presented as training schemes that can be deployed to address a perceived "inability of bar staff to manage problem behaviour (Graham, 2000, p.596), improve refusal strategies (Buvik, 2013; Buvik & Rossow, 2015), and promote early intervention in preventing the escalation aggression or violence (Graham et al, 2006). They are also increasingly used as part of mandatory training schemes following breaches of legislation (Hughes et al, 2013), but, despite their widespread usage, scholars have pointed out their ineffectiveness (Buvik & Rossow, 2015). RBS programmes have been considered a "waste of time" (Graham, 2000, p.618), when bar staff are observed "not attending training sessions, disregarding instructions and continuing to serve irresponsibly" (Buvik and Tutenges (2017, p.1). Sceptical of their efficacy, Stockwell suggests that rather than taken on to ensure responsible consumption, a major impetus for venue owners to put RBS programmes in place has been the "threat of expensive lawsuits involving third-party liability" (1992, p.678; see also, Graham et al, 2004). As such, it may be a prudent decision for venue owners to "reduce insurance premiums" (Stockwell, 1992, p.678), but it appears to have little reliable effect on the reduction of alcohol related harm. Indeed, McKnight (1991) has argued that RBS programmes may even reduce the responsibility of bar staff and the liability of licensees.

However, putting the question of their efficacy to one side, what these schemes indicate is a sense of how responsibility for the prevention of drunkenness and disorder is increasingly *positioned as a problem for individual bar staff*, rather than licensees or the state. This is a key issue for this thesis, as it reinforces concern with the capacities or incapacities of individual employees in understanding the nature of work in nightclubs. But it is a shift of responsibility that is by no means seamless, given that bar staff are not normally considered "authorities on safe drinking levels", and may "lack any real incentive to serve alcohol responsibly [as] commercial pressures stack the incentives heavily in favour of serving as much alcohol to anyone with money to purchase it" (Stockwell, 1992, p.678). This point draws attention to the commercial pressures which shape the occupational roles of bar staff and is explored in a sociological study conducted by Sallaz & Wang (2016).

Sallaz & Wang's (2016) research draws on ethnographic observation[8] of the work involved in selling alcohol and regulating its consumption. A task the authors conceptualise as 'sumptuary[9] labour', which involves bar staff becoming "experts in scrutinising IDs", posing "tricky questions" to ascertain levels of intoxication, and determining the appropriate level at which customers should be "cut off"[10] (ibid, p.557-8). The authors depart from the idea of irresponsible bar staff by drawing attention to how sumptuary labour is constrained by the demands of "revenue-maximisation rather than the restriction of consumption" (ibid, p.561). Bar staff interviewed in Sallaz & Wang's (2016) research describe the difficulty of simultaneously navigating commercial and legislative requirements. This translates into complex situations where bar staff are required to deny service to customers in a "polite yet assertive manner", and therefore continually need to shift their "demeanour from informal and friendly to assertive and confrontational" (ibid, p.563). While there may be bar staff that are incapable, indifferent or lack worthwhile incentives to ensure responsible consumption, conceiving this problem in principle as a question of training or improving refusal strategies, seems to disregard how sumptuary labour is borne out in complex ways through the emotional experiences of bar staff in the NTE. At the very least, this indicates a need to widen the scope of the analysis, to the emotional experience of their occupational role and to consider bar staff as more than deployable resources of enforcement.

Psychology and emotion at work

By way of theorising the emotional aspects of work in nightclubs, in the literature on management, occupational psychology and organisational behaviour, one approach that could offer insight comes in the idea of emotional regulation (Gross, 1998; Grandey, 2000). Debates concerning this idea explore how employees working in various organisational contexts engage in efforts to express or subdue emotions required by their occupational roles. Studies distinguish between expressions of sincere or authentic emotion at work, versus 'faking it', the consequences for organisational performance and employee wellbeing (Grandey et al, 2015), and whether "business and employee outcomes can be optimised" (Grandey & Sayre, 2019, p.131). For service work, in particular, the commercial value of emotional regulation has been cited (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995), versus its past characterisation as irrational sentiment;

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[8] This study involves fieldwork with bartenders and casino dealers.

[9] Sumptuary law relates to legislation that specifically addresses the regulation of consumption, for an extensive review, see (Hunt, 1996).

[10] Forbidden from drinking any further.

inappropriate for business concerns. However, an area of contention within these debates revolves around the ethics of regulating emotion in the workplace; its 'bright side', when 'genuine' emotions are aligned with organisational aims (Humphrey et al, 2012), and its 'dark side', through the "human costs of 'service with a smile'" (Grandey et al, 2015, p.77).

These debates are shaped by a psychological conception of emotional regulation, which draws attention to specific "processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998, p.275). A view that is underpinned by the assumption that the individual can manifest a psychological capacity to adapt or modulate their emotional responses. Taking up this psychological conception of the capacity to work on emotion, scholars in the occupational psychology literature suggest that employees can use this ability to reappraise ("change one's mood and expressions") or suppress ("where felt emotions are modified in how they are expressed") their emotions, in line with the requirements of the workplace (Grandey & Melloy, 2017, p.410). The claim is that individual employees can maintain their psychological well-being, while simultaneously "maximising service performance" (ibid, p.2). This underpins research in the management literature that suggests managers can encourage their employees to work on emotions before shifts, to have "enough energy to enhance their well-being and organisational performance" (van Gelderen et al, 2016, p.874). To focus on "good things" and successful encounters to "buffer against future incivility" (Gabriel & Diefendorff, 2015, p.37), or to "talk about difficult service episodes in a constructive way, focusing on the positive aspects" (McCance et al, 2013, p.412). Yet, such recommendations tend to revolve around an aim of "activat[ing] genuine positive emotions towards customers" (Yagil & Medler-Liraz, 2016, p.8), and therefore are limited in the assumption that the only emotional display required of employees is one of positivity. As far as the work of bar staff is concerned, this appears only to be one half of the equation.

For bar staff in Sallaz & Wang's study, working on their emotions to elicit assertive and confrontational displays was considered an especially demanding part of the role; "mustering the fortitude to cut off inebriated drinkers was one of the most difficult tasks" (2016, p.563). Carrying out emotional regulation in this way does not always coincide with psychological well-being, and it continues to be associated with "poor health… emotional exhaustion, depression… decreased job satisfaction…. lower level of performance… withdrawal behaviours… [and] intentions to quit" (McCance et al, 2013, p.394; see also Zapf, 2002). Proposals for mitigating these consequences are advanced through the idea of utilising certain emotional regulation strategies more effectively. For example, Grandey & Melloy suggest that psychological well-

being and maximised service performance can be achieved "*if* employees used more effective strategies" (2017, p.408, emphasis in original). In particular, the strategy of reappraising emotion is suggested as a way of meeting work requirements with "less cost to the self" (ibid, p.414).

The claim that an individual can change how they reappraise their emotion at work, is closely associated with research that considers employee identification with occupational roles. Explored by scholars in the literature on management and organisational behaviour, identifying with a role is considered an effective means by which emotional experiences at work can be reappraised. A process that is deemed beneficial to the organisation, but also employee well-being, as emotional displays can become "authentic" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), "intrinsically motivated" or "done autonomously" (Grandey & Sayre, 2019, p.134). However, when it comes to the work of bar staff, there is a possibility that identification with the role of regulator may be taken too far. Indeed, Graham et al suggest that excessive aggression may be a consequence of "frustration in dealing with intoxicated patrons" but could also be associated with "power tripping and inappropriate use of power" (2005, p.765). In this respect, the authors argue that bar staff can begin to perceive themselves as "enforcers rather than protectors" (ibid, p.765).

Neither practices of emotional reappraisal or role identification seem to offer a credible suggestion for how bar staff might engage with the problem of regulating their emotions, in a way that is at once polite, assertive, friendly and confrontational. Scholars in the literature on public health overlook this issue, by advising employers to hire "non-aggressive employees" (Graham et al, 2005) who can ensure responsible consumption in a way that avoids "excessive, inappropriate or disrespectful coercive acts to obtain compliance from patrons" (Graham et al, 2011, p.558). Studies in this literature share a normative standpoint on aggression, threat or intimidation as unjustifiable, irrespective of the circumstances, but they continue to reach the same impasse. For example, Powers & Leili, on the one hand, recommend the adoption of "discrete" regulatory practices, but on the other, note how "bartenders discussed situations that necessitate physical intervention" (2012, p.702). Even if employers do find so-called, 'non-aggressive employees', it is uncertain whether such a disposition can be consistently maintained. Gabriel & Diefendorff, for example, consider "whether there is a point at which customer incivility sparks the abandonment of display rules and the goal of having satisfied customers" (2015, p.40). This study attempts to "simulate typical types of incivility" through role-play[11],

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[11] Asking actors playing as customers to treat participants acting as call centre agents 'rudely'.

but the authors acknowledge how situations may "escalate", and therefore call for research that explores the "threshold… where employees begin to deviate from emotional display rules" (ibid, p.40). While the idea of deviation brings normative connotations, this claim draws attention to a point at which "employees can no longer maintain 'service with a smile'" (ibid, p.40). This is a position that marks a seldom stated concession to the power of emotion over strategies of psychological reappraisal in the management literature.

A line of inquiry that takes this point further can be seen in research informed by psychoanalytic theory. Stein (2007, p.1235) suggests that demanding emotional work can be considered 'toxic'; where consciously or unconsciously, employees "attempt to expel, forcing others, especially from whom the toxicity has emanated, to absorb it" (ibid, p.1235). This line of thinking challenges the assumption the individual is "self-contained, independent and self-reliant"; capable of regulating emotion at their discretion (Riger, 1993, p.280). Taking these points together leads to the understanding that the complex demands involved in selling alcohol and regulating its consumption, principally as a question of individual psychological adaptation, has limitations. Focusing on employing the right personality type or "strengthening the character and moral development of alcohol servers" (Leo, 2013, p.16) seems only to perpetuate the assumption that, in one way or another, the contradictory demands of work can be adapted to, as long as the individual worker has the right psychological constitution.

While the difficulties associated with 'cutting off inebriated drinkers' may in part be associated with the psychological constitution of employees, it would be problematic to assume that working conditions in nightclubs are necessarily conducive to the practical enforcement of alcohol consumption. The organisation of work itself may have a significant influence on the emotional efforts of individual bar staff and therefore, it is necessary to situate their emotional experiences within their commercial context. Indeed, there have been calls made in the occupational psychology literature to give more consideration to the context in which emotional regulation is performed (Aldao, 2013; Grandey & Melloy, 2017). Such an analytical move might guard against overstating individualised capacities for psychological adaptation to work, in favour of considering the political and economic circumstances which shape organisational contexts and the individual worker's position within them. Informed by Hochschild's earlier conception of "emotional labour" (1983), this line of inquiry has been taken up widely in the literature on management and critical approaches to organisation studies, which have considered its phenomenological experience and association with gendered forms of work. Consequently, the section that follows will explore how the notion of emotional labour situates work in nightclubs within its commercial context and the issues this raises for the scope of this inquiry.

Situating emotional work in commercial contexts

Hochschild (1983) was not the first to consider the significance of emotion at work[12], but *The Managed Heart* was the first to offer a sustained academic treatment of the commercialisation of human feeling. In this research, Hochschild insisted on the importance of situating emotional work within its occupational context and denying a separation between an individual's feelings and the organisational setting. Hochschild argues that when a 'private' capacity to work on emotion enters a commercial context, these gestures can be "bought and sold as an aspect of labour power" (1979, p.569). This form of emotional work carried out in a commercial context is conceptualised as "emotional labour", which is defined in a footnote as,

> "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*" (1983, p.7, emphasis in original).

On this account, Hochschild distinguishes emotional labour from emotional work, due to its subordination to the employment relationship. Hochschild's formulation also draws attention to surface acting, which refers to "outward demeanour" and the "constellation of minute expression", and deep acting, which refers to marshalling one's own "memories and feelings in such a way as to elicit the corresponding expressions" (1979, p.558)[13]. Advocating the notion of 'emotional regulation' as a replacement to this conception of emotional labour, Grandey (2000) drew a link between these acting strategies, and the psychological conception put forward in Gross's work (1998), mapping the idea of deep acting to reappraisal and surface acting to suppression. But what was lost in this process was Hochschild's emphasis on the political economy of emotional labour and the potential of self-deception.

Hochschild drew attention to how post-industrial labour calls for work that involves interpersonal skills in the delivery of services, indeed, she argues that "most of us have jobs that require some handling of other people's feelings and our own" (1983, p.11). Which led her analysis to consider how economic sectors increasingly tied their commercial interests to the "psychological arts" of their employees (ibid, p.185). It is in this light that one can understand the calls of several scholars in the literature on organisation studies for situating emotional labour in its organisational context. Fineman (2005; 2008, p.1), for example, has consistently

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[12] (See Whyte, 1948, p.110-1; Mills, 1969, p.xvii; Goffman, 1972, p.22).

[13] Hochschild evokes the difference between the 'English school' and the American or Stanislavsky school' of acting to convey this distinction.

advocated a shift from understating work on emotion underpinned by the assumption that it is a "neutral, within-the-individual, experience to one that is firmly shaped by social structures and the norms and values of the organisation". Drawing on feminist research (Mumby & Putnam, 1993; Martin et al, 1993), Ogbonna & Harris also suggest that "what may be construed as an individual's private emotion (such as stress, anxiety, or fear) may be inseparable from the structural and power relations that produce them, and should, as such, be viewed as both an individual and organisational problem" (2004, p.118). More recently, authors that have conducted sociologically informed studies of emotion at work have stressed the importance of attending to the "situatedness of emotions" to understand how employees are "socialised" into specific contexts, and how practices of emotion work are "co-created and emerge through interaction as opposed to being purely 'internal'" (Godfrey & Brewis, 2018, p.3). In their study of the emotional work of abattoir inspectors for example, Hamilton & McCabe (2016, p.346) suggest there is a "significant relationship between the organisation of work and the regulation of emotions".

Central to Hochschild's work was a conception of the individual employee as an "emotion manager… capable of experiencing emotion and of working on it in socially patterned ways" (1979, p.554). By social patterns, Hochschild refers to different 'feeling rules' which "govern how people try or try not to feel in ways 'appropriate to the situation'" (ibid, p.552). In this, Hochschild presupposes an idea of the individual as "capable of assessing when a feeling is 'inappropriate' and capable of trying to manage feeling" (ibid, p.557). This formulation can be distinguished from the earlier studies of Whyte (1948) and Goffman (1972), who tended to ground their analyses on "outer impressions" (Hochschild, 1979, p.557). Mills, however, did posit an individual that was capable of managing inner feeling; the service employees he considered were thought to be "aware of the difference between what they really think of the customer and how they must act…. self-control pays off" (1969, p.183)[14]. However, both authors raised concerns with the commercial appropriation of feeling. Hochschild, informed by Marx's analysis of the political economy of commodification and the phenomenon of alienation, argued that "when the product… is a smile, a mood, a feeling, or a relationship, it comes to belong more to the organisation and less to the self" (1983, p.198). In Mill's earlier work, which Hochschild comes frequently into dialogue with, attention is also drawn to this issue,

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[14] Hochschild describes this distance between feeling and expression as emotive dissonance, where "employees mask their own feelings and 'paste on' expected expressions (Grandey & Melloy, 2017, p.410).

"Sincerity" is at first "detrimental to one's job, until the rules of salesmanship and business become a 'genuine' aspect of oneself... a series of little lies about one's feelings, until one is empty of such feelings" (1969, p.183).

For Hochschild and Mills, deep acting was considered a "more profound selling of the worker's self than intellectual or physical work involves" (Godfrey & Brewis, 2016, p.3). In the occupational psychology literature, there is recognition that "where employees work to change feelings to appear more genuine in the performance [they may be] losing their true feelings", (Grandey & Melloy, 2017, p.3), and "chronic attempts at deceiving oneself [can] take a toll over time" (Grandey & Sayre, 2019, p.132), but in the main, these concerns are marginalised. For the present study, the notion of emotional labour and research informed by this perspective highlights the importance of situating work and employees within their political and economic circumstances, drawing attention to the potential limits of psychological adaptation.

As far as the work of bar staff is concerned, highlighting the role of deep acting and its association with self-deception would seem an important area of concern given the observation made earlier, that bar staff might begin to perceive themselves as 'enforcers rather than protectors'. This issue is akin to the problem Sartre considers in his discussion of acting in 'bad faith' (1958). He discusses a waiter working at a café, one that imagines his condition is such that, it is not his free choice; but rather, that he *is* the image of the waiter he represents to customers. In other words, the performance of the role itself becomes the expression of who and what he can be. Sartre argues that in doing so, the waiter imprisons himself in an impoverished ceremony of self-deception, and such practices of 'deep acting' diminish the individual's capacity for reflective judgement on the reality of his condition. For bar staff working hard to evoke deeply felt memories and emotions, identifying with their role in such a way as to elicit required emotional expressions (assertiveness and confrontation, for example), there may be a risk involved in getting carried away with an omnipotent image of one's 'genuine' self, as guardian of law and order. Furthermore, owing to the complexity of employees' work in nightclubs and the need to continually shift demeanour from informal and friendly to assertive and confrontational, under these circumstances, it would seem the potential for self-deception is especially acute. For the present study, research that situates the emotional labour of employees within the political economy of their employment relationship highlights the importance of exploring the relationship between subjectivity and the labour process.

The next section extends these concerns by drawing attention to the different ways employees are socialised into the complex 'feeling rules' of 'empathetic' and 'antipathetic' emotional labour

required in nightclubs (Ward & McMurray, 2016). Indeed, the question of the relationship between subjectivity and the labour process takes on particular significance in the section that follows, which considers in greater depth what influences occasions for either 'deference' or 'confrontation'. However, it also brings into question the focus on the interiority of the subject and meanings that are associated with conditions of work, in favour of highlighting the threats posed to the safety and security of employees in nightclubs. In so doing, it advances the notion that for employees carried away with an image of themselves as guardians of law and order, this is less a question of identity and self-deception, as it is more an issue of protection and security.

Limitations of analyses focused on the interiority of the subject

Occupational roles that involve antipathetic practices (assertive or confrontational emotional labour) feature less often in the extant literature on emotion at work. In management, organisational behaviour and hospitality literature, scholarly discussion tends to focus on the enhancement of customer experiences, rather than their control or regulation. This reinforces the perception that emotional labour requires only 'empathetic' practices, where "customer contact employees to display cheerful, friendly emotions" (Lam et al, 2017, p.1), or positive feelings (Lee & Madera, 2019). Such an imbalance has led to the recognition that a "lack of research attention paid to negative display rule contexts limits both theory and practice" (Lennard & Johnson, 2019, p.1165), and calls for moving "beyond the focus on positive display rules" (Grandey & Mellow, 2017, p.6). In the literature on organisation studies, Godfrey & Brewis (2018, p.5) also comment on the lack of attention "paid to occupations where workers are expected to muster negative emotions like anger or distrust, to undermine or frighten customers". From the standpoint of Hochschild's (1983) arguably more even-handed approach, in a comparative study of flight attendants and debt collectors, this sense of imbalance is even more noticeable.

To restate the distinction laid out in Hochschild's work, empathetic labour refers to the "toe of the corporate system [where] warmth is the product" and "surliness and indifference are the problem" (1983, p.147). Antipathetic labour, which concerns the "heel", is associated with circumstances where "money is owing, and it must be extracted" and therefore, if "suspicion is appropriate", "warmth and friendliness" become the problem (ibid, p.147). At the 'heel' of the economy, antipathetic labour refers to occupational roles characterised by aggression or intimidation, for compelling "people to do something that they would not otherwise want to; to pay a debt, to leave a premises, to stand for an alleged crime" (Ward & McMurray, 2016, p.27). For the study at hand, this analytical distinction between practices of empathetic and antipathetic labour highlights the way emotional labour does not just occur within the

individual. It also expresses specific relations of power; to compel, regulate and control, or to invite, encourage and offer, for example. This indicates a need to depart from the concerns of emotion regulation, as the issues that arise here, are no longer presented as a question of ascertaining the most effective strategies of psychological adaptation, achieving well-being and service performance. At the very least, drawing attention to practices of empathetic and antipathetic emotional labour, signals a move away from a simplistic conception of their work, involving either positive or negative 'feeling rules'. This would obscure the complex power relations that shape their occupational roles, either in asserting control, by regulating the consumption of intoxicated customers or deferring to the needs of others. Bar staff, in this respect, have become both the 'toe' *and* the 'heel' of the NTE.

As a consequence, the emotional labour of bar staff has come to involve the maintenance of an 'active and controlling force' in service encounters to regulate customer behaviour and consumption. But at the same time, the preservation of an "emotional climate of servitude" (Bolton, 2010, p.212) to serve the wants of customers. This contradictory set of demands appears to shape job advertisements for bar staff, which describe desirable candidates as capable of both 'exceeding customer expectations', 'resolving conflict' and 'complaint handling'. It also influences the practice of regulation itself, where bar staff might elect to "couch disciplinary advice in kindly avuncular language" (Valverde, 2003, p.239).

In Paules' account of service work, however, while employees had little influence over the conditions of their employment, individuals attempted to maintain a sense of dignity by deliberately "resisting the symbolism of service" (1996, p.264). Paules argues that when confronted with uncivil or obnoxious treatment, the waitresses in her study denied the 'symbolism of servitude' by resisting derogatory or belittling customer conduct. The claim put forward in this research is to recognise that a degree of autonomy can be carved out from within the emotional labour process. This is a feature that would presumably be important to Hochschild, given her work's concern with the impacts of commodifying human feeling[15]. However, for the present study, the relationship between autonomy and practices of regulation presents an important question. If practices of regulation *require* bar staff to deliberately interrupt an "emotional climate of servitude" (Bolton, 2010, p.212), then it may be problematic to assume that resisting derogatory or belittling conduct is simply a question of refusing the symbolism of servitude. Here, the explanation revolves around individual meaning attributed to

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[15] "… surely the flight attendant's sense that she 'should feel cheery' does more to promote profit for United than to enhance her own inner well-being" (Hochschild, 1983, p.573).

conditions of work, maintaining a sense of dignity and identifying as a "soldier" or "entrepreneur" (Paules, 1996). This concern with the significance of self-assertion or identity also emerges in Sosteric's (1996) study of work and the employment relationship in a Canadian nightclub. Critically examining these perspectives, it is possible to see the limitation of analyses that focus on the interiority of the subject.

In Sosteric's study, practices of antipathetic labour included acts of intimidation and violence, as a means by which bar staff and a security team ensured the regulation of customer conduct and consumption. Sosteric quotes a member of bar staff describing their 'service values',

> "As soon as your fun started impeding on somebody else's we threw you out... if the guy wasn't reasonable enough... we'd throw him into a full nelson and take him out of the bar" (1996, p.302)[16].

Sosteric interprets this orientation to service as a valuable opportunity for bar staff to resist enduring the indignities of "obnoxious behaviour and sexual harassment" (1996, p.303). In his research, Sosteric recounts how complaints from customers accumulate in reaction to the employees' heavy-handed regulation, and this leads management to introduce changes to the service policy in the hope of "regain[ing] control of the situation" (ibid, p.307). However, rather than 'regaining control', Sosteric observes that both "customer to customer (and customer to staff harassment) often went uncontrolled" (ibid, p.312). As a result, a sense emerges among bar staff that their *safety and security* was put at risk, and their opportunities to 'be themselves' were circumscribed; "no matter what you do to me, I still have to serve" (ibid, p.313). However, following O'Doherty & Willmott (2000, 2001), there seems to be a distinction worth making between the notion of "enjoyable modes of self-expression" and practices that confirm a "sense of security and independence" (2000, p.126).

Arguably, the former draws attention to the interiority of the subject and meanings associated with conditions of work, while the latter highlights the threat posed to the safety and security of employees and relations of power that shape their circumstances. Although both studies appear to overlook the importance of the sumptuary labour carried out by employees in nightclubs. Consider, in the account below, how one of the waitresses in Sosteric's study recounts an incident of sexual assault, following the changes made to the service policy.

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[16] This disposition is said to have been learnt and reinforced during "informal, after work gatherings" where "new staff members would learn about the service values" (Sosteric, 1996, p.304).

"I'm there in my jersey and a little mini skirt, and this guy picked me up around my legs, right underneath my bottom… He had me at his chest and he's standing there, and I'm screaming for a doorman…. Paul [security team] walked over, tapped the guy on the shoulder and said 'hey put that waitress down, you're not allowed to touch the waitresses'. I went, 'What!' This guy grabbed me and picked me up… he's bothering these women. He picked me up! No! Get him out. My bottom's right at his chin, I'm surprised he didn't bite my ass or something… 'Excuse me, you're gonna have to put her down. You're not allowed to touch the waitresses'. No, you grab that mother and you throw them out as physically as you possibly can" (Sosteric, 1996, p.313).

In this account, due to practices of antipathetic labour being withdrawn, their capacity to compel, regulate and control customer conduct appears to be significantly constrained, leaving them open to threatening customer conduct and abuse. Therefore, rather than interpreting the exclusion of 'heavy-handed enforcement', as simply a lost opportunity for 'enjoyable self-expression' or 'authenticity', there also appear to be significant consequences for employees' perceived ability to defend themselves[17]. In this respect, 'heavy-handed' practices of regulation do not always have to emerge from overzealous identification with the role of guardian of law and order. Nor from attempts to maintain a sense of dignity when confronted by demeaning conduct; resisting the 'symbolism of servitude' (Paules, 1996). In some cases, they may also express a felt need for practices of antipathetic labour, which provide a means of establishing protection and security from threats of customer abuse, sexual harassment or violence.

This indicates a need to extend this consideration of the organisational context, to explore the consequences of requiring bar staff to regulate customer conduct and consumption, in circumstances where their existential sense of security and embodied safety may be put at risk. Bar staff may indeed have become the 'toe' and the 'heel' of the NTE, but understanding this as a question of individual choice, autonomy or 'self-expression', overlooks how the nature of their work places powerful demands on them to act in these ways. As such, the next section explores how the challenges associated with practices of regulation can no longer be thought of as questions of individual identity, autonomy or psychological constitution, by taking into consideration customer conduct in the NTE, intoxication and its influence on conditions of work for bar staff. In particular, the following discussion considers how customer abuse is

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[17] "[S]ubmissive behaviour would only encourage the inebriated clientele and make control much more difficult" (Sosteric, 1996, p.303).

compounded by intoxication, the tension between customer expectations and regulation, and the proximity between customers and bar staff, highlighting the threat that confronts employees working in the NTE.

Customer conduct

Literature on service work has drawn attention to the importance of considering customer conduct in understanding the occupations of those in customer-facing roles. A strand of this research in the literature on organisation studies explores a contemporary shift toward the phenomenon of customer sovereignty. This refers to a pervasive assumption that customer wants and needs take precedence. For this study, however, the presence of such a "cult[ure] of the customer" (Du Gay, 1992) marks a source of conflict, since the regulation of customer conduct and consumption relates to circumstances in which customer wants and needs precisely *do not* take precedence. Therefore, the requirement that bar staff exercise an 'active and controlling force' in the service encounter, but at the same time, preserve an 'emotional climate of servitude', could play out in attempts to guide customers in a way that does not interrupt or violate their sense of being sovereign, or "autonomous choice makers" (Korczynski & Evans, 2013, p.770). Korczynski & Ott have described these practices as sustaining an "enchanting myth of consumer sovereignty" (2004, p.577), and if this enchantment is taken away,

> "massaged into assuming the trappings of authority, customers can feel the prick of powerlessness when the myth of sovereignty dissolves and it is this primarily which leads to the systemic presence of customer abuse in the service economy" (Korczynski & Evans, 2013, p.770).

Turning specifically to the literature on retail and customer studies in the NTE, this sense of sovereignty is perhaps even more bitterly relinquished in the NTE, given that nightlife represents an important part of the construction of young people's identity (Chatterton & Hollands, 2005). Indeed, amongst culturally valued images of 'urban grit' (Talbot, 2007), the spectacle of crime (Tomsen, 1997) and tales of adventurousness (Grazien, 2008), there appears to be a want to take ownership of the night and to be "recognised and respected by one's local (and therefore significant) peers, within sensitive and emotionally heightened occasions" (Hadfield, 2015, p.609). In the literature on public health, Graham et al (2011) recognise this value attributed to nightlife and recommend that 'respectful' and 'fair' regulatory practices should be exercised by bar staff, to avoid infringing the sense of sovereignty among customers.

However, there is a possibility that the customer's sense of sovereignty in the NTE may go too far. Indeed, Tomsen has argued that the NTE is characterised by "arguments, assaults and fights" that are "widely appreciated as being part of…. shared rule-breaking and the enjoyment of a general sense of disorder [a] delight in a sense of pandemonium" (1997, p.97). Under these conditions and against a background of "unprovoked and unjust assaults" (ibid, p.100), it is in this way that the threat to bar staffs' existential security and their embodied sense of vulnerability can be understood. Furthermore, in service contexts considered more broadly, there has been a notable increase in customer abuse and violence directed toward customer-facing staff (Korczynski & Bishop, 2007). For example, research published by the Association of Convenience Stores (2021) found that 89% of employees working in local shops have experienced some form of abuse. One explanation for this prevalence is said to be that customer frustration tends to be "vented at the frontline worker, the person facing them, the person apparently embodying the service organisation with which they are dealing" (Korczynski & Bishop, 2007, p.77). Concerning the NTE in particular, this is likely to be compounded by the physiological effects of alcohol consumption and intoxication.

In his study on the place of alcohol consumption and intoxication in civilisation, O'Brien draws on a position laid by Turner, who discusses practices involved in various social activities, rites, rituals and games, and their relationship with consciousness. He argues that on certain occasions,

> "Consciousness must be narrowed, intensified, beamed in on a limited focus of attention. 'Past and future must be given up' – only now matters. How is this to be done? Here the conditions that normally prevail must be 'simplified' by some definition of situational relevance. What is irrelevant must be excluded. Physiological means to simplify experience are drugs (including alcohol) which do not so much 'expand' consciousnesses as limit and intensify awareness" (cited in O'Brien, 2018, p.80).

O'Brien extends this idea by examining how occasions of drinking have the effect of "narrowing and limiting of attention by centring it on a specific focus… which limit awareness to the most immediate and relevant cues" (2018, p.80). In this respect, it is arguably much less likely that customers in the NTE "will vent their anger at the architecture of the overall social situation in which they find themselves" (Korczynski & Bishop, 2007, p.77). Indeed, Reynold & Harris (2006) observe that customer-facing employees in hospitality occupations are routinely faced

with situations where they are subjected to abuse. These points highlight the severity of the threat that emerges in the everyday working lives of service employees.

Sallaz & Wang observe that practices of understaffing shifts and the demands placed on employees to work flexible hours, give rise to circumstances where bar staff feel continuously "harried and expected to do more than is possible" (2016, p.563). Arguably, practices of psychological adaptation or "detachment" (Beal & Trougakos, 2013), might seem redundant in circumstances where bar staff are in such close quarters with customers, that it becomes difficult for them to distance themselves from, or overcome derogatory, threatening and violent abuse; irrespective of their psychological constitution (Korczynski & Evans, 2013, p.769). In the literature on occupational health, Conway & MacNella (2012, p.983) have concluded that "chronic exposure to heavy drinking customers and demanding shift work", low pay, unconventional working patterns and imbalanced diets have the cumulative effect of making service work in bars and nightclubs an "unsustainable lifestyle". The authors also note that in England and Wales, "bar workers have the highest occupational rate of mortality from alcohol-related problems" (Conway & MacNella, 2012, p.972). Attempts to cope with these conditions appear less as effective psychological strategies, but as crutches that enable employees to "endure their workday" (Reynold & Harris, 2006, p.101). In their study of the coping methods of employees working in hospitality contexts, Reynold & Harris observe employees "consuming drugs… altering one's clothing… bribing customers" and "exploiting sexual attractiveness" (ibid, p.99-101). Scholars in the literature on public health or criminology may be quick to denounce such 'deviant' behaviour, but whether this can be explained as an expression of irresponsibility on the behalf of bar staff is open to debate.

Given these circumstances, the expectation that bar staff can effectively work as the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE, might be tempered by the acknowledgement of constraints imposed by their working conditions; where venues are understaffed, demand flexible hours and offer low pay. But also, through a recognition of the systemic presence of customer abuse in the NTE. This is a phenomenon that is compounded by the influence of intoxication, tensions between customer sovereignty and regulation, and the inevitable proximity between bar staff and their customers. Drawing these issues together, scholars writing in the literature on public health, stress the importance of considering the intensity of these demands and conflictual pressures placed on bar staff (Buvik & Tutenges, 2017), when it comes to assessing their capacity to act as servers and regulators. The section that follows extends these studies by discussing the phenomenon of work intensification and its relationship to work in the NTE.

Work intensification

The trend towards work intensification has received academic attention in the literature on industrial relations, labour economics, occupational psychology, human relations and organisation studies. In recent work from the psychological literature on the changing nature of job demands, Paškvan & Kubicek (2017, p.26) define work intensification as an increase in "the intensive effort that is needed to complete more tasks within one working day". This might mean the need to work at a faster pace, under tighter deadlines, reaching for more challenging targets, the reduction of idle periods or a necessity to work on several tasks at the same time. Such a conception is in line with literature from human resource management, where Piasna (2017, p.167) has defined work intensity as the "compression of work activity within a given unit of time". In the literature on industrial relations and labour economics, these phenomena are said to be exacerbated by macro-level pressures, the demands of new technology, and competitiveness but also changes in management and organisational practices, matching labour with required workflows and an increased capacity to control and monitor the labour process. These trends must be understood against a background of declining union power and lower levels of worker protection (Green, 2004; Green & McIntosh, 2001). With this intensification of work, Green (2006) has observed an improvement in the material conditions for workers in Western capitalism. However, he notes that with this "increasing affluence in both wealth and income" one might have expected to see a "declining supply of work effort" (ibid, p.67), however, this has not been the case. On the contrary, the UK has become one of the leading countries in Europe in the intensification of work (Green & McIntosh, 2001; Burchell, 2005).

In the human resource management literature, Piasna (2017) has argued that research on work intensification has predominately concerned itself with macro-level factors and that less attention has been paid to the specificities of organisational practices. In her study on the relationship between non-standard working hours and work intensification, Piasna observes that employer-led flexibility, in combination with "short or unsocial hours" is associated with "pronounced work intensification" (ibid, p.177). Extending the literature in industrial relations and economics, Piasna notes that the removal of unproductive or inactive time from working hours constitutes a "shift of risks and costs associated with inefficiency in time use onto the workforce" (ibid, p.169). In this way, employees can be hired for "the minimum number of hours deemed necessary to complete their tasks and when the demand for labour is at its highest" (ibid, p.170). The NTE sector represents an acute example of employer-led flexibility, with shifts varying widely in length and typically starting between 9 pm and finishing at 5 am (Hadfield, 2006).

To alleviate these pressures, authors in the psychological literature might recommend that employers in the NTE provide "sufficient resources and appropriate trainings [sic] in order to reduce the negative effects of work intensification" (Paškvan & Kubicek, 2017, p.25). While in the literature on human resource management, Burke et al (2010, p.357) call for proactive measures to be put in place, including "allowing for hours of rest legislated in the European Union"[18], and potentially for a re-design of work to radically reduce workloads. However, the former rests on the assumption that taking employees out of the immediate context of their work and offering them (undefined) 'appropriate training', will provide them with the psychological resources to fulfil their occupational roles. In this way, negotiating the demands of being the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE becomes, again, a problem for the individual employee to overcome. The latter recognises that it could be considered a problem related to the organisation of work, but it takes out the organisation from the social and economic context within which it operates. Radically reducing workloads and mandating rest periods might not effectively translate into practice, given the fluctuating demand and tight profit margins for venues operating in the NTE.

The experience of work intensification, however, may not be consistent for different employees. In Granter et al's study of the work of paramedics, the authors draw attention to the way employees were able to "rationalise the emotional, temporal and physical stressors by saying they "came with the territory" (2019, p.11). It could be the case that individuals are attracted to the challenging and stress-laden nature of some occupational roles. Indeed, Granter et al (2015) explore how individual employees in certain occupations embrace the pressures of intensified work. Paškvan & Kubicek (2017) suggest a distinction can be drawn between two qualitatively different forms of work intensification; either as posing challenging or hindrance demands. Hindrance demands are said to "thwart personal growth" while challenging demands "promote strain… but in addition to this… they are also assumed to be motivating and to foster personal growth", through opportunities to secure "self-esteem" (ibid, p.33).

An example of such 'challenging demands' can be seen in Bozkurt's study of work on a supermarket deli counter, where, punctuated by high demand during the Christmas period, the intensification of work "may be seen as a relative elevation of an impoverished form of employment, opening up possibilities for the restoration of pride and meaning" (2015, p.488). Indeed, when it comes to working in NTE, there may be occasions where individual employees

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[18] A point made prior to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union in 2020.

feel a thrill (Buchanan, et al., 2013) or 'rush' (Tischler, 2005) while serving on a busy bar on a Saturday evening at midnight[19].

The high rates of "hazardous and problem drinking" (Ames et al, 2000; Banwell et al, 2005) amongst bar staff may, therefore, be considered less as individualised coping strategies but examples of thrill-seeking and the pursuit of a 'buzz' during working shifts. Although this may also be a position that lends credence to the idea of the irresponsible bartender. In these circumstances, Granter et al (2015, p.450) suggest "it is harder to know where normal ends and extreme begins". However, in Ward et al's (2020, p.2) study of extreme work, which explores emotional labour in occupational roles that are performed in the "spectre of violence", the authors distinguish between a "voluntary risk in pursuit of the 'buzz'" and "non-voluntary risk, where taking risks is a routine part of paid employment" (ibid, p.2). In this way, they seek to avoid implicitly associating intense work with "masculine cultures and heroic narratives of resilience… as a challenging and yet validating experience that leads to symbolic rewards" (Burrow, 2015 cited in Ward et al, 2020, p.13). Indeed, in Granter et al's study, while employees rationalised aspects of their demanding work, "they were much less happy to describe organisational intensity as natural or unavoidable" (2019, p.11). The organisation of paramedics' work, through the setting of targets for response times and measures put in place for the most efficient utilisation of resources, resulted in employees "being sent to which job happens to be the nearest, even when close to shift end time, or immediately after another, possibly traumatic callout" (ibid, p.12). The authors argue that this seeming indifference to the nature and circumstances of callouts created "staff anxiety and resentment" (ibid, p.12). Differences in the way that intensity at work is perceived and engaged with raise important questions concerning what intensities employees can be reasonably expected to work with and adapt to.

Individual adaptation to demands at work has long been argued as a means by which employees engage with conditions of employment within a capitalist political economy (Hollway, 1991). Therefore, it may be wise to exercise caution in understanding the pursuit of intense work or working intensely as an entirely novel phenomenon, but rather, an extension of the 'fitting' of the worker to work. Bloomfield & Dale, for example, examine moves toward the use of human enhancement technologies which may allow for "modifying the body so as to enable a

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[19] Such conceptions stand in opposition to Meštrović's (1997) notion that workers have become alienated from their own feelings or Hopfl's (2002) conception of hollow service workers dealing with hollow customers.

correspondence between its capacities and the demands of the task at hand" (2015, p.560). The authors argue that such technologies enable more individual employees to function at or above an assumed "norm" of working ability (Hollway, 1991). It may be argued along these lines, that the use of alcohol or substances to work intensely in nightclubs, constitutes less an *escape* from work, as it is more an instance of enabling a correspondence between individual capacities and work demands, therefore "propagating and reproducing extreme work, pushing its boundaries back yet further" (Granter et al, 2015, p.446). Drinking on shift and 'working extremely' might represent the predilections of 'irresponsible' bar staff, but they may just as well constitute pragmatic attempts to cope with the demands of anxiety-inducing, threatening, and demanding working conditions.

Drawing these together, there is a sense within the public health literature that incapable bar staff can be retrained, the irresponsible can be reformed, and those that do regulate consumption should refrain from perceiving themselves as guardians of law and order. Within the management, occupational psychology and organisational behaviour literature, emotional bar staff must reappraise their feelings as necessary and adopt the most effective strategies of psychological adaptation to cope with the dilemmas of working in nightclubs. Yet, as multi-faceted as these analyses may be, the answer begins and ends with the individual. This seems to lend credence to the earlier assertion of Mills (1969, p.xx) that "the problems that concern us most border on the psychiatric", but the fact that problems of work are increasingly considered in psychological terms has its limitations. This focus on *interiority* can overstate individual capacities to meet and overcome the complex demands imposed by conditions of work in NTE. Indeed, as this section has discussed, there seems to be a limit or threshold at which individual capacities are overcome by the intensity of work itself, struck into submission by the existential threat of customer abuse and violence, or carried away in the exercise of regulatory powers. At some points, it becomes difficult to distinguish where the demands involved in the work of serving and regulation end, and the discretion of individual bar staff begins. This is not to say that bar staff are completely at the mercy of their circumstances or emboldened through practices of regulation, but to recognise that the problem of becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' in the NTE is not adequately conceived by presupposing a responsible, autonomous and capable individual bartender.

On this basis, there is an opening for a theoretical perspective that shifts the premise of the question itself. To depart from the assumption that the individual possesses the necessary capacities to adapt to such demands and to relinquish a preoccupation with interiority, as both the *source of the problem and the solution* to ensuring bar staff work effectively as both the 'toe'

and 'heel' of the NTE. In the section that follows, the chapter turns to research informed by affect theory which attempts to establish a way of thinking that attends to these problems. As noted in the introduction, the following discussion focuses on studies of affective labour and affective atmospheres. It concludes by arguing that while this body of work makes an important contribution toward decentring the individual from analysis, its attempts to do so have limitations.

Affect studies and attempts to decentre the individual from analyses

The turn to affect theory at this point represents an effort to attend to the limitations identified in the above discussion. In doing so, this section considers efforts informed by affect theory in the literature on organisation studies, anthropology, autonomist Marxism and human geography, which have attempted in various ways to *decentre* the individual from their analyses. To understand how this work aims to achieve this, it is necessary to establish how affect can be distinguished from individual emotion. Recently, scholars in the literature on organisation studies have raised concern with the way affect theory has been deployed in management and organisational behaviour literature, without paying attention to this distinction. In their review, Fotaki et al suggest that research on affect has "become a burgeoning area of study in positivistic and normatively oriented strands of organizational behaviour" (2017, p.4-5). Highlighting its original formulation in the works of Spinoza and Deleuze, the authors observe how ways of thinking that are specific to the concept of affect have been overlooked in research that makes little or no distinction between it and emotion. Consequently, this section of the literature review chapter will explore its distinctive nature, by considering how it has been (in places) adopted in the academic literature, to what effect, and finally to propose an element that has not been adequately theorised in its adoption; that is, a conception of the distinctive qualities of affective forces. In the theoretical framework that follows this chapter, a conception of affective forces will be advanced, drawing on the work of Deleuze and Guattari to supplement and extend studies of organisation that are informed by the theory of affect.

In distinction to emotions, which are thought to be an individual's conscious understanding of their feelings, affects are theorised as "pre-individual forces" (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012, p.52) or "capacities" (Clough et al, 2007, p.62) that manifest "prior to the subject" (Fotaki et al, 2017, p.5), in a "prepersonal or transpersonal" dimension (Anderson, 2009, p.77). What this means is that while affect can be understood as the "condition of the emergence of emotion" (Wissinger, 2007, p.260-1), first and foremost, it constitutes an "impersonal flow before it is subjective content" (Massumi, 1998, p.61). In this sense, scholars of affect theory insist that the

concept of affect forgoes the presupposition of a "bounded individual separate from others" (Blackman, 2008, p.25), or an individual that stands "alone and independent" (Fotaki et al, 2017, p.4). It is in this light that one can understand how studies in the social sciences have criticised the way literature informed by psychological perspectives have deployed the concept of affect. For example, Blackman observes how this research continues to operate on a model of "affective self-containment", meaning one that still assumes the individual "is self-enclosed and bounded, able to clearly separate themselves from others" (2008, p.34). This can be seen in some quarters of the management literature, where affect has been defined as "an umbrella term encompassing employees' moods and emotions" (Parke & Seo, 2017, p.334). This becomes primarily associated with research at the individual level, "understanding predictors and outcomes of within-individual variation in affect states" (Clark et al, 2018, p.3177) or investigating the "effects of employees' responses to specific affect requirements" (Parke & Seo, 2017, p.334). Similarly, for research on "affect spin" - which is said to refer to "variations from one affect state to a qualitatively different affect state", following encounters with different emotional experiences - individuals are presumed to have "an affective home base or set point, and deviations around this home base activate regulatory processes that work to bring back individuals to their affective comfort zones" (Clark et al, 2018, p.3181). As such, these conceptions make little departure from work on individualised emotional regulation, as defined by Gross (1998) and Grandey (2000).

Instead, taking up the conception of affect laid out by Spinoza and Deleuze, there is an opportunity to begin the theoretical shift necessary to change the premise of the analysis. If bar staff can be overcome by the situation, struck into submission by threatening conduct, or carried away in their exercise of power, the position offered by affect could offer the basis on which this research moves to understand the forces that shape their work and experiences. As Dowling suggests "affect exists before personal interpretation takes place and describes how individuals are affected by their environments" (2012, p.116). Working out the implications of this conception of affect, as that which simultaneously constitutes the interior experience of the individual *and* an impersonal relation of affective forces, represents one of the fundamental theoretical issues that is dealt with in this thesis. And more specifically, relating this issue to the question posed in the previous section of the review, if becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE can be understood principally as a manifestation of impersonal affective forces, how does this square with the observation that bar staff are required to maintain an 'active and controlling force' in service encounters to regulate consumption? Simply put, what is the relationship between impersonal forces and individual experience? Prising out an answer to this question

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necessitates an effort to understand how human intention, activity and experience manifests from a fundamentally impersonal encounter of affective forces.

In the anthropological literature, Skoggard & Waterston note that affects do not exist independently; "there is always one who affects and one who is affected" (2015, p.111). But the 'one' who affects and the 'one' who is affected does not imply a relationship between individuals. To talk of the 'one who affects' and the 'one who is affected', necessitates an understanding of what exactly is referred to in each case. Within the impersonal dimension of affect, it is first and foremost encounters between affective forces that occur; encounters that the individual only becomes consciously aware of after the fact. But how do affective forces encounter at all, or, to put it another way, what is their reality other than an evocation to some other dimension? For Spinoza, affect referred in principle to how a "power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained" (1996, p.70) but the form affect takes will "express a constitution of the body", and its "power of acting, *or* force of existing" either increasing or diminishing (1996, p.113, emphasis in original). Spinoza's treatment of affect discusses how individual consciousness arrives at ideas that are adequate or inadequate to their bodily constitution, but the relationship between affect and an increase or decrease in the 'power of acting' or 'force of existing' is the central theme. In this sense, encounters between affective forces manifest as the various constitutions of bodies and therefore the body is "aided and abetted by, and dovetails with, the field or context of its force-relations" (Siegworth & Gregg, 2010, p.3).

Affect, it is argued, emerges "at the moment when bodies meet, *affecting* the bodies involved in the encounter, and *marking the transformation/s* of the bodies" (Seyfert, 2012, p.29, emphasis in original). In the extant literature on affect, this close relationship between affect and embodiment has been highlighted in the social sciences and studies of organisation (Thanem & Wallenberg, 2014; Fotaki et al, 2017). Such a concern would seem pertinent for this research, given the accounts in Sosteric's study (1996), which highlight the significance of bodily encounters during incidents of customer abuse and violence. The next section, on 'affect and the body', discusses the relationship between the notion of affect and literature on the body in studies of organisation. However, while proposals for shifting the premise of the analysis from the individual to the impersonal recognise that the body is an important site of the encounter of affective forces, it is also argued that focusing only on the *human* body, occludes accounting for the affective forces that manifest within *non-human* bodies. Indeed, Spinoza's conception of the 'body' "allows for the incorporation of… both human and non-human… that continuously affect and are affected by one another" (Seyfert et al, 2012, p.30), and therefore proceeding on this basis offers an opportunity to avoid "anthropological hierarchisation" (ibid, p.31). The

claim here is that the individual human body is no longer the only site of the "emergence of affects", but rather just "one element among many others" (ibid, p.31). With this issue in mind, the final section will bring this literature review to a close, by exploring another strand of research informed by affect theory which has sought to analyse the nature of 'affective atmospheres'. But before this, the following section will consider the relationship between affect and the body.

Affect and the body

Following an 'embodied turn' in social science, several scholars in studies of organisation and management have explored and advanced an understanding of the way organisational practices are embodied and that bodies themselves are organised in specific ways through "practices that ascribe meanings and expectations" on them (Hassard et al, 2000, p.12). Introducing a series of chapters on the body and organisation, Hassard et al aim to "redress a tendency for analyses of organisation to be disembodied in ways that marginalise the body as a medium of organising practices" (2000, p.2). Dale has highlighted the way the body has been known by "biological and medical sciences", and within organisation theory, it is rarely given explicit theoretical treatment or considered "relevant to the development of knowledge about organisations" (2001, p.8). Dale asserts that knowledge of work and organisation, but also knowledge aligned with science and rationality more broadly, is characterised by an "objectified disembodiment" (ibid, p.57). In this respect, dominant and valued ways of understanding phenomena appear to emanate from the individual knower's mind, "transcendental and separate from the immanent body" (ibid, p.59). The body, in this respect, is displaced in the development of knowledge as an "absent presence" (2001, p.59) and simply a container for the mind and its cognition (Dale, 2005).

Dale seeks to subvert this tendency in the study of work and organisation by recovering the embodied nature of knowledge from the philosophical separation between body and mind. To do so, Dale draws on the work of Merleau-Ponty who establishes a theory of knowledge that is founded on a sense of lived embodiment. For Merleau-Ponty, "to be a body is to be tied to a certain world" (1962, p.148), and therefore, it follows that the lived experience of work is inseparable from an embodied sensibility. This has significant implications for how work and organisation are understood, because different knowers have diverse bodies, and perceptions of the world are inherently specific to these particularities (Dale, 2005). Proceeding on this embodied theory of knowledge represents a departure from "objectified disembodiment" (Dale, 2001, p.57) and emphasises the importance of explicitly theorising embodied perception. But more than addressing this 'absent presence' in organisation theory, Merleau-Ponty's

understanding of embodiment also draws attention to the way "the body is both sentient *and* sensible, sees *and* is seen, heard *and* is heard, touches *and* is touched" (Dale, 2001, p.70, emphasis in original). This point opens the analysis of embodied experience as "being both active and acted upon (by other bodies) (Crossley cited in Dale, 2001, p.73).

One way of extending this line of thought concerning embodiment has been explored by scholars informed by the notion of affect. Affect is theorised in relation to embodiment as the way in which bodies can both act and be acted upon. Thanem argues that "reality is constituted by affective relations between bodies" (2011, p.119) and takes this point into a discussion of ethics. Drawing on the philosophy of Spinoza, Thanem argues that an "ethical and joyful life is pursued by enhancing the body's capacity to affect and be affected by other bodies" (ibid, p.119). Acknowledging that bodies may have diverse capacities to 'affect and by affected', Thanem notes that bodies will "seek to persevere by entering affective relations with other bodies that enhance their capacities" (ibid, p.179). Highlighting the different affective capacities of bodies and the way bodies seek to enhance them raises questions of power and control,

> "we seek to 'assert and extend' ourselves in the face of others who 'strive to do likewise'" (ibid, p.112).

In this respect, for Thanem, we become "responsible for enhancing our capacities and exercising freedom in ways that respect and do not harm others" (2011, p.122). On this reading, the study of affect and bodily capacities stresses the embodied perception of lived experience but also situates this embodiment within specific affective relationships. Thanem draws on Spinoza further to outline an ethical position,

> "dominating and suppressing others will not produce joyful harmonious alliances but diminish joy and create disharmony... domination and suppression diminish joy because they close down connections to capacities that otherwise would expand the body's own capacities and power; because they produce sad affects in the dominated body, and because they produce disagreement" (2011, p.120).

Thanem & Wallenberg (2015) extend on this idea to formulate an embodied and affective ethics for organisational life. A key part of the authors' study is to stress that seeking to 'assert and extend' bodily capacities does "not imply an unrestrained and individualistic quest for power and freedom" (ibid, p.236). But rather, that bodily capacities both to affect and be affected are enhanced through relating to a "variety of different bodies" (ibid, p.236). Underpinning this notion is the point that an excessive degree of assertion and extension of bodily capacities over others causes "harm and suffering and provokes disagreement and resistance, which inevitably

decomposes relations between people and organisations" (ibid, p.247). The ethical solution to this, the authors suggest, following (Gatens & Lloyd, 1996) is to take on responsibility for how we affect others. The authors explain,

> "we are... responsible to enhance our capacities and exercise freedoms in ways that respect others – in ways that do not harm others" (Thanem & Wallenberg, 2015, p.244).

However, this raises the question of how such responsibilities will be taken up amid a "political reality of conflictual relations between bodies" (ibid, p.240). Furthermore, the relationship between affective bodily capacities and a felt sense of responsibility is less clear, and this is an important question for the present study, given the emphasis on responsible consumption of alcohol. How are expectations of responsibility ascribed to different bodies? What practices are involved and how do different bodies negotiate them? Considering these issues also raises the question of how embodied practices may be put in the service of revenue generation rather than pursuing an ethically responsible organisational life. Consequently, the following section on affective labour continues this discussion of the relationship between affect and the body at work, focusing on the commodification of embodied working practices.

Affective labour

In the research of autonomist Marxists, affective labour has been defined by Hardt & Negri as that which "involves the production and manipulation of affect", and necessitates forms of labour that operate "in the bodily mode" (2000, p.291). For service industries in particular, "affect" is argued to play a "foundational role in the production process", shaping encounters "between the production and consumption of commodities" (Hardt, 1999, p.93). Affective labour can therefore be understood as the work involved in "the interface that negotiates the relationship between production and consumption" (ibid, p.142). Research by Dowling (2007; 2012), suggests that it is the embodied nature of affective labour in the night-time hospitality sector that reveals how waitresses are actively encouraged to participate in the running of a restaurant; becoming part of the "dining experience" and the "sensual package" provided to customers (2007, p.120). Dowling describes how the body of the employee "needs to be able to combine conflicting capacities; to lure, entice and satisfy on the one hand and to be resilient, fast and astute on the other" (2012, p.109). Such embodied capacities are likely to be required of bar staff, as part of their efforts to become the 'toe' and 'heel' in bars and nightclubs.

Feminist scholars have drawn attention to the way that meanings and expectations placed on bodies are often "differently gendered" (Dale, 2001, p.78). Hancock & Tyler draw attention to

modes of embodiment which involve the "manipulation of the body's time, space and movements… practised and maintained in order to remain an employee" (2000, p.109). Becoming part of the 'sensual package' of an organisation's service necessitates, for example, "self-management of the 'aesthetic dimension' which is mediated in and through organisational bodies" (ibid, p.109). The authors pay specific attention to perceived "women's work" and its close relationship with the "management of an embodied and intrinsically 'female' aesthetic" (2000, p.115). Hancock & Tyler criticise the way that such practices of aesthetic management, despite being activities that require continuous labour are considered "natural feminine attributes" (2000, p.121). The authors point to the airline industry as an example, where through recruitment, performance review and training procedures, employees are expected to emanate "poise, elegance, slenderness and even gentleness of voice" (ibid, p.121). Hancock & Tyler also note how employees also appear to willingly reinforce such organisational expectations, which "seemed to represent the materialised expression of an organisational cultural ideal to which they all contributed and as such, mutually regulated" (ibid, p.117). This raises the question of how employees become 'active subjects' in the performance of embodied qualities expected as part of their occupational roles.

In the literature informed Autonomist Marxism, an important aspect of this research involves the idea that "workers are expected to become 'active subjects' in the coordination of the various functions of production, instead of being subjected to it as simple command" (Lazzarato, 1996, p.134). Rather than simply consenting to the labour process (Burawoy, 1982), employees are said to actively cooperate "in the production of the social relations that production depends on" (Bohm & Land, 2012, p.224). Gill and Pratt also emphasise this as an important point in the work of autonomist Marxists, "rather than seeing wage labourers as (merely) victims of capital, autonomists highlight their role as protagonists" (2008, p.5). But how does this square with the impersonal nature of affective forces? Notably, in Dowling's study, there continues to be a strong sense in which embodied affective labour is a willed activity, exercised at the discretion of the individual. Indeed, Dowling expresses this explicitly,

> "I use my capacity to affect and your [the customer's] capacity to be affected, and vice versa too. You're not just on the receiving end… we're in this together" (2012, p.110).

Managerial strategies[20] at the restaurant are also said to be directed toward the "production of the 'willing worker'", such that employees "pander[ed]" to the "needs and desires" of customers (ibid, p.125)[21]. But the claim that the employee *uses* embodied capacities to affect and be affected, postulates an individual that is prior to, or in charge of their bodily constitution and its affective force-relations.

Similarly, in Riach & Wilsons study of embodied sexuality at work in a night-time hospitality setting, employees in the study describe how it was possible,

> "to 'be sexy but if you're also assertive with it, people will respect you'…. Others suggested that they physically 'shut down' their bodies as sexually responsive… Strategies included avoiding eye contact, folding their arms, or turning their body away when they were talking to or moving in-between customers" (2014, p.337).

The authors argue that bodies were ascribed with certain capacities "along gendered lines", where "men rather than any women were presented as embodying the potential to do something should they be 'called into action'" (ibid, p.338)[22]. Riach & Wilson argue that 'body space' at the club was shaped "following particular modes of normalised sexual behaviour" (ibid, p.34). But there remains the question of how such bodily orientations are related to affective forces. If 'gendered lines' are constituted by affective forces, how does one understand how employees come to 'use' or put their 'aesthetic' and 'sexualised' embodied capacities into the service of the labour process? One of the challenges in answering such a question is to acknowledge the distinctive nature of affect and its pre-individual impersonality, which requires adequately thinking through the relationship between human intention, activity, and experience. Consider, for example, how Dowling describes the way that,

> "the waitress embodied the struggle between *having all the power and having no power…* 'I say who, I say when, I say how much… You're [the customer] *dependent on me* [the waitress] for the satisfaction of your bodily needs and for your enjoyment. However, *I'm also at your beck and call*" (ibid, p.111, emphasis added).

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[20]"As employees, we were constantly reminded that we were working for the company out of choice; as stated in a management training session, we had the option to 'vote with our feet'; we could either 'accept the company and its values', or go and work somewhere else" (Dowling, 2007, p.124).

[21] "I am our waitress… I'm your entertainer, I'm your servant, I'm your expert, I'm your guide. I'm all yours… and yours, yours too, oh and yours as well" (Dowling, 2012, p.110).

[22] Despite a female member of bar staff having a black belt in self-defence.

This predicament can be likened to the situation encountered by bar staff, in the problem of becoming both 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE. On the one hand, they might be considered *powerful*, in the sense that customers depend on them for their drinks. But on the other, they might be considered *powerless,* since they remain at customers' 'beck and call'. But how can this situation be theorised without presupposing an individual at the centre of it? How can the premise of this question be shifted from the embodied capacities of the individual to an impersonal dimension of affective forces? Or to put this question more precisely, how does an impersonal encounter of affective forces emerge in such a way, as to constitute the human intention, activity and experience associated with *using* embodied capacities to affect and be affected?

To anticipate the response to this in the theoretical framework chapter, this problem requires a way of establishing the genesis of human intention, activity and experience, from the impersonal encounters of affective forces. But to remain within the boundaries of the extant literature for the moment, the discussion that follows will move to consider how this theoretical issue has been engaged with to date, in attempts to decentre the individual in studies that have considered 'affective atmospheres'. This approach has also been drawn on in research concerning the NTE, which attempts to incorporate "the affective and atmospheric dimensions of night-time cities" (Shaw, 2014, p.87), foregrounding the various materials, substances and devices that make up the spatial and material architectures of contemporary nightlife.

Affective atmospheres

Within the human geography literature - which made an early contribution to studies informed by affect theory (Anderson, 2009) - the concept of affective atmospheres draws on the work of Deleuze and Spinoza, but also studies on aesthetic experience by Dufrenne (1973) and Böhme (1993). Anderson considers the problem of the relation between human intention, activity and experience, and impersonal forces, by suggesting affective atmospheres manifest "*alongside* the formation of subjectivity, *across* human and non-human materialities, and *in-between* subject/object distinctions" (2009, p.78, emphasis in original). The claim is that affective atmospheres cannot be construed neatly as emanating from either impersonal affective force-relations or as personal emotional experiences since they are "simultaneously impersonal in that they belong to collective situations and yet can be felt as intensely personal" (ibid, p.80). He argues that affective atmospheres are felt "by the subjects that apprehend them. They belong to the perceiving subject... [but at the same time] atmospheres 'emanate' from the ensemble of elements" (ibid, p.79). In this way, he perceives the difficulty of accounting for their relationship, but instead of attempting to resolve it, he indicates that there is value in theorising its indeterminacy. At a minimum, this way of theorising the impersonal dimension of affective

forces conveys the idea that atmospheres "cannot be reduced to a singular psychology" (Wetherell, 2013, p.227), and stresses the importance of considering "multiple entities, both living and non-living" to account for the forces that constitute them (Anderson & Ash, 2015, p.42).

Akin to weather systems, Wetherell argues that affective atmospheres "emerge from indeterminate, complex and potentially turbulent interactions among immensely powerful and obscure forces" (ibid, p.227). This sense of an indeterminate conception of forces is a recurrent motif that runs through work on affective atmospheres. In the literature on organisation studies, for example, Beyes & Steyaert suggest that,

> "Thinking the affective materiality that performs space thus means pondering an intensity of relations… affect instigates us not so much to look at representations and significations as to engage with the intensities and forces of organisational life" (2012, p.52).

But this notion of forces remains underdeveloped and therefore ambiguous; affective forces are said to be "neither solely located in the material environment nor solely in the human body" (Michels, 2015, p.257), and therefore involve "interactions of all kinds… [and] all kinds of encounters" (Seyfert et al, 2012, p.31). But maintaining such an indeterminate and ambiguous conception of affective forces seems surprising, given they form such a pivotal role in the constitution of affective atmospheres. Typically, affective forces tend to be considered simply as effects that manifest within 'non-human', spatial and material architectures. To understand the forces that shape bar staffs' efforts to become the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE, one might be encouraged to question the primacy of human intention, activity and experience. Indeed, as Duff & Sumartojo highlight in their study of 'assemblages of creativity', creative forces can be understood as "an *emergent property* of the social, affective and material conjoining of heterogeneous forces… all these forces combine in their own unique permutations to make… human and non-human forces capable of expressing creativity" (2017, p.430. emphasis in original). This suggests a concern with how the 'power moves' of service and regulation, may be as much 'atmospheric', as they are carried out by individual bar staff. Indeed, Fotaki et al (2017, p.9) suggest that affect theory can "highlight the ways in which taken-for-granted aspects of organisational design, including space and architecture, can be political in nature".

Turning specifically to research on the NTE, studies in the literature on public health and criminology have turned their attention towards the significance of "design, planning and locations of drinking environments as playing a part in reducing alcohol related harms, including

crime and disorder" (Measham, 2006, p.261). This research attempts to identify causal relationships and antecedents to over-serving, through observations of "environmental variables, such as uncleanness, rowdiness and permissiveness", which are said to be indicative of "problematic bars" (Graham et al, 2006, p.1572). This leads to prescriptive recommendations in the public health literature, where for example, Buvik & Russow (2015, p.607) suggest that nightclub spaces should be modified or engineered to create "bright and less noisy bar areas", in efforts to reduce over-serving. Such measures are thought to be able to shape the circumstances under which "problematic activities can occur", and therefore could be mobilised to "diminish crime opportunities and impersonally foster civility" (Garland cited in Valverde, 2003, p.239). Indeed, in this research, there is a clear sense in which individuals or organisations can effectively *use* affective forces, mobilising "ambient forms of power" (Hadfield, 2008, p.429) by making changes to spaces and materials. It is argued that through certain "architectures of choice" (Jones et al, 2011, p.487), people can be orientated toward desirable conduct. While this approach to impersonally shaping customer conduct would seem to present a useful means of circumventing the violation of customer sovereignty, the extent to which such strategies can produce predictable outcomes is not always certain.

An illustrative example of the use of these measures in the NTE can be seen in efforts to reduce violence and serious harm through the change of drinking vessel materials to tempered glass or plastic. In 2006, Glasgow city council banned all glassware from premises serving alcohol after midnight. Before the introduction of this policy, Forsyth notes how "Glasgow had an unenviable level of 'glassings'" (2008, p.111). In a review in the *Lancet*, the estimated cost of injuries attributed to glassware and bottles represented £4.08 million in victim compensation between 1996 and 1998. As such, the removal of glassware was proposed as a key move in "reducing the severity of both alcohol-related assaults and nightclub accidents" (Forsyth, 2008, p.111). Forsyth's (2008) study involved making a series of visits to nightclubs in Glasgow city centre to document incidents after the ban. Following his observations and interviews with customers and bartenders, Forsyth argues,

> "alcohol and glass should not mix and on the evidence of this research, the replacement of glass with plastic drinking vessels in licensed premises… is likely to bring substantial public safety rewards" (2008, p.117).

The claim is that during the 'heat of the moment' customers involved in altercations would "not have time" to "decide that the weapon [they] pick up was plastic and not glass", and that the "severity of injuries caused by vessels can be greatly reduced by a 100% glass-free environment" (ibid, p.116). However, the authors acknowledge potential issues with different types of plastic

cups. For example, through the use of polypropylene which is flimsy and liable to splitting, interviewees in their study commented on how this can contribute to accelerated consumption,

> "I was holding a vodka and coke and my mate hit me and the glass, the plastic split
> all the way down the middle. I had to down it" (ibid, p.115)

Interviewees also indicated that while holding a plastic cup, there was a perception that something was lacking in their drinking experience; as "childish, downmarket or cheap", or as if they were "out for a picnic with your daft plastic cups" (ibid, p.110). Furthermore, one of the participants indicated an association with the perception of a threatening or violent atmosphere, and the use of plastic drinking vessels,

> "I guess it's a good safety thing… you sometimes think, 'oh well, what kind of city
> am I in? I mean the thought has crossed my mind, I don't know how serious it was,
> but it's just like, why is it plastic and not glass, does it have that much potential for
> [violence]?" (ibid, p.115).

This observation indicates that changes to the materials used in the NTE can have unanticipated outcomes. Indeed, Winder and Wesson (2006, p.46) raise the issue that removing glass may create a "self-fulfilling prophecy", increasing the likelihood of violence, as "some individuals may see this as a signal that they cannot be trusted, or that disorder is tolerated and that choosing to fight would prove less injurious than elsewhere" (Forsyth, 2008, p.117). Indeed, some scholars researching the characteristics of affective atmospheres seek to question the assumption that individuals and organisations can simply *use* the capacities of objects and space to modify environments and reach predictable outcomes.

Anderson argues that while affective atmospheres can be shaped and manipulated, at the same time, they are "perpetually forming and deforming" and therefore permanently unfinished (2009, p.79). This quality is explored in Michel & Steyaert's study, where the authors document how an orchestral ensemble attempted to design and produce an affective atmosphere through a "compositional process" (2017, p. 80). Questioning the primacy of human intention, activity and experience, this study explores how the ensemble encountered tension between the possibility of "designing atmospheres" and their "unpredictable outcomes" (ibid, p.85). The authors put together a series of observations that attend to the various actions, bodies and things involved in the emergence of affective atmospheres during their performances. The claim is that a sensitivity to the forces that practices, materials and spaces manifest, could present an opportunity to "speculate on how an atmosphere forms", through understanding how "diverse

groupings of things and people come together" (Anderson in Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p.87). As the authors explain,

> "the careful crafting of the affective atmosphere through aesthetic work and spatial formation, and the unpredictable variations of atmospheres that result from the unexpected encounters with new sites, chance bystanders, and weather fluctuations… emphasize the tension between the possibility of designing atmospheres and the unpredictable outcome of this process" (Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p.82).

On this basis, the relationship between the impersonal dimension of affective forces and human intention, activity and experience, is expressed as a tension between the design, arrangement and composition of "ideas, energies, people [and] artefacts", and their "erratic, ephemeral and excessive emergence" (ibid, p.80). This tension is likely to be a significant part of bar staffs' lived experience of becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE. The act of refusing service, for example, impacts an individual customer, but it may also have an unpredictable influence on the affective atmosphere. Similarly, the use of inappropriate glassware or neglecting to clear the floor from spills and broken glass may also disturb an affective atmosphere in unpredictable ways. As such, the working practices of bar staff are as much to do with becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' of the nightclub, as they are with the affective atmosphere, which extends further than the service encounter.

However, whether conceiving the relationship between human intention, activity and experience, and impersonal affective forces, as a relation of tension or to indicate there is value in maintaining a conception of its indeterminacy; simultaneously as impersonal *and* personal, is not wholly convincing as an adequate way of theorising their relationship. Drawing this discussion together, it can be argued that the extant literature has not sufficiently dealt with the theoretical problem of accounting for how affective forces simultaneously constitute the interior emotional experience and concerted action of individuals, *and* an encounter of impersonal affective forces. The literature on affective labour stresses how individual workers are expected to become 'active subjects' in the coordination of production and consumption; using embodied capacities to shape the affective forces that emerge during service encounters. While the literature on affective atmospheres draws attention to how affective forces can be amenable to some degree of intervention and manipulation; using the architectural capacities of space and materiality to craft the affective atmospheres in which service encounters take place. However, in both cases, some form of human intention, activity and experience is posited either alongside or prior to the

emergence of the impersonal dimension of affective forces; using, designing or planning to control them.

However, if one is to strictly maintain that affective forces are *prior* to human intention, activity and experience, it must follow that impersonal forces relate to one another in such a way as to *produce* individual experience and concerted activity. In this sense, it is human intention, activity and experience that reacts back on impersonal affective forces; attempting to control the very encounter of forces from which it manifests. In this sense, it is not the *relationship* between the personal and the impersonal that is at issue, but the *genesis* of the personal from the impersonal, that must be given due consideration. Theorising the genesis of the bar staffs' role in becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE may not offer a solution to their predicament, but it presents an opportunity to understand the influence of the impersonal dimension of affect, and how encounters between its forces shape their capacities as servers and regulators.

Conclusion

This chapter has critically examined various academic perspectives that can offer insight into the work involved in the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption. It began by considering how the NTE has emerged in the UK, and how a shift in the onus of regulatory provision has fallen largely onto the shoulders of bar staff in the night-time hospitality sector. Seeking a departure from the assumption that bar staff can be conceived as deployable resources of enforcement, the first half of the review took into consideration the complex emotional demands involved in the work of serving customers and regulating their consumption. This involved engaging with debates on the issues of employee irresponsibility and training, psychological and emotional adaptation, understanding the emotional labour process, distinguishing between empathetic and antipathetic labour, considering the influence of customer conduct and work intensification. The key point to take away from this discussion was to demonstrate how a significant number of academic constituencies reinforce the idea that the role of 'toe' and 'heel' in the NTE can be considered a responsibility of individual bar staff. In this respect, scholarly attention appears to be overwhelmingly directed toward the study of human intention, activity and experience, in such that it is considered both as the source of the problem *and* the solution, to ensuring bar staff work effectively as servers and regulators in the NTE. However, as this section shows, there seems to be a limit or threshold at which individual capacities are overcome by the intensity of work itself, struck into submission by the existential threat of customer abuse and violence, or carried away in the exercise of regulatory powers.

The second half of the review considered attempts to problematise the idea of the autonomous and capable individual bartender through research informed by affect theory. These studies seek to decentre the individual from analysis, and the chapter explored these approaches through a critical engagement with debates on the pre-individual and impersonal quality of affective forces. Extending the question of understanding how bar staff become the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE, this part of the chapter considered work from the perspective of embodied and affective labour, and the influence of non-human, spatial and material architectures in affective atmospheres. These debates make important contributions to understanding the embodied capacities that are likely to be required of bar staff, and the way their working practices are as much to do with creating and maintaining affective atmospheres, as they are with service and regulation. However, a key point to take from this discussion was to question how the literature drawing on affect theory has theorised the relationship between human intention, activity and experience, and impersonal affective forces. This argument is made on the basis that in attempts to decentre the individual and to account for impersonal forces of affect, human intention, activity and experience continues to be presupposed. This can be seen in the notion that embodied capacities can be *used* to shape service encounters through affective labour, or that affective forces inherent to spatial and material architectures can be shaped and manipulated in the service of crafting affective atmospheres. In neither is there a convincing explanation of the relationship between the impersonal and the personal, or the human and the non-human.

This constitutes the theoretical opening for the contribution of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy. In the theoretical framework that follows, the *a priori* conception and preoccupation with the interiority of the individual is radically problematised through Deleuze and Guattari's conception of force and desire. Drawing on their work, the following chapter offers an account of how a preoccupation with the psychological capacity of the individual subject has emerged, tracing its genesis through the practices that have constituted it through human history. This perspective radically questions the presupposition of the 'individual' at the centre of analysis. In doing so, a departure is made from theorising the *relationship* between the individual and the impersonal, to account for the *genesis* of the individual from the impersonal. This marks a significant shift from the initial premise of this analysis, from understanding the relationship between the individual bartender and the issue of becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE, to that of understanding how an encounter between impersonal forces, *constitutes* this set of contradictory demands. The significance of this shift should not be understated as it turns the concern of the thesis away from a study of the work of bar staff situated within a political economy of the night-time hospitality industry, towards an examination of the way work in

nightclubs is constituted by a relationship between impersonal affective forces. This *genetic* account of the problem of serving and regulation in the NTE can be theorised through Deleuze and Guattari's conception of force and desire, to which the theoretical framework now turns.

3

Theoretical framework

Introduction

Informed by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, this chapter presents the theoretical framework which offers a response to the problem raised in the literature review. That is, to conceive the genesis of human intention, activity, and experience, as constituted by impersonal forces, and to offer the basis on which an alternative perspective on the issue of serving alcohol and regulating its consumption can be presented. The first section will introduce Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy, by outlining its distinctive areas of concern, elaborating on their collaborative work, and situating this in the context of the authors' intellectual landscape at the time of writing. Drawing on Deleuze's independent work in *Nietzsche and Philosophy* (2002), the second section outlines a theoretical understanding of impersonal forces. This theory of forces introduces a need to distinguish between *active* and *reactive* impersonal forces and marks an important influence on the authors' collaborative works. It also represents a key idea for this thesis as it underpins the sections that follow it, on creating concepts, desire, and social control.

Once the authors' theoretical distinction between *active* and *reactive* forces is established, the next section on creating concepts offers the basis on which the relationship between *active* and *reactive* impersonal forces can be conceptualised. This section, informed by Deleuze and Guattari's final collaborative work entitled *What is Philosophy?* (1994), sets out the authors' approach to the creation of concepts. The philosophy of concepts presents a way of critically examining how problems are posed to expose their limits and to create an alternative concept to address them. The fourth section outlines a theory of desire and social control, informed by Deleuze and Guattari's first collaboration entitled *Anti-Oedipus* (2000). This theory offers a way of thinking through the genesis of human intention, activity and experience from impersonal forces, and brings into question the notion of individualised capacities for self-control. The fifth and final section offers a further way of understanding how work is shaped in

the NTE, by drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's critical examination of axiomatic thought in *What is Philosophy?* (1994). Influenced by Deleuze's independent work in *Difference and Repetition* (1994), this approach highlights the way axiomatic thought overlooks qualitative or intensive difference, through generating measurements that operate with continuity, uniformity, equal distribution, and divisibility. This final theoretical idea provides an opportunity to critically examine how the intensity of labour effort, measured as labour time, is axiomatically conceived and organised within a capitalist political economy. Taken together, the theory of forces, concepts, desire, social control, and axiomatics, present the necessary theoretical ideas this thesis draws on to reconceptualise work in the NTE.

The philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari

Gilles Deleuze (1925-1996) and Félix Guattari (1930-1992) were two prominent French philosophers that published independently and co-authored a series of works that this thesis draws on in its analysis. Before their co-authored works which include a two-volume study of Capitalism and Schizophrenia in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) and *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988) and their final collaboration on philosophy itself, entitled *What is Philosophy?* (1994), Deleuze had published several independent studies. These included monographs on Hume (1991), Nietzsche (2002), Kant (1984), Proust (1972), Bergson (1988), Sacher-Masoch (1989), Spinoza (1988) and the development of his own thought in *Difference and Repetition* (1994) and the *Logic of Sense* (2004). In these works, Deleuze established a way of thinking that challenged the presuppositions of interiority and transcendence in Western thought, which were the foundations of the Enlightenment. During this period, Félix Guattari had been a political activist and psychoanalyst at the La Borde; a psychiatric clinic based in Cour-Cheverny in the Loire Valley, while Gilles Deleuze was a Professor of philosophy at the University of Paris VIII. In a series of works from 1955-1971 - later collated and published together in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality* (2015) - Guattari had developed thinking on the relation between the unconscious, political economy and institutional psychiatric practice, and both authors' independent thinking before their first meeting can be seen in their co-authored works. As Deleuze remarked,

> "We each had a past and earlier work behind us: his was in psychiatry, politics, and philosophy, already crammed with concepts, and mine was *Difference and Repetition* and *The Logic of Sense*. But we didn't collaborate like two different people. We were more like two streams coming together to make 'a' third stream, which I suppose was us" (1995, p.136).

Together, Deleuze and Guattari produced a philosophical intervention in the French intellectual landscape that neither thinkers could have realised independently. In *Anti-Oedipus* (2000), the product of their initial meeting, one can see the influence of Guattari's reservations with Lacanian psychoanalytical theory and his understanding of the unconscious. As well as Deleuze's reservations with interiority and transcendence, and his understanding of the impersonal genesis of human intention, activity and experience. Equipped with these perspectives, Deleuze and Guattari offered an analysis of desire and its social control, drawing among others on the work of Nietzsche, Freud, and Marx, to consider the emergence and organisation of productive forces that shape human civilisation. Drawing on the authors philosophical insights, this chapter assembles the theoretical framework that is necessary to extend their thought into the analysis of work in the NTE.

Deleuze and Guattari in studies of organisation

Over thirty years ago Cooper & Burrell suggested that postmodernism represented amongst others, by Deleuze and Guattari, would generate a "new area of intellectual endeavour and confrontation" (1988, p.92). Rejecting the human subject as the origin of rational action and the idea that organisation could be understood as a reflection of such rational activity, postmodern theory laid down significant challenges to modernist conceptions of human intention, activity, and experience. Deleuze and Guattari, the authors argue, articulated an alternative conception, founded on forces "beyond human control", and, as a corollary, organisation expressed a "defensive reaction to forces intrinsic to the social body which constantly threaten the stability of organised life" (1988, p.92). For Cooper & Burrell, discussion of forces underpinning organisational life in "active-reactive opposition" was absent from orthodox organisation theory and, as such, "a massive shift in theoretical perspective would be needed" (1988, p.106). Scholars of organisation and management were therefore tasked with a "radical re-evaluation of the traditional concept of organisation as a circumscribed administrative-economic unit as well as the methodologies that go to define it" (ibid, p.106).

Since then, there has been sustained interest in the work of Deleuze and Guattari in studies of organisation. Linstead (2004), introduces an edited collection, highlighting how postmodern thought, "questions the status and limitations of theory… the rules by which theory is constructed" and "the relationship between the theoretical and the empirical" (2004, p.5). Within this volume, Carter & Jackson's (2004) overview of Deleuze and Guattari's work highlights their conception of desire. The process of desire, Carter & Jackson note, is conceived differently from individual behaviour, as a primary process that "just is", and does not 'behave'

in such a way that it 'lacks' or desires something that is missing (ibid, p.116). It is rather, channelled "towards things that capitalism can provide, that it sanctions, and from which it will benefit" (ibid, p.118). In this respect, while the authors do not draw this link, there is an affinity between this notion of capitalism as a social body, "regulating and/or repressing" desire, and the notion of a social body "powered by the irresistible force of the active", which "constantly threatens the stability of organised life" (Cooper & Burrell, 1988, p.105). Linstead highlights this disruptive aspect of desire as an "immanent force which 'resides' in us all and is the reservoir of potentiality and becoming – desire escapes" (2004, p.9). For Linstead & Brewis, in their study of the ontologies of desire, the authors also highlight that such forces may be "creative or destructive" and "always potentially dangerous. This dark side demands organisation – it must be identified and regulated if the dangers to social life are to be minimised" (2007, p.352).

Mohammed discusses how the force of desire is "open and creative until it encounters the engagements that characterise everyday social life which shape and determine it" (2020, p.200). Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's analysis of 'microfascism', Mohammed draws attention to the way that forces of desire constitute the "draw of power, a lust to dominate and be dominated, to follow rules and see others to conform to them, that operates through the social fabric" (ibid, p.207). Consequently, Mohammed argues that one should develop an "active practice of resistance to microfascist impulses… scouring the unconscious of the means by which desire for fascism is cultivated" (ibid, p.208). Drawing these points together, the forces and desires of social bodies can be interpreted in different ways. On one hand, they can be understood as transformative or repressed forces channelled and sanctioned toward the benefit of a capitalist social order and the production of conformity. On the other hand, forces can be considered as unstable, dynamic, and opposing phenomena which threaten the stability of organised life. While these claims certainly ask questions of modernist perspectives on organisation, it is less clear how forces or desires have come to exist in this way, how such phenomena constitute social bodies, and even less clear how to approach their analysis empirically.

Following Linstead and Thanem (2007), however, one is presented with a way of thinking about the active-reactive dynamic of forces that constitute social bodies which foregrounds a concern with the relationship between processes that both "inflict order and boundaries" and those that "disrupt" them (Thanem, 2006, p.165). Writing together, Linstead & Thanem (2007) posit the concept of 'trembling' organisation, introducing an alternative concept that departs from the oppositional conception advanced by Cooper & Burrell (1988). As they explain,

> "[in] Cooper & Burrell's (1988) (quasi-) Nietzschean view of organisation as reactive force, organisations seek to accommodate and reduce the effects of changes… by non-organizational actualisations. But there is more to organisation than that… [non-organisation or active force] is never sufficiently separable from organisation, that organisation can react to it – organisation can only react to 'it' by constructing and projecting 'it' as an abstracted Other… not as a living force or flow of desire to which it is always in relation (Linstead & Thanem, 2007, p.1496).

This is an important way of conceptualising the relationship of active-reactive forces constituting social bodies. It expresses the way "organisation" and "non-organisation", or active and reactive forces, are "*inseparable and co-evolve*" (Linstead & Thanem, 2007, p.1497, my emphasis). And, on this basis, Linstead and Thanem argue that organisation "trembles" with change which is "intricately and co-emergently embedded" within it" (ibid, p.1496). The theoretical framework proposed in this chapter can be understood as an extension of this intellectual endeavour, to understand how desire and forces come to exist, how these constitute work in a nightclub, and in what way the present study can approach their analysis empirically. In the section that follows, Deleuze's independent work on the theory of forces will be introduced to begin laying out the theoretical ground for subsequent sections on creating concepts, desire and social control, and axiomatic thought.

Theory of impersonal forces

As the preceding section has indicated, the theory of forces refers to an important strand of Deleuze's independent thought that came before the collaborative work with Guattari. It marks a significant influence on their philosophical edifice and has special significance for this thesis. In brief, the theory of forces does not presuppose human intention, activity and experience at the centre of its analysis, or even bodies (human and non-human) situated amid affective relations. Instead, it begins with nothing but "quantities of force in mutual 'relations of tension'" (Nietzsche cited in Deleuze, 2002, p.40). Developed in an early study, Deleuze (2002) draws extensively on the philosophy of Nietzsche to present his theory of forces. A significant assertion in this work relates to the idea that there are different qualities of force that can be distinguished as *active* or *reactive*,

> "Active and reactive are precisely the original qualities which express the relation of force with force" (Deleuze, 2002, p.30).

As Tomlinson remarks in the introduction to his translation of Deleuze's work, Nietzsche "was responsible for creating a whole typology to distinguish active, acted and reactive forces and to

analyse their varying combinations" (2002, p.x). And it becomes the task of Deleuze's study to "define and analyse the different forces" (ibid, p.x). Deleuze states that active forces "appropriate… possess… subjugate [and] dominate" (ibid, p.52), and therefore express power by acts of overcoming, consuming, obtaining and destroying. Whereas reactive forces "neutralise active force" (Nietzsche cited in Deleuze, 2002, p.57) and therefore express power by restraining, depriving or prohibiting active forces from acting. This distinction between qualities specific to impersonal forces shapes each theoretical movement that continues from here, but it has its closest relationship with the analysis of desire and social control.

By itself, the analysis of active and reactive forces does not offer a theoretical explanation for the genesis of human intention, activity and experience. Indeed, Deleuze's theory of forces may be subject to criticism, as it seems to personify the impersonal. For example, he speaks of "dominant forces" and "inferior or dominated forces" (Deleuze, 2002, p.40), commanding and obeying. However, Widder claims that while this language does personify impersonal forces, its use is meant to "express the nature of force concretely", in a way that denotes "an asymmetry and agonism that for Deleuze underpins the sense of things, concepts and events" (2013, p.29). This asymmetry Deleuze seeks to highlight is characteristic of relations between active and reactive forces. Differences in power have the effect of producing their relative distinctions where a force "dominates while the other resists" (Widder, 2003, p.462). Yet, forces are not considered as *essentially* active or reactive. On the contrary, Deleuze maintains that their qualities manifest only in relation to one another. Following Deleuze, Widder suggests that "forces are nothing beyond their relations to other forces" (2012, p.68) and therefore the qualities associated with a force, are always *relative* distinctions. Active forces only exercise relative strength over the reactive forces that submit to them. In other words, to distinguish between active or reactive forces is to identify "*the tactics or means by which it exercises power*" (Widder, 2012, p.68-69, emphasis added). This is a key problem for this thesis, analysing encounters between active and reactive forces, and understanding how they exercise power.

Is it important to note that the submission of reactive forces does not imply that they cease acting altogether, "inferior forces do not cease being forces, but their submissive relations to more powerful forces means they much discharge themselves in a qualitatively different way" (Widder, 2012, p.74). Furthermore, reactive forces can "overturn the dominance" of active forces but in doing so they do not "form a greater force", since they proceed by different means; *neutralising* active force and taking "away a part or almost all of its power" (ibid, p.78). Of course, this raises numerous questions concerning the genesis of human intention, activity and experience. Indeed, these questions gradually increase their pressure on the theory of forces when

reactive forces are thought to express recognisably human characteristics; "adaptation, compromise and utilitarian calculation" (Widder, 2012, p.68). Moreover, reactive forces are thought to *judge* the actions of active forces from the perspective of a 'recipient'; "what benefits me, what seems to be selfless on part of the actor, is good: what is harmful to me, and can be attributed to the actor's selfishness, is evil" (ibid, p.74-75). Deleuze argues that under these circumstances, force becomes "blameworthy if it acts, deserving on the contrary, if it does not" (2002, p.123). Widder goes on to argue that reactive force has been taken to be that which is "good" while the bad or evil are taken to be active forces that oppose the forces of the good (2003, p.462). But from where does the position of the 'spectator' emerge from within reactive force as "the *person* who considers the action that he does not perform… as something to evaluate from the advantage he draws or can draw from it"? (Deleuze, 2002, p.74, emphasis added).

From this perspective, it seems that reactive forces have an awareness that is posited prior to or alongside their manifestation. In this respect, the theory of forces may not appear to offer a convincing response to the problem of theorising the genesis of human intention, activity and experience from impersonal forces. Indeed, it seems to reach the same impasse identified in the literature review encountered by affect theory. However, as stated earlier, the theory of forces has been separated from the sections that follow in the hope of rendering each of their theoretical formulations distinct. Each section relates to the other and back to the theory of forces, and this is especially the case in respect to the fourth section on desire and social control. Deleuze's independent writing on the distinctive qualities of active and reactive forces underpins their collaborative work and he had already begun engaging with the question of theorising human intention, activity and experience, but on different terms, in an earlier study entitled *Empiricism and Subjectivity* (1991), his monograph on the philosophy of Hume. But it is not until his meeting with Guattari and the publication of *Anti-Oedipus* (2000), that a response to this question has been offered in such a way as to account for the *genesis* of human intention, activity and experience. Equipped with this necessary theoretical groundwork, Deleuze and Guattari offer a theoretical account of the genesis of the position of the 'spectator' within reactive forces. However, before addressing how the authors reach this response, for the moment, this chapter will continue to develop its theoretical framework at the level of impersonal forces. It does so because preparing the analysis in such a way that it can *conceive* how impersonal forces shape work in the NTE, necessitates an approach for creating new concepts.

Creating concepts

This section of the theoretical framework presents Deleuze and Guattari's theory of concepts. It begins by introducing the authors' distinctive approach to the creation of concepts and then offers a critical examination of the dichotomy that underpins the idea of 'preventing disorder' in the NTE. In their final co-authored work entitled *What is Philosophy?*, Deleuze and Guattari argue that a fundamental aspect of philosophical thought is the task of "forming, inventing and fabricating concepts" (1994, p.2)[23]. A theory of concepts or the "the concept of a concept" is an important part of the authors' thinking and underpins the wide range of conceptual inventions throughout their work. Indeed, a key way of understanding Deleuze and Guattari's contribution to philosophy is to consider it as a sustained attempt to "create concepts for problems" (ibid, p.28). Concepts that articulate issues in such a way as to "make us aware of new variations" or "unforeseen cuttings-out" (ibid, p.28). Concepts also have relationships with other 'concepts on the same plane' (ibid, p.18). In this way, concepts can link up with "each other, support one another, coordinate their contours, articulate their respective problems and belong to the same philosophy, even if they have different histories" (ibid, p.18). The discussion that follows outlines how this approach to creating concepts has significance for understanding work in nightclubs.

Deleuze and Guattari's theory of concepts encourages one to question whether concepts in use adequately express the problems to which they refer and tasks the thinker with creating new or alternative concepts to surpass their limits. But to present this approach simply as an ethic of exploration or experimentation bears little relation to the thought process that is involved. Patton (1996) draws attention to the distinction Deleuze and Guattari draw between knowing and thinking. In Deleuze's earlier work this division is made between knowing, as the recognition of *truth* or the *solution* of problems, and thinking, as "the determination of problems" based on "pre-philosophical presuppositions" (1996, p.6). Concepts, it is argued, "articulate", "cut" or "cross-cut" their respective problems and are inextricably connected to them; "without which they would have no meaning" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p.16). But what is it that concepts 'cut', or 'cross-cut', and how *exactly* do they articulate their problems? Problems are thought to be conceptualised in a way that "speaks" their "event" (ibid p.21). Or to state this formally, this is to say that concepts are *extracted* from encounters with problems, as their signature or sign. For Deleuze and Guattari, concepts themselves "are only created as a

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[23] This also represents their final assessment of what constitutes the principal task of philosophical endeavours.

function of problems which are thought to be badly understood or badly posed" (ibid, p.16). In this sense, concepts are in principle, pedagogical.

Deleuze and Guattari argue that the 'plane' on which concepts relate to one another to articulate problems refers to a specific philosophical position or series of presuppositions. Each concept can "branch off toward other concepts that are differently composed but constitute other regions of the same plane" (1994, p.18). In this way, concepts are cast together in such a way to "answer to problems" that can be "connected to each other" (ibid, p.18). Consequently, when it comes to the question of whether a concept must be created one must consider what concepts are already at work in the articulation of problems, are they badly posed or understood? What are their components? What philosophical 'plane' are they cast on? Is it necessary to introduce a new concept or concepts to re-cast, re-place or combine with other concepts? Should this occur on the same 'plane'? Or should this pass through to a different plane? Many questions. Where to begin? Deleuze and Guattari maintain that 'well' posed or understood problems are dependent on the presuppositions one makes in thinking. Thus, the question of examining whether concepts adequately express their problems is to consider the presuppositions on which they rest. Which brings this line of thought to the present study, what presuppositions underpin conceptions of work in the NTE?

An influential determination of the problem of regulation in nightclubs is conceived as the 'prevention of drunkenness and disorder'. Is this problem of work in the NTE, poorly understood or posed? How have its concepts been formed, invented, and fabricated to understand this problem? And for that matter, what constitutes a 'badly' posed problem? Deleuze and Guattari argue that concepts "are never created from nothing" (1994, p.19), they are not waiting in the imagination to be grasped, rather, they are fabricated. As such they have a history, one that has passed "through other problems" (ibid, p.18) and may still be "trapped within" them (ibid, p.27). Focusing for the moment on the latter half of the conception of work in the NTE as the 'prevention of disorder'[24], what has been presupposed in this formulation? Arguably, the key presupposition or 'plane' of thought that underpins this 'determination' is the notion of *opposition*. Order is opposed to disorder; disorder is opposed order. The determination of opposition is an important way of conceiving many complex problems and this way of thinking features significantly in the 'plane' of thought articulated in the philosophy of Hegel. A full explication of Hegel's philosophy of opposition is beyond the scope of this

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[24] The section on desire and social control will critically examine the notion of the 'prevention of drunkenness'.

discussion, but it is important to consider the way Deleuze *departs* from the plane of opposition. This can be seen specifically in how the two thinkers diverge on their understanding of the relations between forces. For Hegel, forces encounter one another through relations of "opposition" (Widder, 2003, p.460). However, for Deleuze, conceptualising relations between forces as an opposition, "is inadequate to the task of grasping the nature of force relations" (Widder, 2012, p.66).

Deleuze argues that the plane of opposition is trapped within a problem of its own and therefore "a more concrete form of force relations must be conceived" (Widder, 2003, p.461). But which problem is the plane of opposition trapped within? For Deleuze, conceiving relations between forces by opposition "allows them to communicate only to the degree that they mirror one another" (Widder, 2013, p.28); an active force becomes the opposite of reactive force while reactive force becomes the opposite of active force. Each is known and determined as the absence of the other. In other words, a dichotomous plane of thought articulates the relationship between forces as an opposition between two counterparts. However, to distinguish something by what it is not is a way of thinking about difference that Deleuze does not subscribe to[25]. He argues that a plane of thought characterised by opposition determines relations between forces in such a way as to be "unaware of the real element from which forces, their qualities and their relations derive" (Deleuze, 2002, p.157). Instead, Deleuze seeks to depart from this way of thinking by maintaining a distinction between different types of forces but refraining from the assumption that forces *necessarily* relate through opposition. As Lambert asks, if forces interact "why say they do so by opposition?" (2013, p.193). Key to Deleuze's alternative conception of force relations is the way he understands how "differences have an effect on one another" (Lampert, 2013, p.203). For Deleuze, forces *co-exist* in a relationship of 'disjunctive synthesis' rather than opposition.

This conception articulates the relationship between forces from a different philosophical 'plane' and constitutes an alternative way of thinking that is important for reconceptualising work in the NTE. Deleuze maintains a plane of thought characterised by *disjunctive synthesis* or *co-existence*, rather than dichotomous opposition. With this alternative presupposition or plane of thought, Deleuze seeks to present a way of conceptualising relations between forces on the grounds of "a more concrete form of force relations" (Widder, 2003, p.461). But why introduce this plane of co-existence over the notion of opposition? Deleuze argues that the plane of dichotomy and opposition is trapped within a *one-sided* and therefore limited articulation of the

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[25] See Difference and Repetition (1994).

relation between forces. Or more specifically, it is constituted by a *reactive* perspective that misconceives the relation between forces. As Deleuze explains, after insisting on the distinction between active and reactive forces,

> "*reactive forces* give an inverted image... the difference between forces *seen from the side of reaction* becomes the *opposition* of reactive to active forces" (2002, p.125, emphasis added).

For Deleuze, from the side of *reactivity*, reactive forces can be understood to oppose active forces in the sense that they restrain, neutralise, and prohibit active forces from acting. However, the same cannot be said for the relation between active and reactive forces. Active forces aim only at their proliferation, they do not *oppose*, they overcome, consume, obtain, and destroy other forces. In other words, they do not act specifically to contest reactive forces. A simple example and one endorsed by Deleuze and Guattari would be to say that desire is an active force while repression is a reactive force. Desire does not *oppose* repression, it is simply desiring unthinkingly, while repression *does* oppose desire. In this sense, conceiving relations between forces as oppositional is *one-sided*. Understanding the importance of making this distinction will be significant for this thesis and the section that follows on desire and social control will describe in more detail how Deleuze and Guattari arrive at such a position.

The key point to take away from this is to challenge the notion of a dichotomous opposition that underpins the conception of 'preventing disorder' in the NTE. As mentioned earlier, certain concepts belong to a specific plane of thought and can be cast together to determine problems in specific ways. The concepts of order and disorder belong to a plane of thought that offers a distorted conception of the problem as it is from *one side.* The side of reaction, reactivity and reactive force; disorder in the NTE opposes order, while order opposes disorder. To surpass this limited conception a different plane of thought can be introduced with alternative concepts cast together in such a way as to articulate the problem of work in the NTE in a new way. If one is to think of *disorder* as an active force and *order* as a reactive force, it is possible to begin expressing the problem of work in the NTE without determining it from one side. To conceive instead, how *both* active and reactive forces (disorder and order) relate to one another while retaining a distinction between their ways of expressing power. On this basis, Deleuze maintains that if the relationship between different forces does not necessitate a dichotomous opposition the question becomes "under what conditions the disjunction is a veritable synthesis" (Widder, 2013, p.28). In other words, how do active and reactive forces co-exist? This then poses the question, how exactly does one go about conceptualising a 'disjunctive synthesis'?

To conceptualise this relation between forces and the conditions in which they can co-exist, one can look to the explanation Deleuze and Guattari offer in their final collaborative work *What is Philosophy?* (1994). Deleuze and Guattari offer several illustrative examples of how concepts have been created to articulate different problems and the thought process that is unique to their creation. A recurring theme in this process relates to the authors' contention that thinking can only be *provoked* by encounters with problems. Philosophical thought proper for Deleuze and Guattari is not (as it is more commonly understood) a mode of reflection, on the contrary, it is creative; "to create concepts is at the very least, to *do* something" (1994, p.7). Such acts of thought can only occur from "the hesitant gestures which accompany our encounters with the unknown", as opposed to the "reassuring familiarity of encounters with the known" (ibid, p.9). As such, adequately conceptualising the problem of work in the NTE from the standpoint of the relation between active and reactive forces necessitates *encounters* with this problem that *provoke* thought. It is not a question of reflecting on one's encounter but of creating something new from it, such as a concept that bears a signature or a mark of one's encounter as opposed to merely reflecting or describing it. In this way, concepts do not refer to essences or things nor do they have referents. They refer to acts of thought which posit themselves and their problems at the same time they are created.

Patton (1996) emphasises the point that it is the *creation* of a concept that simultaneously articulates a problem. An illustrative example of this is the process in thought that characterises novel medical diagnoses like that of 'Alzheimer's' or 'Parkinson's'. Strictly speaking, these concepts refer to encounters with problems (the presentation of symptoms) where the medical professional has identified (out of many different appearances of symptoms) the 'inseparability of their distinct variations' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p.21). As Deleuze and Guattari note,

> "…however much the use of proper names clarifies and confirms the historical nature of their link to these enunciations, these proper names are masks for other becomings and serve only as pseudonyms for more secret singular entities" (ibid, p.24).

The concept of 'Baroque' can be considered in the same way. This is a concept that Deleuze gives a thorough-going treatment in his text '*The Fold, Leibniz and the Baroque*' (1993). The word Baroque stems from the Portuguese for an irregular pearl. Deleuze (1993) suggests that irregular pearls exist, but asks does 'Baroque' exist? One might be able to recognise Baroque art, architecture, or music, but the painters, architects and musicians did not call what they were doing at the time 'Baroque'. Thus, the concept Baroque does "denote existing objects or classes of objects", but in its creation, it "posits itself and its object at the same time" (Smith, 2012,

p.65). But what does it mean to say that the concept "creates its corresponding object", or the "object did not pre-exist the formation of the concept? (ibid, p.65). What is at stake in this instance is the act of creative thought itself. The concept of Baroque carries a signature or mark of an encounter with a problem. In this case, it is *extracted* from encounters with art, architecture, and music from a certain period. Of course, it would be absurd to think a period did not exist, it is only that nobody 'thought' during that period the concept of the Baroque. Art, architecture, and music of this singular quality occurred during this period, but, the 'conceptual', that is, what is articulated conceptually as 'Baroque' denotes a way of thinking and a creative one.

In the case of Parkinson's or Alzheimer's, these diagnoses are named after the individuals who were able to 'isolate them'. In the process of medical diagnosis, the medical professional could "distinguish cases that had hitherto been confused by dissociating systems that were previously grasped together and juxtaposing them with others that were previously disassociated, thereby constructing an original clinical concept" (Smith, 2012, p.66). In this way, Smith contends that medical problems are the "symptoms" or the "signs" of illnesses, and the created concept "becomes" a "meeting place" for these symptoms or a "point of coincidence or convergence" (ibid, p.66). Thus, when it comes to adequately conceptualising the problem of work in the NTE, this will require the creation of a concept that becomes a point of convergence or meeting place for the symptoms and signs of encounters between active and reactive forces. This poses a demanding venture in thought, as it suggests one must create a concept that, in a way, 'diagnoses' anew the problem of serving alcohol and regulating its consumption in the NTE.

In summary, the theory of concepts posits the task of conceiving the problem of work in the NTE through a plane of thought that is underpinned by Deleuze's independent understanding of difference, the theory of forces, and Deleuze and Guattari's theory of concepts. Deleuze's independent thinking introduces a new plane of thought or series of presuppositions that urge a departure from the idea that the problem of preventing disorder in the NTE, constitutes one side of a dichotomous relationship of opposition between forces of order and disorder. Instead, it indicates a need to theorise how these forces co-exist and what role work in the NTE has in their 'disjunctive synthesis'. Therefore, adequately determining the problem of work in the NTE involves a thought process that engages directly with encounters between forces; how do problems manifest in the nightclub? How can they be articulated? And, from this, can a new concept be created to adequately determine the disjunctive synthesis of forces? These are the questions presented by this section of the theoretical framework. In the following section, the chapter moves to consider how active and reactive forces relate to desire and social control.

Desire and social control

The preceding section outlined how to conceptualise work in the NTE shaped by impersonal forces and began doing so by critically examining the notion of 'preventing disorder'. This section offers the theoretical basis on which the relationship between impersonal forces and human intention, activity, and experience can be conceived. Key to this section is Deleuze and Guattari's understanding of desire and social control, which is underpinned by Deleuze's independent work on active and reactive forces. In this respect, it is closely related to the first section of this chapter. However, it takes the theory of impersonal forces further by offering a theoretical account of the genesis of subjectivity as a phenomenon that manifests through the interruption and harnessing of the *active force of desire* by the *reactive force of social control.* Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's first collaborative work entitled *Anti-Oedipus* (2000), this section offers a critical assessment of desire as conceived in psychoanalytical theory, an alternative conception underpinned by the theory of impersonal forces and a historically informed account of its social control. At the time of writing their first collaborative work, Deleuze and Guattari were positioning a theory of desire against its dominant conception informed by Lacan's psychoanalysis (1988). And with an emphasis on the passive and machinic nature of desire, one can see the influence of Deleuze's independent work on the theory of impersonal forces. Desire, in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000), is conceived as a fundamentally impersonal and pre-subjective force,

> "If desire produces, its product is real. If desire is productive, it can be productive only in the real world and can produce only reality. Desire is the set of passive syntheses that engineer partial objects, flows, and bodies" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.26).

This conception of desire marked an important shift away from its dominant conception as associated with the lack of an object and therefore an experience of the desiring subject, to an impersonal and passive process that acts without self-comprehension. But it is in conjunction with the authors' historical account of social control whereby Deleuze and Guattari can lay out a theoretical explanation for the genesis of the subject from within impersonal forces.

As a starting point, it is necessary to understand how Deleuze and Guattari's thought represents a departure from the dominant assumption that desire is associated with the *lack* of an object (Lacan, 1988). This conception implies "there is an object that desire feels the lack of, hence the world does not contain each and every object that exists, there is at least one object missing, the one that desire feels the lack of" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.26). On this basis, a relation of

transcendence is introduced into the function of desire such that "one can desire only what one does not have, therefore, desire is understood as the external relation between… the desiring subject and the desired object" (Colebrook, 2002, p.98). For Lacan, the subject can only come into being through a relation of lack; "being attains a sense of self in relation to being as a function of this lack, in the experience of desire" (Lacan, 1988, p.223-4). In the *opposite* of lack, that is, in complete fulfilment, there is no need for the subject to emerge or 'attain a sense of self'; "it is only in being other than this pure fulfilment that there can be a sense of self at all" (Colebrook, 2002, p.98). However, Deleuze and Guattari maintain that desire does not constitute a relationship between a subject that desires and an object that is desired. On the contrary, the authors insist that desire is "productive only in the real world and can produce only reality" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.26). In other words, there is no transcendent relation, desire is a passive and material process that "produces real connections, investments and intensive states within and between bodies" and constitutes "a primary active force rather than a reactive response to an unfulfilled need" (Patton, 2000, p.70).

On this basis, Deleuze and Guattari conceive desire not as a "response to something missing" (Hietanen et al, 2019, p.4), but as an impersonal process that generates all "movements of flows" in life itself (Deleuze & Guattari 2000, p.211). What Deleuze and Guattari seek to formulate here is an understanding of desire's process or function as an impersonal and generative force, without presupposing a subject or object. Desire itself is considered to generate connections only from which extended terms, such as 'subject' and 'object' are "then abstracted" (Colebrook, 2002, p.103). In this sense, the subject might construe itself as an autonomous entity taking possession of its desires, but these are the very processes that constitute it (Holland, 1999). Therefore, it is not someone's subjective awareness, interiority or identity that determines their interests, choices or will, but a pre-subjective synthesis of desire. It is erroneous to assume the subject chooses desires, on the contrary, it is desire that *generates* the choosing. Holland insists on this point, "consciousness is not the subject of but rather subject to the synthesis", it "occurs to the subject rather than being under its conscious control… we become conscious of it – if we ever do – only ex post facto (2012, p.208). An argument echoed by Colebrook who reiterates that there is "production and connection without being grounded on some prior agent or subject", such that one might say "it is not 'I' have desires; it is from desire that an 'I' or subject is effected" (2002, p.116). In this respect, desire is understood as an impersonal and immanent process and can be associated with Deleuze's conception of *active forces*.

This understanding of desire is distinct from the idea of emotion but has a closer association with the notion of affect. Emotion is considered personal, something the individual is conscious

of and therefore focuses concern with the subject's interiority. While affect is considered pre-personal and therefore occurring prior to subjective awareness, but as indicated in the literature review it is less clear how the subject is constituted by affective forces. Desire, by contrast, functions impersonally and prior to the subject, but it is also constitutive of the subject, an impersonal process that produces human intention, activity, and experience. After the authors have constructed this conception of desire contrary to Lacan, Deleuze and Guattari seek to demonstrate how subjectivity is immanent to desire and the specific way in which desire functions as the impersonal process in its genesis. Subjectivity, by the authors' account, becomes a by-product or residual effect of impersonal processes of desire. But how exactly can subjectivity manifest within an impersonal process? The answer to this question may not seem forthcoming given that desire is conceived as a "passive synthesis", indeed as Deleuze and Guattari insist, it is the "subject that is missing in desire" (2000, p.26). This question seems pressing considering how the authors maintain that processes of desire constitute passive syntheses which engineer connections with "no self-comprehension", nor "end or goal" (Buchanan, 2008, p.42). Much of the impersonal, pre-conscious and machinic function of desire is emphasised in Deleuze and Guattari's work, which is echoed in the secondary literature where Hietanen et al (2019, p.5), for example, suggest that "immanent connectivity precedes consciousness" and desire functions in an "unconscious, additive and autonomised" way "aiming [only] for its own proliferation" (ibid, p.4). Deleuze and Guattari's account of desire seems to write out human intention, activity, and experience, indeed, what else is there if processes of desire are primary and they "simply act on unthinkingly as machines"? (Buchanan, 2008, p.52).

It might be tempting to read this conception of desire as a theory that evacuates any notion of the subject altogether. Indeed, in the organisation studies literature, Case and Selvester (2006, p.171) have cautioned that such "mechanist language… carries with it the possibility of excluding that which is characteristically *human* in the world". However, this critique may be misplaced. As indicated earlier, Deleuze and Guattari's conception of desire informs their understanding of the subject's genesis. But the intention in doing so is not to do away with the subject and that which is recognised as human, that is far from the point of their analysis. Instead, they seek only to begin with impersonal forces of desire to demonstrate that such processes do not require a subject that mediates them. The subject is certainly decentred, this is achieved with some resolve, but in the final analysis, this is to understand its genesis from forces of desire in a social field. The subject is therefore no longer understood as the origin of this process, instead, "ego formations and the constitution of subjects involve a *historically specific*

fixation of desire" (Patton, 2000, p.71, emphasis added). Key to understanding this 'historically specific fixation of desire' is to consider Deleuze and Guattari's account of social control.

Deleuze and Guattari argue that while desire is gregarious it is not by nature, 'bonding' (in a social sense). In other words, it may bring groups together, but it does not "necessarily enable the group to endure" (Buchanan, 2008, p.19). Therefore, if life is to be something other than short, bloody and violent[26], Deleuze and Guattari argue that desire must be "trained or disciplined to produce lasting collectivities" (Buchanan, 2008, p.93). As Dosse points out, "there are no pure nomads", any group or tribe needs temporary encampments "where a stock is stored – even in small quantities, in order to eat" (2012, p.142). Therefore, the problem of primitive society becomes "organising selections from the flows and allocating portions due to each person" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.150). Without practices of organisation, selection and allocation, the group or tribe cannot endure. A lasting collectivity necessitates, for example, the gathering of food as a stock that must be shared and allocated among the collective. This depends on operations of social control that *interrupt* processes of desire like that of the flow of energy between a food source and its gatherer. Of course, at this point, one has already abstracted this relationship, as something which occurs between objects (food sources) and subjects (the gatherers of a tribe). Before this organisation "following the requirements of a socius" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.144), Deleuze and Guattari conceive this as an expression of processes of desire, aiming only at its own proliferation rather than sustaining the collective.

Deleuze and Guattari insist that processes of desire "always come first, and the appearance of the subject afterward" (Holland, 2012, p.325). Consequently, the 'who' or 'what' that desires…. is produced in and through the production of relations (Colebrook, 2002, p.117). Social control *interrupts* the process of desire for the *social allocation* of stock, harnessing the productive function of desire. Without this interruption, harnessing and control there is no group, collective, society or civilisation. With this conception of desire, one can see the influence of Deleuze's independent thinking developed through the study of Nietzsche and Philosophy in the theory of forces. To restate the formulation posed in the first section of this chapter, a distinction is made between active forces that appropriate, possess, consume, and obtain, and reactive forces that neutralise, restrain, deprive or prohibit active forces. Deleuze's theory of impersonal forces is extended in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) shaping the way Deleuze and Guattari conceive desire (as an

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[26] The immanent state of desiring flows may be analogous to the state of nature (Hobbs, 2008).

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active force) and its relationship to social control (as a reactive force). Social control is necessarily forceful as,

> "the temptation of direct appropriation of the matter-and-energy flows of life is so great and immediate, and the requirement of obedience to the social group so strong, that the laws of… no immediate consumption are branded directly into the flesh of the body" (Holland, 1999, p.103).

The active force of desire must be forcefully controlled to sever its unmediated connective synthesis to preserve a stock that is allocated among the collective and as a result, the collective receives the benefits of security and safety. Social control is therefore marshalled against unmediated and unsustainable processes of desire which always threaten "to deluge every attempt at collectivity" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.180).

To ensure that this control of desire takes hold, social control must be "affirmed by the force of the whole" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.109). This constitutes the immanent organisation of primitive social control; "power is diffused throughout the community" and it is the most "harshly governed" (Holland, 1999, p.86). When processes of desire are about to engineer a connection, *a memory of pain* must be powerful enough to overcome its appeal. At the moment when processes of desire begin to synthesise a connection with, for example, a food source, this function must be interrupted by contemplation, reflection, reason, consciousness; a question interrupts the direct connective synthesis; 'should *I* eat this?'. The subject is generated *from within desiring processes* at this moment as an effect inscribed by operations of social control; essential for curbing unmediated desire and the "direct and hence anti-social appropriation of life" (Holland, 1999, p.107). For Deleuze and Guattari, it is from this memory of pain inscribed *within* processes of desire whereby the subject comes into being. An impersonal process of desire only becomes conscious, reflective, and aware 'of its self', out of feeling the bearing of collective social control through "the pain of initiations, the whole perverse apparatus of repression and education, the red-hot irons, and atrocious procedures" (2000, p.182). Practices of primitive social control range from "tattooing, excising, incising, carving, scarifying, mutilating, encircling and instating" (ibid, p.144). Such practices of social control, however, are not always completely effective, indeed, for those in which the force of the collective "have not sufficiently taken", it becomes necessary to re-establish their hold through "an increase in pain" (ibid, p.195).

Subjectivity on this basis, cannot be regarded as an *a priori* quality of human nature but a forcefully inscribed phenomenon that manifests out of the reactive interruption of desire for the needs of lasting social organisation. This understanding of desire and social control, which is

closely related to Nietzsche's account in the genealogy of morality, constitutes Deleuze's and Guattari's theoretical account of the genesis of the subject within impersonal processes of desire. But a further question remains, how is it that reactive forces come to enact practices of social control? In answer to this, it is necessary to consider Deleuze and Guattari's account of the forms that social control has taken and their bearing on collective life. While it is not necessary to replicate their analysis in its entirety, it is important to draw out their consideration of the relationship between social control, power, and *surplus stock*. As indicated earlier, essential to lasting collective life is the social control of processes of desire. Common to all collective life is this forceful interruption of "direct appropriation and complete and immediate enjoyment of the fruits of production... the separation of productive force from what it can produce... the accumulation of reserves [and] the constitution and maintenance of extensive social organisation" (Holland, 1999, p.92-93). For the collective to endure, it must accumulate reserves or harness desire to create a stock from which it can allocate a share to each member.

However, when accumulated stock generates a *surplus* this can alter the form social control takes. Colebrook offers an example,

> "if the chieftain of the tribe gathers the excess of the harvest, then this produces a point outside the chain of production that can govern the whole... social power begins with excess of force and enjoyment, and not with scarcity and fear" (2002, p.118).

The important point here is that the social control of desire, harnessing its productive process and the accumulation of a surplus stock can be *amenable to manipulation*. An example of this might come in the form of periodic occasions of festive excess or ritualised excessive consumption which constitute a temporary lull of the forceful control of desire. Albeit temporary, these organised occasions of unmediated desire can entail a powerful binding force on a collective. In these circumstances, the subject immanent to desire no longer poses the question, 'should I eat this?', but 'just a little longer to wait and I can have all I want!'.

In this way the form of social control can change from operations affirmed and diffused through the collective to those exercised by an *external authority*. Here, the force of no immediate consumption is no longer 'branded directly into the flesh of the body' but inscribed in memory by beholding public spectacles of punishment. In this case, social control ceases to be where the power of the collective is affirmed, instead, it appears to be the province of an authoritative individual or minority. In this form of social control for those in which its hold has not sufficiently taken, they must be subjected to the force of the authorities rather than the collective.

Here, "power is no longer immanent, forces are no longer operating through action and reaction", but are channelled by authorities who come to appear as "the origin of law and force" (Colebrook, 2003, p.109). The collective beholds the spectacle of punishment and the temptation of unmediated desire is curbed by fear. The obligation to the collective is transformed from immanent reciprocal relations to an "infinite and uni-directional debt" (Holland, 1999, p.94). Members no longer owe a debt to the collective but a debt of existence to the authorities; "passivity must now become the virtue" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.123)[27]. In this formulation, one can see how Deleuze's conception of reactive forces as neutralising, restraining, and prohibiting active forces underpins their understanding of the operations of social control.

The question for the analysis to consider is how does social control manifest in the NTE? Is the 'prevention of drunkenness' an adequate way of understanding this problem? If members of staff engage in practices of social control how does this occur under the conditions of the employment relationship? In other words, if bar staff are not external authorities but *employees*, how does this commercial form of social control take shape within the nightclub? How do desiring processes manifest in a nightclub and what practices of social control occur? Furthermore, how does the accumulation of surplus shape these processes? These are the questions that are posed by this section of the theoretical framework. Understanding the complex relationship between forces, processes of desire, social control, and the accumulation of surplus stock marks one of the original theoretical contributions Deleuze and Guattari can offer toward understanding work in the NTE. Drawing on these insights the thesis offers a way of thinking about the constitution of work in nightclubs without presupposing human intention, activity and experience.

The final section of this theoretical framework introduces Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatic thought. This offers the basis on which the thesis can examine how the work involved in the social control of desire is shaped by the employment relationship. It does so by distinguishing between problematic and axiomatic modes of thought in the conception and organisation of work intensity. The theory of axiomatics urges a critical assessment of the way intensive differences (which are an inherent part of the labour efforts expended by employees) are measured and organised in nightclubs in the context of the employment relationship. This section concludes the theoretical framework presented in this chapter and offers Deleuze and

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[27] The fear of punishment can be likened to Foucault's notion of the internalisation of disciplinary power.

Guattari's critical take on the way life, work, social control, and desire are arranged under a capitalist political economy.

Axiomatic thought

The final section of this theoretical framework chapter introduces Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatics. This brings together elements from Deleuze's independent work on the distinction between forces and the extension of this idea through his work in *Difference and Repetition* (1994) on the notion of intensive difference. It also underpins the authors' critical assessment of capitalist organising processes in the latter stages of *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) and is developed further in *What is Philosophy?* (1994). In brief, axiomatic thought is conceived as a way of thinking that produces an abstract form of knowledge used to generate approximate deductions, projective assessments, and discrete measurements. While this thought process has practical value, Deleuze and Guattari seek to draw attention to what is lost when intensive differences are conceived through axiomatic principles. By way of demonstrating the contribution this theoretical perspective can make to the study of work in the NTE, this section begins by outlining the theory of axiomatics and its development in Deleuze's independent work. With the aid of illustrative examples, a distinction is made been *engaging* with intensive differences that are inherent to problems and their axiomatic assessment and measurement. It then discusses how axiomatic principles have been introduced to the measurement and organisation of labour effort, as 'labour time' within a capitalist political economy. This has significant consequences for the way labour effort is organised within the employment relationship and urges a need to examine how bar staff simultaneously engage with work inherently conditioned by intensive differences but organised by axiomatic principles.

Axiomatic thought is underpinned by the following principles: uniformity, equal distribution, divisibility, and continuity. The critical examination of which is offered within Deleuze's independent work in *Difference and Repetition* (1994). Here, Deleuze extends the theory of forces articulated in *Nietzsche and Philosophy* (2002) and moves to theorise their distinction through the idea of intensive difference. Intensive difference become an influential part of the philosophy that emerges in Deleuze's work,

> "Every phenomenon refers to an inequality by which it is conditioned. Every diversity and every change refers to a difference which is its sufficient reason. Everything which happens and everything which appears is correlated with orders of differences: differences of level, temperature, pressure, tension, potential, difference of intensity… difference or intensity (difference of intensity) – is the

sufficient reason of all phenomena, the condition of that which appears" (1994, p.222).

The difference of intensity by which phenomena are conditioned refers to the relationship between active and reactive forces but in *Difference and Repetition* (1994), Deleuze elects to introduce concepts from the science of thermodynamics to offer an alternative conception. This could be understood as an effort to avoid the personification of forces and to articulate their intensive differences while maintaining a sense of their impersonality. Of interest to Deleuze, however, is the way intensive difference has been subject to reductive practices of thought via procedures of abstraction[28]. While abstraction is considered a practice of knowledge that will always have a place in thought, for Deleuze's purposes drawing attention to the way intensive differences are conceived provides an opportunity to demonstrate how significant qualitative differences are overlooked. While this is not an attempt to usher in a form of thought that does away with practices of abstraction, he does seek to demonstrate how axiomatic thought characterised by uniformity, equal distribution, and divisibility cancels out qualitative distinctions pertaining to intensive difference.

This strand of thought also comes to influence his co-authored work with Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) and *What is Philosophy?* (1994). In the former, this concern with intensive difference forms the basis on which the theory of axiomatics is advanced and shapes how its function is understood as a unique feature of the capitalist organisation of desire and social control. In the latter, Deleuze and Guattari articulate in more detail the fundamental differences between axiomatic thought and what they conceive as problematic thought (a way of thinking that has been considered in the third section of this chapter). Problematic thought is conceived as a way of thinking that engages with the intensive differences that constitute phenomena; an approach that is closely associated with the theory of concepts discussed earlier. Smith suggests that a concern with the distinction between these two ways of thinking constitutes one of the central motifs that holds their philosophical project together; focusing on the reductive operations involved in the conversion of "the intensive to the extensive, the continuous to the discrete, the non-metric to the metric" (2003, p.424). For this research, taking Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatics into the study of work in a nightclub offers an original way of critically examining the capitalist organisation of desire and social control in the NTE.

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[28] Deleuze illustrates the approximate character of this way of thinking in *Difference and Repetition* through an examination of thermodynamic theory (1994, p.223-229).

By way of illustration, the function of axiomatic thought can be understood through a simple problem like that of the classic mathematical calculation of determining relative speed. Conventionally when one engages with this problem it is posed in a way that is set out in advance, where the task is to seek a solution that works within the constraints of the problem as it is posed. Such narrowly defined problems are typically presented in the context of the classroom. Solutions are judged to be true or false, relative to the rules imposed by a preconceived question. But problems such as these tend to be characterised by a level of abstraction that cancels out intensive differences. As a simple example, *train A leaves station one at 5 mph, heading towards station two. Meanwhile, train B leaves station two at 6 mph heading towards station one. Stations one and two are 100 miles apart, when do they meet?* The student in the classroom engages with the problem in the abstract, using formulae and measurement to derive a solution. The entire procedure aims only at solving the problem as it is posed, but what of the problem itself? One might *engage* with the problem of how to get from station one to station two. But now it is no longer an issue for the classroom but the task of getting the train to travel the *distance*. The solution to this problem might be to find a train, a driver and fuel. Either way, what is important to acknowledge in this is that engaging with problems necessitates an understanding of intensive differences. For Deleuze and Guattari this refers to the,

> "[t]he sensible conditions of intuition and construction – *following* the flow of matter… Everything is situated in an objective zone of fluctuation that is coextensive with reality itself. However refined or rigorous, 'approximate knowledge' is still dependent upon sensitive and sensible evaluations that pose more problems than they solve" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p.373, emphasis in original).

Whether it is from travelling between stations one and two, metalwork or the transportation of excavated soil, one might derive approximate knowledge from engaging with these problems, but these engagements always remain *irreducible* to the sensitive and sensual evaluation of intensive differences. Problems *as such*, can only be dealt with dynamically by actions of "sectioning, cutting, projecting, folding, bending, stretching, reflecting [or] rotating" (Smith, 2003, p.415). It is this sensitive and sensible understanding of intensive differences inherent to problems that can be contrasted with the abstract and approximate knowledge generated by axiomatic thought.

Axiomatic thought, therefore, concerns approximate knowledge of problems and deals "directly with purely functional elements and relations, whose nature is not specified" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p.454). Many axiomatic principles could be offered by way of example here, but one of the most significant for the present study are those that are involved in measurement. One might take an axiomatic approach to assess *distance* and thereby derive an approximate measure of *length.* Measuring distance as a length necessitates the use of a unit that must be continuous and uniform. The axiomatic principle of continuity dictates that smaller or greater units relate to smaller or greater distances, and uniformity dictates that any measure of length can be divided into equal parts. With this axiomatic unit, one can measure the distance of a train track and the velocity of trains to make deductions or projective assessments (e.g., quantity of fuel, timetabling, passenger limits). As such, axiomatic principles of continuity and uniformity enable a unit of measurement to be "indifferent to the nature of what it is applied to and to the context of its application" (Roffe, 2015, p.108). Axiomatic thought offers the possibility of the discrete measurement of problems, but they are always approximations. Units of measurement are critical for a wide range of applications and projective modelling, but the intensive differences that are cancelled out in axiomatic thought become an area of concern in Deleuze and Guattari's philosophical project, especially with regard to the introduction of this way of thinking in capitalist organising processes.

Before this section engages with the discussion of axiomatic thought within capitalism in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000), it is worth spending more time exploring the specifics of its function. Of importance in this respect, is what is missed in the axiomatic plane and the question of *how one can attend to what is overlooked.* While one might think the difference between distance and length or heat and temperature are merely questions of semantics, for Deleuze and Guattari, their differences represent fundamental differences in kind. By exploring how they are distinctive, one can formulate the necessary theoretical basis for understanding the function of the axiomatisation of intensive difference in capitalist organising processes. To continue with the problem of travelling between two train stations, one can proceed via axiomatic thought by assessing the length of track to be covered as 100 miles. To decide the quantity of fuel (coal in this case) and the workers necessary to keep the train running, one might calculate this based on engine capacity and time and motion studies (Farmer, 2003) to project the most efficient quantity of fuel and labour for a journey. However, while these quantities are theoretically adequate to provide for an axiomatic *length* of 100 miles, they may not offer the necessary fuel and labour for the problematic *distance* to be covered on the track. Projections that are calculated based on axiomatic measurement (lengths) are necessarily divorced from the intensive

differences that are inherently associated with problematic engagements (travelling distances). Measuring the axiomatic *length* between the train stations with a continuous and homogeneous unit (miles) reduces the problem of the journey by cancelling out a sensitive and sensible evaluation of intensive differences inherent in the problematic *distance* to cover.

If the decision is made by length only, one hundred miles is the same irrespective of whether one is travelling uphill, downhill or into a headwind. Past engagements with such intensive differences, of course, would tell a train driver otherwise. Headwinds significantly increase the fuel necessary to cover the journey from station to station. Furthermore, the quantity of labour effort the workers can provide is not constant, eighty miles into the journey fatigue and even the potential for injury becomes part of the problem. While this is a very simple example, it is meant to illustrate an important point. Axiomatic thought functions by deriving a unit that cancels out intensive differences that pertain to problems. Deleuze and Guattari acknowledge that such operations in thought are necessary for practical purposes. As they suggest, axiomatic thought operates distinctively from problematic thought, as it offers the "permanence of a fixed point of *view* that is external to what is reproduced: watching the flow from the bank" (1988, p.372), but it does not follow that problematic thought is somehow superior, it is "*not better, just different*" (ibid, p.372, emphasis added). However, what does need to be addressed when it comes to understanding the function of axiomatic thought within capitalist organising processes are the consequences of cancelling out intensive differences in the organisation of work. This concern becomes important for understanding how the axiomatic plane shapes work in the NTE. But how can this theory of axiomatics lend itself to the analysis of work in a nightclub? Roffe's work provides a useful basis on which to come to an answer to these questions in his analysis of the function of axiomatic thought in market economies. Roffe (2015) conceives capitalist organising processes as characterised by a fundamental tension between two planes, one problematic and the other axiomatic. This can be illustrated with the help of the former example of the train journey.

When it comes to the workers' task of shovelling fuel into the train's engine, for the employer the length of the track will be measured by miles and an average quantity of labour effort required to shovel fuel can be calculated to approximate the *price* of an hour of labour effort. However, the price of an hour of labour effort expressed as a uniform and continuous unit of time cancels out intensive differences that are inherent to the problem of the task itself. In simple terms, the employer's axiomatic assessment of labour effort and the length between the two stations will be very different to the worker, shovelling the coal in the engine between the stations. The price calculated for a unit of labour time overlooks the rift between the two sides

of the market that are engaged with by the worker and the employer. One is constituted by intensive differences while the other is uniform and continuous. For the employer, there is no difference between the intensity of labour effort required at the start of the journey and the end. But for the worker, the labour effort required is markedly different. On the side of the investor, £1 of labour effort is always equal to precisely £1. Of course, at this point, an objection can be made to the contention that the employer is somehow inoculated from the intensive differences inherent to the problems of work. For example, collective action may ensue on the side of the workers who object to being paid the same amount for distances that require more labour effort, for example, travelling uphill or towing a higher number of carriages. Hence, axiomatic projections are always inherently unpredictable on this basis as they remain inextricably bound to their genesis within the intensive differences that constitute problematic phenomena.

The question however remains, how did an axiomatic way of thinking take hold in measuring and organising labour effort? How did axiomatic thought become such an essential part of the assessment and organisation of labour? If, as Smith notes, labour has a "necessarily 'problematic' status" (2003, p.436), what were the circumstances in which they were rendered amenable to axiomatic principles? The answer to this question lies in the axiomatic treatment of labour effort into continuous and homogeneous units of labour time. Drawing attention to the analysis of Marx, Holland describes how the axiomatic treatment of labour was first related to the legally imposed limit on the length of the working day, which prevented the practice of "forcing workers to work more hours than required to pay their wages" (2019, p.8). However, with a measure of labour effort expressed by a unit of time, one can derive an axiomatic assessment of labour that does not express "the nature or quality of work, but simply the time spent working – abstract homogeneous labour-time" (ibid, p.3). Taking this theoretical point to the analysis can offer the basis on which the thesis can examine how an employment relationship organised by axiomatic principles shapes work in the NTE. How do bar staff engage simultaneously with work that is inherently conditioned by intensive differences but organised by axiomatic principles? The first chapter of the analysis focuses specifically on this problem by critically examining the management of work intensity at the nightclub.

In summary, Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatic thought urges a need to examine how axiomatic principles shape the employment relationship and what influence this has on employees' engagement with problems working in the nightclub. It encourages one to ask which intensive differences are overlooked? How do bar staff negotiate the rift between their engagements with problems at work and their axiomatic assessment? This is a pressing question for the organisation of economic activity that accumulates profits from the consumption and

sale of alcohol, governed by the idea of knowing its limits (Home Office, 2008). Answering this question will become the task of the conclusion of this thesis, where a final critical assessment of work in the NTE will be offered, informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together three complementary aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy that offer the theoretical basis on which the thesis reconceptualises work in nightclubs. The sections on creating concepts, desire, social control and axiomatics extend the theory of impersonal forces to offer a theoretical framework within which to analyse the empirical data. While its sections are separated from the theory of forces and one another in the hope of rendering their theoretical formulations distinctive, it is important to recognise how each relates to the other and back to the theory of impersonal forces. This theoretical framework by no means characterises the entirety of Deleuze and Guattari's contribution to the history of philosophy. It is not the intention of this thesis to systematise their thought to construct an overarching philosophical system that can be applied to research endeavours with universal application. Instead, these formulations present themselves as the necessary ideas and concepts that are necessary to reconceptualise work in nightclubs.

The first of these was a theory of impersonal forces which urges a need to consider how encounters between active and reactive forces shape phenomena in the NTE. Analytically, this requires the analysis to forego presupposing human intention, activity, and experience as the focus of the problem of serving alcohol and regulating its consumption. This shifts the premise of this inquiry from a concern with individual bartenders engaging with the problem of becoming the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE, to that of conceiving how an encounter between impersonal forces constitutes their position. Following on from this, the second section on the theory of concepts introduces an approach to conceptualising encounters between forces at the impersonal level. From this perspective, one is encouraged to explore the possibility of conceptualising how forces *co-exist* while maintaining a distinction between their different ways of expressing power. Deleuze and Guattari's approach to conceptual development calls for the creation of a concept that could diagnose the symptoms or signs of encounters between forces that shape the problem of serving alcohol and regulating its consumption. This addresses the limitations of extant concepts that determine the problems of work in nightclubs, such as the 'prevention of disorder', questioning the presupposition of an oppositional relationship at the centre of the problem of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption.

The third section of the theoretical framework introduced Deleuze and Guattari's understanding of the relationship between impersonal forces and human intention, activity, and experience. The theory of desire and social control demonstrates how subjectivity cannot be regarded as an *a priori* characteristic of the human individual. This offers the basis for Deleuze and Guattari's account of the genesis of subjectivity, as a phenomenon that manifests through the reactive force of social control, interrupting and harnessing the active force of desire. For this study, the analysis will need to consider how social control manifests in the nightclub, what role do bar staff have in these practices and to examine how these are shaped by the conditions of work in the nightclub.

The final section of this chapter on axiomatic thought provides the basis on which the analysis can examine the way work is measured and organised in the NTE. This theory draws attention to the intensive differences that are lost in knowledge generated by axiomatic principles. This results in a need for the inquiry to consider the two sides of the market engaged with by bar staff and their employers. The analysis will need to examine how bar staff simultaneously engage with work that is inherently conditioned by intensive differences but measured and organised by axiomatic principles. A concern which also informs the question that will conclude this thesis, which brings the analyses together by asking what are the implications of organising the impersonal forces of desire and social control according to axiomatic principles? In the methodological chapter that follows, the thesis will state how this theoretically informed research was conducted in the empirical setting of a nightclub. Outlining, in the final section on 'symptomatology', how the theoretical underpinnings of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy influenced the research design.

4

Methodology

Introduction

As indicated in the preceding chapter, Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy presents a challenge to the *a priori* conception of the subject and instead situates its emergence at the level of impersonal forces of desire and social control. The theoretical framework chapter presented a series of different ways of thinking about the distinctive qualities of forces, conceptualising their encounters and critically examining axiomatic organisation. This methodological chapter will now discuss how I sought to achieve the aims of the research. The sections that follow discuss the background to the research, its design, ethnographic approach, data generation methods, the practicalities and ethical issues involved in conducting these, but also how Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy influenced the analysis. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to be transparent in how the thesis took shape and to offer the reader an opportunity to assess of the rigour of the research (Amis & Silk, 2008; Gioia et al, 2013), the credibility of its contributions and the justification behind the theoretical perspective taken in conducting the analysis.

Ethnographic approach

The initial reasoning behind taking an ethnographic approach was due to practical considerations. Long term employment in the NTE for the author brought about favourable chances of gaining employment at a research site and this offered an expedient way of accessing an organisation and building relationships to conduct the proposed research. This presented the opportunity for participant observation, which seemed an appropriate way of establishing trust within the occupational community. Observation did not seem appropriate or indeed even possible given the principles behind affect theory, as the researcher is considered to be "open to becoming affected by encounters, rather than simply reporting them" (McCormack cited in Fotaki et al, 2017, p.8). It was also theoretically and analytically preferable, as first-hand experience of working at the research site also presented an opportunity to "be honest about…

bodily involvements and reactions as part of affective research, instead of covering it up [or] to disguise the fact that researchers also have bodies with a capacity to be affected" (Knudsen & Stage cited in Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p.88).

Theoretical and analytical considerations aside, since it was envisaged that the research would require an extended period "interacting with community members, observing, building relationships and participating in community life" (Cunliffe, 2010, p.227-228), there was a concern that being present in a nonparticipative way, to shadow work activities or observe in a 'neutral' capacity would have been "interpreted in a whole range of ways by those involved" (Mason, 2002, p.92). Establishing trust in these circumstances would not have been an insurmountable challenge, but it may have presented numerous difficulties, such as the risk of being perceived as a management informant or representing the institutional interests of the local authority and licensing officials. Gaining employment and working with employees seemed a pragmatic approach to building rapport with respondents. The intention, however, was not to carry out research covertly, nor was it a means of establishing a right to stamp the observations with the seal of 'full immersion'. Employees were immediately informed about the research and appeared to show interest; however, one can never fully control first impressions, an employee remarked "I thought you worked in an office somewhere and were doing this for extra cash!".

While this was not strictly true, it does indicate that there may have been some part of the occupational community that perceived a difference and they would be right to do so; one cannot claim that "you are really in the same position, or have the same the perspective" (Mason, 2002, p.92). Gaining access to the site as an employee was an expedient route to take, but it did present certain challenges. Chief of these was the issue of role conflict (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007) where, caught between the requirements of the research aims, a sense of affinity to the occupational community and frustration with the conditions of work, the methodological approach was not always consistent. For example, the author brought to the inquiry a concern with low paid and insecure work[29], and this had its influence on "the questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretation" (Berger, 2015, p.2). On occasion, this led to discussions in interviews and focus groups dealing with questions of 'how' the problem of selling alcohol and regulating consumption was dealt with, changing to 'should we, given the circumstances?'. At the time, this humanist concern did not feel as if it was a position imposed "inappropriately or without justification" (Mason, 2002, p.77). Indeed, research that "takes sides" (Denzin 2002) rather than purporting to maintain a false pretence of neutrality is an

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[29] Informed by earlier engagements with labour process analysis and critical management studies.

established practice in academic research. A stance toward research in social science that rejects the assumption that the researcher can consider social reality "objectively, in a value free and neutral way" (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p.117).

The basis on which this could be justified came in the form of adopting a reflexive approach to research practice. This involves acknowledging how the researcher is "an integral part of meaning making both in and after" the research (Cunliffe, 2011, p.664-5) and must "recognise and take responsibility for one's situatedness within the research and the effect that this may have on the setting and people being studied" (Berger, 2015, p.2). This became a question of trying to make positionality transparent, both to respondents and in the writing of the thesis itself. Not in a "guiltily apologetic or therapeutic sense" (Cunliffe, 2010, p.226) or to "save objectivity" by implying that since a confession has been made "what I say must be true" (Watson, 2009, p.113). But rather, to accept that "researchers are (always already) subjects who engage in readings, analysis, and who draw on their experience of being in the world to make sense of it (Davies et al, 2004, p.362). To be on average five years older than fellow employees, male, white and British, this will shape how an author "constructs the world, uses language, poses questions, and chooses the lens for filtering the information gathered from participants and making meaning of it" (Berger, 2015, p.2). Berger argues that the researcher should try to avoid "projecting their own experience and using it as the lens to view and understand participants' experiences" (ibid, p.12), however, there are concerns over how far critically examining one's positionality is practically possible.

Just as the personal experiences and positionality of respondents shape their perspectives, the "worldview and background of the researcher" necessarily "affects the way in which he or she… chooses the lens for filtering the information gathered from participants and making meaning of it" (Berger, 2015, p.2). It was a long-term experience of work in nightclubs that formed the 'worldview' and 'background' behind this thesis, and while this may be perceived as a 'lens that filters information', without it this research may never have taken place. Indeed, it is necessary to state that even with an awareness of these issues and after attempts made to mitigate their influence, this research can only offer partial and constructed insight into the problem of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption in the NTE. And with this in mind, the following section explores the process of establishing access to the research site and the contributions and limitations of the specific data generation methods.

The research site

Gaining access to the research site, which will from here onwards be known as the 'Assembly Club'[30], was a complex process. Given the intention was to gain access to a nightclub through securing employment, this meant that the selection of the research site was largely determined by practical requirements. It was, however, not the first venue that was approached. 'Garden City', a high capacity nightclub was the first venue to which access was provisionally granted[31]. However, on the first shift of work at the nightclub, the section of the club in which the author was working closed abruptly following an incident involving a stabbing. A member of the security team approached for help in soaking up the blood from his clothes, he remarked 'they tell us to let them in and this is what happens'. At the end of this first shift, a sense of uncertainty emerged as to whether regular hours would be available, for example, all employees were paid cash on the night from the till and informed that shifts were available only a few hours before they started. I left through the back door of this venue after the first night and never returned. In the days following this, an interview was attended at a medium-capacity nightclub 'Mystery Lounge' but following the interview, no further contact was made by management. Since there was no one known to me working in the city, at this time the research started to feel as if it was in jeopardy.

Two weeks later an interview was secured at the Assembly Club via email. I came prepared to discuss the research, however soon got the impression the venue owner, Kathryn[32], and general manager, George, were less concerned about the research and more with my experience of working a 'busy bar' and making cocktails. Shortly afterwards the venue owner invited me to work the following week and after putting the issue of the research to her in more detail, Kathryn approved access. This led to a period of nine months of employment and participant observation, in which I introduced myself to employees while at work and did not require a gatekeeper to facilitate access. Employees were asked to participate in the research voluntarily and no one expressed an objection to being involved in the research observations. In the section that follows I consider research ethics in more detail. The sample from the research site represented a range of experience, age, gender, and ethnicity as far as this was possible (it should

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[30]The research site and all other venues referred to in this chapter and analysis chapters have been given pseudonyms to prevent identification.

[31] Management were informed about my research through email, but, I was employed without an interview and was given no opportunity to discuss the research in detail.

[32] All participants involved in the study have been given pseudonyms.

be noted that during the research period there were only two employees of Asian descent, all other employees were white British).

Pseudonym	Position	Gender	Age
Kathryn	Venue owner	Female	35-40
Tom	General Manager	Male	30-35
Emily	Assistant Manager	Female	25-30
George	Ex General Manager	Male	25-30
Paul	Head of Security	Male	35-40
James	DJ	Male	35-40
Adam	Head bar staff	Male	20-25
Jessica	Bar staff	Female	20-25
Nicole	Bar staff	Female	20-25
Frank	Bar staff	Male	20-25
Joe	Bar staff	Male	20-25
Will	Bar staff	Male	20-25
Charlotte	Bar staff / Glass collector	Female	20-25
Chloe	Bar staff / Glass collector	Female	20-25
Sophie	Bar staff / Glass collector	Female	20-25
Steve	City centre Police Sergeant	Male	35-40
Keith	Licensing Committee Chairman	Male	50-60

In total, the research involved seventeen interviews of which thirteen were conducted with employees that worked at the nightclub. This included five members of bar staff, four glass collectors, the assistant manager, general manager, head of security and DJ. Interviews were also conducted with the venue owner, city centre police sergeant and the local authority's licensing committee chairman. The research also involved two focus group discussions, the first conducted with five employees and the second with seven employees. At the Assembly Club, almost all employees worked part-time, apart from the assistant and general manager who worked full-time hours. The nightclub itself was a medium-capacity venue situated in a city-centre location

in the North of the UK, on a popular street or 'strip' with many other clubs and bars in the near vicinity. The website describes the club's atmosphere as follows,

> "Whether you're looking to end the week with a drink and a meet up with friends or on a night out in the city for a special occasion, the Assembly Club has an atmosphere for all moods and tastes"[33].

The club aimed explicitly (during weekdays) at students with low price drinks and cocktails, but also sought to appeal to 'locals' on Friday and Saturday nights. Typically, the age of the clientele was from eighteen to thirty-five, but it was not unwelcoming to those in their forties and above (although these were a minority). It was a popular nightclub; previous Best Bar None award winner and it remained busy throughout the research period. The club played mostly chart hits, some hip-hop, indie rock and electronic music. It had two bars, one main bar and one smaller bar, an area near the DJ booth that was the 'dance floor' and areas surrounding this with tall seats and benches. There were also two areas in the club that could be cordoned off for private events, however, the space of the club itself was one large room, with low ceilings, soft lighting, and exposed brick walls. The club also had a comprehensive CCTV system that monitored the bars, spaces, and stairwells. Once trust had been established with the venue owner, access to CCTV video recordings was granted to analyse events during shifts. Employees were informed about my access to the CCTV recordings and this was used for video-elicitation purposes during interviews. Video recordings were not displayed to those external to the organisation, or to any individuals that were not present at the nightclub at the time of their recording.

Employees attended regular (monthly) staff meetings for training on cocktails or to discuss issues with management and the venue owner who was often present. Notably, over 9 months working at the venue there was only one occasion in which employees received specific training (outside of opening hours) on preventing drunkenness and disorder. This was, more commonly, learnt while on the job and following the lead of more experienced members of staff. Akin to the observations made by Sosteric (1996) and Seymour & Sandiford (2005), new employees went through a period of what could be characterised as 'socialisation' in which they would become familiar with how working practices were enacted at the nightclub. Almost all employees were very sociable and went out together after work or on nights off.

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[33] There are words that have been changed in this statement to prevent identification, but the meaning kept the same (as far as possible).

By adopting an ethnographic approach, which included participant observation, interviews and focus groups, the research accounted for many perspectives on the issue of alcohol consumption and its regulation at the nightclub. However, given the interest in regulation and its close relationship to the broader context of NTE governance, the scope of the research was extended to secure interviews with the local authority's licensing committee chairman and city centre police sergeant. Meetings were also attended that had been organised by an industry body where senior members of the police force, local authority figures, venue owners, managers and security companies discussed a wide range of city centre issues. The possibility of researching additional field sites was considered, however, due to the quantity of material generated, twenty-five hours of interview and focus group recordings, ninety-eight hours of CCTV video recordings, photographs and field diary observations from approximately four hundred and twenty hours of work, it was deemed necessary to enter straight into the analysis to give sufficient time for transcription and understanding of my observations, experiences and discussions. The limit of one site for this research did not seem a problem given that Michels & Steyaert's (2017) empirical study of 'guerrilla concerts" demonstrated how considerable insight can be gleaned from a single case in coming to understand affective atmospheres in situ and their lived experience. Indeed, as Hammersley and Atkinson caution, "the more sites are investigated… the less possible it will be to study one site in depth" (2019, p.33), and as access was gained through employment, the author felt the risk of failing to secure a position at a different nightclub outweighed the benefits of a multi-site study. With the context of the research now established, the sections that follow will go on to discuss the ethical implications of the study, and the methods in more detail: including its use of participant observation, interviews, video elicitation and focus groups.

Research ethics

In the first instance, access to the nightclub for research purposes was discussed with the venue owner. Employees were notified that I was working in the capacity of a researcher and given an overview of the research aims. Individuals were approached that expressed interest in participating in the interviews or focus groups and were given an information sheet that had details about the aims and parameters of the research. After the participants were satisfied they understood the research aims and my obligations to them in respect to Lancaster University's ethical code of conduct, I asked them to sign consent forms. They were notified during the study that they had reasonable time to withdraw if they wished to do so.

It should be noted that there are limitations to the conventional research disclaimer (Clarke, 1999), which are often pronounced briefly before interviews take place. Clarke argues that "it is unrealistic to expect that sufficient information required to enable informed consent can be obtained and processed by a research subject at one sitting" (1999, p.156). Gradually informing respondents about the research through informal conversations represented a means of striking a balance between my role as an employee as part of the occupational community and as a researcher at an academic institution. What was most important in gaining access was to avoid being perceived as an individual who had simply infiltrated the group "to surreptitiously study its activities" (ibid, p.153). This was an issue of significant concern as there was a risk that participants might have felt betrayed when they "realise[d] that a person whom they took to be a group member, and may have trusted, was in fact a researcher studying them" (ibid, p.155). As such, from the very early stages of my presence at the research site, I informed employees at the earliest opportunity about my motives for being there.

Aside from this issue, as with any research, there was a risk of harm to those involved, even if it was inadvertent. Therefore, all steps were taken that were practically possible to balance the integrity of the research and to mitigate the risk of harm. This included the preservation of anonymity and the removal of any potentially identifying information, both to the organisation and individuals such as occupational roles or personal characteristics, which have been left out of the final analysis. All video recordings were shown only to those employees who were working during the time of the recording. In respect to the focus groups, participants were notified that they were free to withdraw from the process for any reason. Participants were also informed in advance and at the start of each discussion that withdrawing their consent after their group interview had been transcribed and anonymised would be impractical. Last of all, as the research was carried out, I was receptive to participants' concerns regarding statements that they had made but did not want to be on record. This has included redacting some portions of the interviews but did not represent a significant proportion of the data. In the closing stages of the research, participants were given opportunities to ask questions and to have these questions answered in a satisfactory manner.

Participant observation

Participant observation involved working at least three nights a week and on occasions four nights a week during busier periods at the nightclub, interacting with employees, opening and closing the club and often staying late for after-work drinks. I worked mainly on the bar, I also asked if I could glass collect for a month to experience a different position at the nightclub.

Work on the bar involved serving, making cocktails, stocking fridges and cleaning down at the end of the night. Glass collecting involved ensuring empties were returned for cleaning and re-use on the bar, sweeping broken glass, emptying glass bottle bins, keeping the premises clean and safe.

Figure 1 - Emptying the bins

Both roles involved various practices associated with selling alcohol and regulating its consumption, including refusing service, assisting the security team in identifying drunk, violent or aggressive individuals to be taken from the venue. On one occasion this involved calling the police after a particularly violent incident, after which the club closed, and this is an episode that will be discussed in the analysis. I attended staff meetings and did not feel treated with suspicion at any time. I was not denied access to any areas in the nightclub and since the employees at the Assembly Club were students (except for one employee, the assistant manager, and general manager, DJ and security team), many were familiar with the conduct of university research projects and (at least appeared) to show interest in the research. In the analysis itself, however, I do not draw extensively on my observations in favour of giving more opportunities within the analysis for employees involved in this research to voice their experiences. That said,

my observations did influence the selection of the CCTV recordings used for video elicitation, and this will be discussed further in a selection below.

It should be said that in carrying out practices of regulation and studying them as a research question, my presence investigating these practices may have influenced work at the nightclub by highlighting the issue. This could mean that practices of regulation were performed more or differently and this is something that will become important in the discussion of the video elicitation interviews and the use of the CCTV recordings. Indeed, informed by the theoretical principles of affect theory the intention was not to attempt to "'capture' naturally occurring phenomena" (Mason, 2002, p.85). But to also observe how the atmosphere in the club was conditioned beforehand and how this conditioning was maintained through opening hours. Since the initial focus was the relationship between practices of regulation and the problem of maintaining an affective atmosphere in the club, this could not be "treated through an exclusive emphasis on a system of signification" (Anderson & Ash, 2015, p.48). As Fotaki et al (2017) note, the study of affect eludes "discursive representation" and even "interpretation by language", therefore, attempts were made to think carefully through what "encounters between human and non-human [could] generate" (Anderson & Ash, 2015, p.34; see also Michels & Steyaert, 2017).

It was challenging to decide where to begin with the analysis of the space of the nightclub and this began initially by drawing diagrams, thinking about the boundaries imposed by 'front' and 'back' areas, taking photographs of different spaces in the nightclub including the cellar, stock rooms and stairwells. However, as the months went on, it was possible to attune oneself (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012) to the actions involved in shaping how the atmosphere "settle[d] and shift[ed]" (Anderson & Ash, 2015, p.43), indeed this was a necessary aspect of "embodied apprehension" (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012, p.47) required to work at the nightclub. For example, ensuring drinks were adequately chilled and carbonated, maintaining the temperature of the venue and removing broken glass from the dance floor. While these and many other practices may be considered mundane aspects of work at the nightclub, the initial intention for the analysis was to consider how these activities involved "anticipative aesthetic work" (Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p.97) in the maintenance of the affective atmospheres at the Assembly Club, but also "exert[ed] some kind of force" (Anderson & Ash, 2015, p.35), the analysis of which becomes the question for the second chapter of analysis.

It should be noted that simply because I was there it cannot be assumed that my experience and 'embodied apprehension' of the affective atmosphere and its relation to practices of regulation

"match those of all others involved" (Mason, 2002, p.86). Indeed, when it comes to the analysis of these observations it is necessary to acknowledge that any explanation of the work at the nightclub will be a post-hoc reconstruction. There are limitations concerning the recall of the events, practices and lived experiences of work at the Assembly Club. Efforts were made to address these issues, including writing observations in a field diary, making audio dictations, taking photographs, and securing access to CCTV recordings; a discussion of which will be found in a later section. Nevertheless, observations that were recorded were the result of a selective process and incidents have been omitted that were considered irrelevant to the research. This selection process, however, was informed by subsequent interviews, video elicitation and focus group discussions and in the following sections, the chapter will go on to discuss their contributions and limitations.

Interviews and focus groups

All interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis and semi-structured to ensure specific talking points were addressed. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analysed, and in the section on analysis, this process will be explained in detail. Interviews with employees working at the nightclub were aided with the use of video elicitation and conducted at a range of locations that were familiar to respondents, including the club itself after hours, cafes, restaurants, bars, university buildings and their homes.

The research touched upon potentially sensitive subject matters (emotions and lived experiences), themes of conflict, threat, and violence, and the way respondents with different genders, ages and beliefs articulated their perspectives varied significantly. While one may hope that conversations with respondents can offer "evidence both of 'what happens" in social contexts and "of how individuals make sense of themselves, their experience and their place within" them (Miller & Glassner, 2016, p.53), it is necessary to exercise caution when treating their accounts as a "direct reflection of understandings 'already existing' outside of the interview interaction" (Mason, 2002, p.64). It would be naive to think that respondents were not at least in some part concerned with the impression they gave of themselves during the interviews. Many male respondents, for example, were reluctant to frame emotionally charged situations as upsetting, electing instead to describe incidents where they became 'riled', 'fuming' or 'went off'. Whilst some but not all female respondents acknowledged that work at the nightclub could be hurtful, 'sometimes I would go home and just cry because it's just… you get so angry and you can't do anything'. In addition, perhaps due to the age difference or a perceived obligation on my behalf to the owner of the venue or management, some respondents chose to frame their

responses in a way that suggested they felt under examination or appraisal, for example, one respondent repeated the phrase 'I just do my job' four times during an interview. Later in the interview, however, this respondent pointed out misinterpretations on my behalf and corrected me, which indicates that they may have become more comfortable as the discussion unfolded.

This may also simply be due to respondents' wishes to withhold information that they deem to be private, as Miller & Glassner (2016, p.57) note, "many people do not want themselves revealed in their totality". This may have partly been the case when it came to the interview with the head of security, where the location and time of the conversation we had may have been convenient (immediately after a shift and at the nightclub) but this meant our discussion was partially overheard by the general manager who was sitting on a nearby table. While there did seem to be a degree of self-censorship exercised in the discussion, there were at other moments answers that seemed equally, if not more, addressed to the general manager across the room. As such, how discussions unfolded was as important as what was said, indeed Holstein & Gubrium note that "interviews situations inherently – not incidentally – shape the form and content of what is said" (2016, p.69). This interview, however, was an exception and there were no further one-to-one interviews conducted that could be overheard by other members of staff.

Those external to the organisation (the licensing committee chairman and police sergeant) were interviewed in their offices at their request. In both of these interviews, there were occasions when the discussion was felt to depart from the "ideal of 'joint construction of meaning'" (Watson, 2009, p.108). Both respondents were in positions of authority and since they were on record, it seemed that at times attempts were made to steer the agenda of the conversation. This was either by reproducing established institutional and political perspectives in the case of the licensing committee chairman or, claiming to definitively *know* the reality: the police sergeant used the word 'ultimately' twenty-seven times during the discussion. As such, these interviews were not a simple "data excavation procedure" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2016, p.68) and in this respect, the researcher must "carefully consider what is said in relation to how, where, when and by whom narratives are conveyed, and to what end" (ibid, p.79).

At the same time as the one-to-one interviews, focus groups were arranged to provide an opportunity for multiple participants to reflect on the work of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption at the nightclub. The rationale behind organising these discussions was one of providing participants space to describe their experiences in the presence of colleagues which was thought to be valuable to the research given the close-knit relations in NTE occupational communities (Sosteric, 1996; Sandiford & Seymour, 2007, 2011). From a theoretical

perspective, it was also the aim of focus groups to try and discern if there was an 'affective atmosphere' amongst employees. Anderson & Ash remark that,

> "atmospheres are both ontologically and spatially discrete from one another, but they can coexist within the same space or environment without necessarily affecting one another… [which] complicates a narrative in which a space or system produces a single overarching atmosphere" (2015, p.34).

The intention, in this respect, was not simply to ascertain how meaning was shaped in the presence of other group members, but to apprehend how affect emerged communally and may have constituted an "organisational force" in its own right (Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p.83). The first focus group was conducted at the end of a shift working at the club, during after-work drinks and a total of five employees were present: three members of bar staff, one glass collector and the general manager. The second was arranged at an employee's house, where seven employees were present: four members of bar staff and three glass collectors. It should be noted that self-censorship was more likely during the first focus group when the general manager was present in the discussion. In addition, while the discussion was conducted outside of opening hours, since it took place at the premises itself this may have also shaped the way participants expressed their experiences.

The second, by contrast, had many of the same employees present as the first focus group but was characterised by the absence of any management presence and located some distance away from the venue itself. However, this focus group should not be considered as 'authentic' and on that basis apt for comparison to the 'inauthentic' discussion during the first focus group. In advance of the discussion, those present, including myself, had decided to have an evening out following the focus group. But this had the consequence of potentially turning the focus group into a "pleasant social encounter whose content [had] little or no bearing on the intellectual puzzle which the research is designed to address" (Mason, 2002, p.67). As such, a degree of effort was required to keep the group focused on the issues at hand. However, after an hour of lively discussion, the boundary between what could be described as a 'focus group' and a drinking session became increasingly blurred, and the imposition of the research agenda felt increasingly inappropriate. In this way, the social setting can influence the researcher, just as much as the researcher can influence the social setting they are studying. As indicated above, both interviews and focus groups with those working at the nightclub were aided with video elicitation and the section that follows discusses the contributions and limitations of this method.

Video elicitation

In her review of video-based research methods in organisation studies, Christianson (2016) discusses several reasons why those researching situated action in organisations might turn to video recordings as a means of understanding how organisational life is enacted. It is argued that while more conventional methods of generating data have relied on interviews or recorded observations, there are limits to their capacities. For example, the "interview method is heavily dependent on people's capacities to verbalise, interact, conceptualise and remember" (Mason, 2002, p.64) and in respect to the initial focus on affective atmospheres, this limitation can prove to be a significant sticking point. The reason being many of the practices involved in maintaining atmospheres are not questions of meaning or interpretation, and therefore it is challenging for individuals to give an account of their actions and the reasoning behind them, especially in an interview situation that is separated both by time and space from the encounters in question. In addition, atmospheres unfold so quickly that it is impossible to account for any more than a handful of interactions recalled from memory after the events themselves. Thus, in a practical sense, video recordings are "well-suited for studying situated action and interaction, either on their own or augmenting more traditional methods, such as interviews or observations" (Christianson, 2016, p.2). The advantage of generating visual data offered methodological utility for researching affective atmospheres, enabling analysis of "non-verbal behaviours (facial expression, gaze, gestures, etc) socio material interactions (how people interact with artefacts and the physical environment), and spatial relations) how people and objects are configured in space" (ibid, p.2).

Once recordings had been saved from the CCTV system, a 'collection of instances' were selected, following a similar approach to that of Hindmarsh & Pilnick (2007) in their study of embodied work of anaesthetists, focusing specifically on episodes where employees engaged with practices of regulation. The selection of such instances confronts the 'problem of relevance' identified by Hindmarsh & Llewellyn, where they note that organisations "house a staggering array of material objects and features, but somehow [one] needs to determine which features are relevant for inclusion in the analytic account" (2018, p.413). In response to this issue, one could draw on Ryle's conception of 'know-how', where he argues that "understanding is part of knowing how. The knowledge that is required for understanding intelligent performances of a specific kind is some degree of competence in performances of that kind" (2009, p.41). Understanding practices of regulation within affective atmospheres on this basis seemed to require at least some degree of competence in the same activity. Therefore, the instances chosen may be justified based on my embodied knowledge of work at the nightclub obtained by participant observation.

However, as already indicated, my 'know-how' will not necessarily match that of other employees at the nightclub. Respondents may have selected different instances if they were to watch the full-length recordings themselves and this could have been a co-constructed approach the research may have benefited from. However, since the recordings were generally six hours long, I decided to select the clips myself.

The clips were then shown to respondents during interviews to discuss how they made sense of specific events and working practices. On a more functional level, this enabled respondents to "talk through specific experiences… rather than, asking them what they 'would do' or what they have 'generally done' under certain circumstances" (Mason, 2002, p.64). This initiated discussions in a way that enabled them to orient their accounts of activities with the practices displayed in the video recordings. Following Mason's suggestion that the interview itself "'conjures up', as fully as possible, the social experiences or processes" (2000, p.64) that are under study and thus encourages the "articulation of embodied and material experiences that are not usually recalled in verbal interviews" (Pink, 2007, p. 28). Notably, a frequent pattern emerged in video elicitation interviews where shortly after discussing the clip, the respondent would recall an experience or memory that they had been reminded of. In this respect, the stories and accounts generated during these interviews have been influenced by the incidents shown in the video clips themselves. In this sense, while video elicitation may be a means by which respondents can be aided in their recall of events, it can never be a neutral facilitator of data generation (Hietanen & Rokka, 2018).

This issue is also made evident through Hutchby et al's discussion concerning the "distortion in participant behaviour that comes from being aware that their behaviour is being recorded" (2012, p.676). Before conducting this research, the placement of the recording device itself was considered and it was thought a camera could be placed above the immediate workspace (on the ceiling above the bar) recording from a vantage point that offered a view of the workspace. However, the practicality of using the CCTV system which was already installed offered an efficient way of obtaining recordings and transferring the large files for analysis. In addition, it was perhaps less obtrusive than installing a recording device. However, since employees were made aware that the research involved discussion of video clips from the nightclub's CCTV system, it may have been possible that they exhibited "acting up" behaviours (Luff & Heath, 2012). For example, on one occasion, after denying service to a customer the assistant manager gestured with two fingers as they walked away from the bar. A member of bar staff then accessed the CCTV system themselves to record this episode on a phone and shared the clip amongst the occupational community. Sharing perceived amusing or surprising episodes recorded at the nightclub was not an unusual practice, but,

since the research was highlighting the use of video clips as sources of discussion and insight, this method of generating data may have reinforced a perception that the CCTV system was something that could be 'performed' to.

Consequently, the video elicitation methods were not envisaged as a way of simply adding supplementary material or authentic insight but as a means to generate data that must be employed reflexively; "including thinking about the effects of the video-based apparatus" (Hietanen & Rokka, 2018, p.331). From this perspective, it is necessary to reiterate that my presence as a researcher and the research methods employed influenced the research setting itself and vice versa. As such, the thesis cannot claim to definitively represent the problem of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption in the NTE. It offers perspectival insight and the next two sections, which discuss the theoretical perspective and analysis, will draw on the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari to understand more about how this perspectival insight is constituted.

Theoretical perspective

One of the theoretical difficulties that emerged during the research process was understanding the relationship between the subjective experience of work (meanings associated with experience, expressed intentions and perceptions) and the embodied apprehension of maintaining a desirable affective atmosphere at the nightclub (intensities, forces and potentiality of objects). While these two elements were closely interrelated, initially it was not clear *how* they were related. I had to consider how meaning, experience and intention emerged from affective relations that were meaningless, in excess or beyond experience and without intention. At first, this seemed to be a concern that was not strictly relevant to the initial aims of the thesis, but without accounting for this problem, a significant opportunity may be missed in understanding work in the NTE.

Key to understanding this issue, as indicated in the theoretical framework was the work of Deleuze and Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) and a text that it is heavily influenced by; the second essay of Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morality* (1994). The philosophical insights presented in these works are key to the contributions made in this thesis. As such, this is the appropriate point of the methodology chapter to state formally that the analysis work in the NTE took the form of *symptomatology*. In the section below, the chapter will set out how this symptomatological analysis was carried out and how the contributions made in this thesis are shaped by this approach. In so doing, I outline how the thesis offers an ethnographic account informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari.

Symptomatology

In *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, Deleuze states "we always have the beliefs, feelings and thoughts that we deserve given our way of being" (2002, p.1). In this context, he is alluding to Nietzsche's perspectival theory of values, but concerning this research, such an assertion begs the question of how a 'way of being' influences what can be understood about work in the NTE. In Deleuze's assertion, there is an implicit concern with the way that knowledge claims are symptomatic of the forces that constitute them. He states explicitly,

> "There are things that can only be said, felt or conceived, values which can only be adhered to, on condition of 'base' evaluation, 'base' living and thinking'" (2002, p.2).

Deleuze has been accused of being an aristocratic philosopher based on such a perspective (Badiou, 2000), however, making this distinction between different ways of thinking should not be confused with a judgement about the moral or cultural value of thought and conduct. On the contrary, it refers to the way that encounters between forces constitute specific ways of thinking and being. Deleuze takes this idea from Spinoza and Nietzsche who both argued in different ways,

> "that there are things one cannot do or think except on condition of being weak or enslaved, unless one harbours a vengeance or resentment against life; and there are other things one cannot do or say except on the condition of being strong, noble or free, unless one affirms life" (Smith, 2005, p.213).

To extend from the theoretical framework presented in the preceding chapter, different ways of thinking are understood to be symptomatic of either active or reactive forces. Indeed, as Hjorth & Holt (2014) note,

> "Deleuze relies on Nietzsche here, thought whereas Nietzsche discusses 'good and bad' (rather than good and evil) as judged from a particular style of life… Deleuze reframes this in a Spinozist way, talking instead of active and reactive forces" (2014, p.82).

This is a vital part of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy, recognising or identifying the provenance of what one says, feels and conceives in relation to the forces that constitute them. Here one can see how to address the problem of understanding the relationship between subjective meaning, experience and intention, with impersonal forces that are meaningless, in excess or beyond experience and without intention.

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Deleuze and Guattari's approach to thought (especially as it is espoused by Deleuze in *Nietzsche and Philosophy*) can be understood as interpretive. But this interpretivism should be distinguished from the philosophy of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Social reality for Deleuze and Guattari is not a "world built in and through meaningful interpretations" (Prasad & Prasad, 2002, p.6-7). On the contrary, the constitution of social reality emerges first and foremost through *encounters between impersonal forces from which subjective experience manifests*[34]. As already stated in the theoretical framework chapter, it is not the relationship between the human intention, activity and experience and impersonal forces that must be thought through, but the *genesis* of the subject from impersonal forces that is the issue at hand. In this way, Deleuze and Guattari's interpretivism is not a research method that can be used to "explore individual understandings and subjective experiences of the world" (Cunliffe, 2011, p.648) to arrive at an interpretation of social reality "by discussing with different communities of interpreters" (Sandberg, 2005, p.56). Rather, it takes meaning, interpretation and lived experience as symptomatic of the forces that constitute them. The interpretive move Deleuze and Guattari make is to distinguish or 'diagnose' "phenomena, treating them as symptoms whose sense must be sought in the forces that produce them" (Deleuze, 2002, p.75). Consequently, the principal issue of concern is not "individuals' and groups' lived experience of their reality" (Sandberg, 2005, p.47) and the meanings they associate with it but the 'way of being' that their lived experience expresses. This practice of thought, Deleuze refers to as symptomatology.

Deleuze and Guattari, however, were not the first to recognise the potential of this practice of thought. Nietzsche was the first to claim that philosophers could be considered symptomatologists, indeed he claimed that philosophers were "physicians of culture" (2001), and the symptoms he studied and the pathologies he diagnosed were not medical, but cultural. Nietzsche criticised the scientific examination of phenomena for failing to "examine the genealogy of forces underlying its objects of study" (Kaiser, 2017, p.186). Deleuze extends this argument in the claim that there has been ignorance of "forces… in the sciences of man" (2002, p.73) and in this way, the theory of forces underpins a symptomatological inquiry,

> "We will never find the sense of something (of a human, biological, or even a physical phenomenon) if we do not know the force which appropriates the thing,

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[34] As an interruption in the social control of desire.

which exploits it, which takes possession of it or is expressed in it" (Deleuze, 2002, p.3).

One issue to consider however is that the 'study of symptoms' is conventionally understood as a practice of thought that resides in a clinical setting. As a "branch of pathology" (Kaiser, 2017, p. 185) it represents one of three main activities in medicine, namely, the study of symptoms in illness and disease. The other two activities are the search for causes (etiology) and the development of treatments (therapeutics) (Smith, 2005). However, as a thought process, it is unique in that it requires what can be understood as "pre-medical" (ibid, p.205) encounters and a sensibility within these encounters for isolating, distinguishing, and diagnosing. In this way, it is an interpretive aspect of knowledge, even though it occurs within a medical context that ostensibly organises activity on objective grounds. For Deleuze and Guattari, this sensibility has a broader remit than its use in a clinical setting, because it is considered to function as a bridge in thought between the impersonal and the subjective. The question is, how does one take a clinical practice of thought into the interpretation of organisational phenomena and in what way does this function as a bridge between the impersonal and human intention, activity and experience?

This question has been taken on by scholars who have considered a focus on the symptoms of organisation as a distinctive approach to the study of organisational phenomena. Kristensen et al (2008) argue that as a practice of thought, the study of organisational symptoms may be erroneously construed as searching for cures or solutions to organisational problems that have been 'diagnosed' in advance. Or, it may be understood as part of an attempt to conceive organisations as "social phenomenon" and as a research "paradigm" that clarifies the "ontological, epistemology and methodological foundation upon which such a project can stand" (Kristensen et al, 2008, p.3). However, these authors express caution over simply translating this idea into a "method to discover things about organisations" (ibid, p.4) and instead, encourage researchers to "experiment with ways in which we can think, see or feel organisational phenomena" (ibid, p.4). For example, symptomatology proceeds on the basis that thought and conduct are "systematically shaped by forces" (Vignola, 2019, p.556), consequently, the question becomes one of "interpreting precisely these relations of forces" (Kaiser, 2017, p.186). Indeed, it is this sensibility for interpreting the qualities of forces and how they constitute phenomena that represents the bridge between the impersonal and human intention, activity and experience that Deleuze and Guattari find of interest for their philosophy.

In *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, Deleuze lays out how this practice of thought can be used to interpret cultural phenomena but also language and ideas. This involves isolating, distinguishing and diagnosing the way cultural, linguistic and ideological phenomena *exist*, rather than what they mean. In this way, symptomatology of phenomena considers its objects of study, first and foremost, as symptoms "that reflect a certain state of forces" (Smith, 2005, p.204). Therefore, symptomatology of forces does not neatly fall into an objectivist or subjectivist research paradigm. Forces can be understood as a "concrete given" but they are not "external" to the individual, as per the assumptions of the objectivist paradigm (Cunliffe, 2011, p.648). As Cunliffe suggests, making such polarised choices imposes an untenable divide between a focus on "structures, actions, behaviours, systems, and/or processes" and "how people give meaning to, interact with, and construct their world" (2011, p.648). When it comes to the relationship between impersonal forces and subjective experience, symptomatology operates on the basis that the objective and subjective cannot be separated into distinct realms of analysis.

In this way, "symptomatology does not take place on the level of representation" (Kristensen et al, 2008, p.3), nor is it amenable to capturing or fixing the reality of social phenomena. It rather operates as a bridge between the impersonal and the subjective as it extracts "the states of things" or forces, "in such a way that non-pre-existent concepts can be extracted from them" (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987, p.vii). This close relationship between the interpretative diagnosis of symptoms and the creation of concepts should not be understated. Indeed, it is by virtue of this interpretive symptomatology of forces and the extraction (or creation) of concepts to express their relationship that makes the ethnographic account offered in this thesis informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari.

Empirical fields and singular concepts

Scholars of organisation and management drawing of the work of Deleuze and Guattari have highlighted the way conceptual creation must not be "pure theorising", as if "isolated" from the world, but created "in relation to problems and experiences of organisation" (Thanem & Linstead, 2006, p.50). In other words, rather than concepts considered as abstract entities "confined to the domain of ideas… concepts are connected to pre-conceptual problems, they speak of the world" (ibid, p.49-50). In this sense, Deleuze and Guattari call for the analysis of problematics rather than 'solutions', which, "belong to the categories of being, truth and the real, in themselves markers of a certain history of philosophy, and we can safely add, the history of organisation theory" (Sørensen, 2005, p.126). Indeed, the search for a 'solution' regards the problematic as a closed case. This mode of thinking can be associated with the way Cooper & Burrell conceive modernist thought, which "puts the answer before the question and thus acts

on the principle that it 'already knows'" (1988, p.108). Deleuze and Guattari, by contrast, are concerned with the study of problematics, not to offer solutions to those that are already defined, but to consider whether the concepts that are in use, adequately express the "sense" of the problematics in question (Sørensen, 2005, p.126).

To recall the research problem outlined in the theoretical framework, scholars of organisation and management have suggested that the active-reactive dynamic of desiring forces that constitute social bodies questions the status of modernist conceptions of organisation. Thanem & Linstead highlight this issue, suggesting that organisation theorists have "taken the concept of organisation for granted… they have rarely asked what organisation is, or questioned the ontological status of organisation" (2006, p.39). Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari, this leads the authors to argue that "insofar as philosophy should preoccupy itself with the creation and invention of concepts… a philosophy of organisation must create and invent new concepts of organisation" (Thanem & Linstead, 2006, p.46). Such analyses begin by considering problematics as "events" and concepts must produce or express the "problematic of a given problem" (Sørensen, 2005, p.126).

Linstead and Thanem note that an "event" is neither something that "simply happens, such as an organised social occasion or a concert, nor something that reveals the essential truth about a general development" (2006, p.51). For Deleuze and Guattari, an event is "different from what already exists, and as it sticks out from the mundane and the regular, it is a discontinuity in history" (Linstead & Thanem, 2007, p.1493). Following this, scholars of management and organisation are urged to study events that mark "ruptures, instabilities and qualitative differences that make organisations change" (ibid, p.1494). Moving analytically from encounters with events to the expression of problematics constitutes the function of creating concepts. Brown describes this approach as a way of "*actualising empirical fields in relation to singular concepts*" (2010, p.119, emphasis added). It should be noted, however, that written analyses following fieldwork are "construed and reconstructed through an embodied engagement with ideas, interpretations, feelings and emotions" (Thanem & Knights, 2019, p.55). But what distinguishes an ethnography informed by Deleuze and Guattari, is an effort to enter a "becoming together with the problem that you are problematizing" (Sørensen, 2995, p.131). Put simply, this requires the researcher to isolate, distinguish and diagnose the 'ruptures, instabilities and qualitative differences' that constitute events during their fieldwork and to posit a way of thinking about these singular characteristics that will bear the mark of their encounters. This is a way of thinking that Brown describes as "one event, one idea" form of research practice (2010, p.118). For the present study, analysing the dynamics of active and reactive forces that

constitute events in the nightclub becomes a question of creating a concept that adequately expresses their problematic. The next section deals specifically with this analysis process, how the data generated during the research was analysed and the way this was informed by the symptomatological method.

Analysis

Following the research period at the Assembly Club, the interviews and focus groups were transcribed in full, paying attention to the "cadence, stumbles, hesitation and tone of the respondents" (Kenny & Gilmore, 2014, p.162) to, as far as possible, maintain the depth and nuance of the conversations I held throughout the research. An example of which can be seen below,

> Charlotte: Yeah, well, I see…. I see my target at the start of the night on weekends, and erm, basically… because I don't know how much I make anyway, so I don't know if I'm anywhere near my target, I feel like… if we knew, because like… I'm sure like if I asked, because I've asked before like how much have I made in a night… but like, we don't get told really how much we make

> Researcher: Yeah

> Charlotte: So, it kind of like, I do try but like, sometimes, the bar is just not busy, and so, and like…. You don't know, you're assigned to a station, so I just kind of feel like it isn't… with the targets, I don't know… because I don't really think there's, I'm not going to say like any point in them, but I feel like it is all very… like, oh… what's… what's it's like, situational like

> Researcher: Yeah

> Charlotte: Like whether you're going to hit it or not, because, if you're told to stay in one place, it's like whether the customers come to you, it's how much the customer, orders, it's how many customers are in the bar, I think it is good… good having targets and having like incentives in place, but, I feel like, it is very… like…

> Researcher: Sporadic?

> Charlotte: Yeah, and like, it needs to be, taken… well, I… I don't know how the targets are set, but I feel like it does need to take into consideration more like, other factors, that maybe influencing the targets rather than just the bar staff, but yeah, I don't…

Transcribed interviews and focus groups were uploaded to NVivo, a software package used to aid qualitative data analysis. Due to the large volume of data generated during the research period I elected to use NVivo as a tool to support the organisation and structuring of the data. Using NVivo presented an efficient way to retrieve data for analysis. For the initial stage of the analysis, comments, passages and statements were organised into the following themes: *contradiction, responsibility, drunkenness, freedom, governance, affect, licensing, and materials.* Data organised into these themes also underwent what I conceived as a 'first round' of coding,

which included the following: *conflict, inhibition, precarity, threat, violence, vulnerability, responsibility, (in)capacities, close bonds, cynicism, 'us' and 'them', and atmosphere.* As such, the initial organisation of themes and 'first round' of coding was not exclusively "informant centric" (Gioia et al, 2013). For example, data coded under *atmosphere* (such as the example passage below from a focus group) was informed by the initial theoretical approach which focused attention on the perception of the venue,

> Jessica: When I try and explain to people back home, that I work in a bar called [the Assembly] I'm like… you don't know what this bar is like, it isn't classy, it's fucking nothing!
>
> Charlotte: There's sick everywhere!
>
> Jessica: It's trashy
>
> Charlotte: People fall down the stairs every night!
>
> Jessica: Yeah exactly! like the toilets are minging, and I'm like… but we make cocktails and they're like…
>
> [laughing]
>
> Jessica: And then, and I'm like… but we do a [cheap] round, and then there like… [Jessica] I just don't know where you work and then like…
>
> Charlotte: I think […]
>
> Jessica: Do you know what, at least [venue nearby] know what type of bar they are, they're a student bar…

However, other codes were taken from the data itself, for example, from the passage below, which is an excerpt from a one-on-one interview, the code 'us' and 'them' was established,

> Jessica: But I do feel like the… in [the Assembly Club] we kind of have this thing where… like… a mutual hatred for all customers…. we're always defending each other, like… it's us against them.

This preliminary organisation of themes and coding drew on my empirical observations, the research data, research questions, academic literature I had reviewed and my prior experience working in the NTE. In this respect, the identification of themes and sub-themes was informed by the literature but led by the empirical findings.

My observations varied from one-line short hand to aid recall of specific moments, to longer passages that explained events in more detail and my perception of them at the time. Reducing events to short hand, for example, *'customer pissing down the stairwell'*, *'customer fell down the stairs'* or *'soda gun spray'*, was an expedient way of recording observations however, given the gap between the experience of these events and the analysis, I felt that more detailed accounts were necessary. Writing detailed field notes after finishing shifts late at night was not always

practical and through the course of the research, dictating reflections on an audio device became preferable. Audio recordings were transcribed and included in the coding process,

> 05-05-18. There was a woman in the premises on her own, and she was […] dancing with a guy and one of his mates stood behind them and made a gesture which implied he was watching a prostitute and throwing money at her… she saw that, and I think they were filming her as well. She got aggressive and tried to snatch the phone out of his hand and became violent towards them, maybe understandably […] I remember waving on the bar, there was no radio… I had to wave and then I think someone on the other bar or, it was [George] […] radioed security and removed her…

My observations working at the nightclub informed the scope and content of the research interviews, which in turn, encouraged observation of certain events and moments. For example, after observing frequent occasions of employees intervening in customer behaviour, one of the interview questions I asked included:

> 'Why do you intervene in customers behaviour – what prompts you to do this?'

This encouraged respondents to reflect on how they perceived their interventions and the circumstances in which they would act, however, respondents also drew attention to the vulnerability they felt in regulating customer behaviour, the various intensities of working at the nightclub and how these did not seem to be considered in the way they were managed. My attention was then drawn to places and spaces in or around the venue, organisational documents and events that took place during shifts that related to these concerns.
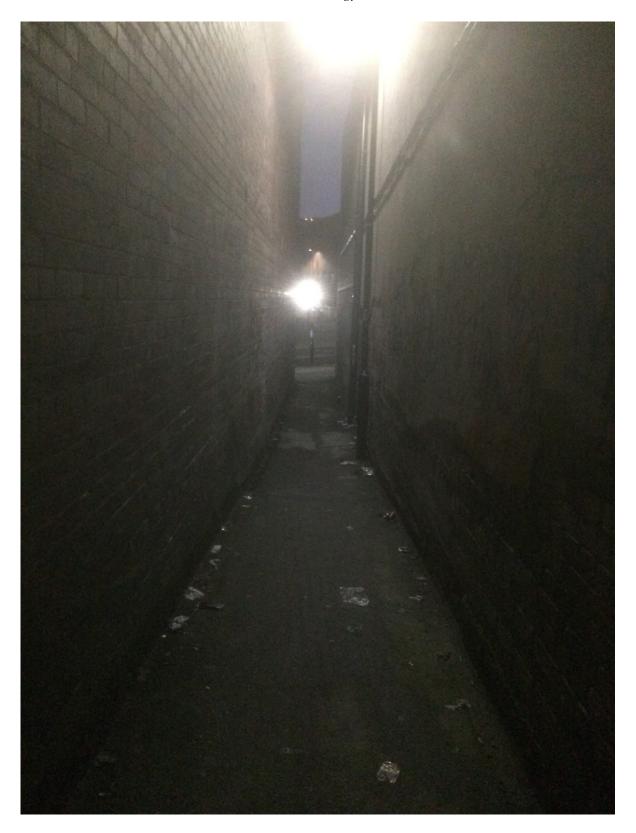
Figure 2 - The walk to work

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1. We must always be ready and open on time
2. The door must be locked as soon as we close and the doormen have left.
3. Nobody is to leave until the cleaning has been done satisfactorily and all items initialled.
4. All staff must be fully trained on all cocktails and tested regularly to ensure all cocktails are consistent.
5. The glass collectors must be trained properly to make sure they are doing the job properly:
   - all glasses cleared as soon as possible
   - the floor is to be swept/mopped every 20 minutes on a busy night, make a time sheet
   - glasses must be cleared from around the dance floor on every sweep round
   - any glass breakages are swept into the dustpan and put in the bin as soon as possible
   - at least one wet mop and bucket and one dry mop are kept on the main bar at all times and cleared away at the end of the night
   - there must be at least one person out front at all times, one on the glass washer and one bar backing/cleaning
6. Ensure everyone is doing their job properly at all times by standing at the end of the bar when not needed elsewhere
7. Make sure the end of night and weekly cleaning rota's are done every night/week without fail
8. Make sure the stock sheet is done fully every week, check rubbish bags, PDQ rolls, glasses, etc not just drinks
9. Make sure the doormen are sticking to the dress code
10. Keep the website up to date with events and cocktail specials
11. There must be four special cocktails every two months and extra ones for special occasions and all staff must be fully trained.
12. Make sure anything that isn't working properly or is broken is reported straight away so it can be sorted. Ensure bulbs are replaced asap
13. Make sure the music is always right and tell the dj straight away if something is inappropriate
14. Make sure all staff arrive on time and are on the bar at the time their shift starts
15. Ensure the ATM always has plenty of money in, especially check before a Friday and Saturday
16. Make sure the temperature is just right, for customers, not staff. Remember it's always warmer behind the bar than it is in the main customer area
17. Check the answer machine and reply or let ▮▮▮▮ know
18. Make sure we never run out of gas, call ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ for next day delivery if needed but they call once a fortnight to ensure we have what we need
19. Make sure stock is used in date order, oldest first
20. Make sure the rubbish bins are being emptied. If there are extra bags to be collected let ▮▮▮▮

Figure 3 – Staff notice

My observations also informed the selection of clips from CCTV recordings to aid the video-elicitation interviews. When I observed abusive interactions, occasions of service refusal, or circumstances where the security team were called to remove individuals from the venue, the times and dates of these events were noted. I then accessed the CCTV recordings in the office

after shifts or at a later date to save the footage of these events for analysis. Watching events for the second time and rewinding playback to consider how these emerged was an important part of deciding to select or omit appropriate clips for video elicitation purposes. For example, one clip, or a series of clips, which I referred to as 'One too many', were selected after I had observed an individual being removed from the premises for being too intoxicated. On reviewing this occasion on the CCTV recording, rewinding playback I was able to observe the individual in question had purchased seven separate drinks over two hours in the nightclub. I then edited together clips from this recording displaying each separate purchase, (including the timestamps), so respondents could view and offer their comments. I also selected clips from recordings of a variety of interactions on the bar, including occasions that I observed in person and those I had noticed while reviewing other CCTV recordings. These included clips such as, '*Customer licking the card machine*', '*Smile for me!*', '*Discards ice from glass on bar*', '*Didn't have the money*' and '*Holds on to money while making payment*' that reflected a variety of experiences working at the nightclub including, for example, occasions of emotional labour (empathetic and antipathetic) and obnoxious or abusive customer behaviour.

Key themes that emerged early on during the interviews were the issues of 'responsibility' and 'drunkenness', for example, the excerpt below is taken from an interview with the ex-general manager,

> George: I mean… this bar, for instance… their special offers, encourage irresponsible drinking, I mean…
>
> Researcher: I was going to ask you about that
>
> George: Serving triples, is so irresponsible

Respondents discussed what they perceived to be their responsibilities at the nightclub and those of individual customers, and how this was influenced by intoxication and drunkenness in the venue. At this stage, however, the themes and coding established initially were divided, on the one hand by a concern with interiority and subjectivity (drawing attention to the lived experience of work at the nightclub which involved contradiction, responsibility and dealing with drunkenness, conflict, precarity, vulnerability and so on), and on the other, a concern with the space and technologies used in the venue (drawing attention to the materials and atmosphere in the nightclub and how these were assembled and maintained). This stage of the analysis process was characterised by a challenging problem, that of how I was to reconcile these seemingly distinct analytical concerns. This urged a return to the theoretical question of how the lived experience of work related to the atmosphere in the nightclub and the way this was assembled and maintained. Intending to avoid judgements of value implied by the notions of

'irresponsibility' and 'disorder' and informed by the concerns posed by affect theory and the study of atmospheres, one of the key issues that emerged in the next stage of the analysis was to identify and articulate the qualities or characteristics that constituted the various atmospheres that manifested in the nightclub, and to understand the working practices that were involved in their maintenance. Key to this was interviewees frequent reference to their perception of the tipping points, thresholds, and phases of the nightclub's atmospheres. An example of which can be seen in the interview with the nightclub's DJ below,

> James: Let's say I've come to pick you up in my car, and I set off 50 minutes of going in my car, and I've gradually crept the music up, and I've got it banging out and I'm in that zone because my ears…. I've become accustomed to the music and I've been driving and I've got the feel for the tunes, so I've got them pumping up, then I pull up outside your house, and you get in the car, you'd be like, fucking hell turn it down man, it's a bit like, it's really… because you're entering, you're already entering the venue or the car, and it… it's a bit, and there's just you and I in it, and it's a bit, it's a bit in your face, and a bit loud and so, if the music's too loud and pumping, in an empty room, and people walk in, they're almost like, put off by it.

These two initial phases of data analysis prepared the groundwork for the symptomatological analysis.

At first, an attempt was made to understand how those involved in maintaining the atmosphere in the nightclub *learned* to intervene, rather than *why* they intervened. However, out of this concern emerged a new theme related to the conversion of labour intensity into labour time. This was expressed in the tension interviewees described, for example, between offering the qualities and speed of service expected in the venue and coping with limited opportunities for breaks, precarious employment conditions and long unsocial hours. With this additional theme, I then proposed three analytical questions for the thesis which were interrelated, 'how is work conceived and managed?', 'what is organised?' and 'how is it organised?'. These questions guided the analysis chapters. Initially, however, I found that it was not possible to provide a coherent answer to them with the theoretical principles I had established earlier on during the research process. It was not until I had engaged with Deleuze and Guattari's work in *Anti-Oedipus* (2000) where I was able to put an adequate answer to these questions which spoke to my empirical findings and observations. This text and the theoretical principles which it offered established the basis on which I could reconcile how to interpret interview data, discourse, observations, and lived experiences, in a way that connected what previously seemed to be distinct realms of analysis; the 'impersonal' and the 'personal'.

In the previous chapter and symptomatology section of this chapter, I have outlined in detail the theoretical framework that was constructed to ground the analysis of this thesis and the course of its many iterations. The key to understanding this theoretical perspective was the realisation that the perception of *conflict, inhibition, precarity, threat, violence, vulnerability* and *close bonds* expressed by respondents and most importantly, the distinction between 'us' (the sober, responsible bar staff) and 'them' (the intoxicated, irresponsible customer), could be interpreted as *symptomatic* of or an expression of *reactive* force. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's symptomology method of interpretive analysis (informed by Nietzsche's essay in the *Genealogy of Morality*) and re-coding the themes above, it was possible to interpret how work at the nightclub was an expression of encounters between active and reactive forces and, more specifically, the social control of desire. The intention of outlining this process of analysis and to include excerpts in anticipation of the following chapters is to offer the reader insight into the connections drawn between the data and theory (Gioia et al, 2013), but also, more fundamentally, to indicate on what basis I claim to understand what is presented in the following chapters (Amis & Silk, 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter has explained how the research unfolded and the route I took in formulating its theoretical perspective and analysis. It cannot be neatly summarised as operating within a singular research paradigm. While it takes understandings and interpretations of organisational life and the attribution of meaning as important issues for analysis, these cannot be understood without understanding their genesis within encounters between the impersonal forces. The following chapters analyse the data generated from this field work and will draw on the symptomatological analysis informed by Deleuze and Guattari.

5

Critically examining the management of work intensity

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse how working at the nightclub is shaped by axiomatic principles. This is necessary to understand how the management of work shapes relations between the forces of social control and desire. In this respect, it serves as a critical examination of the way work intensity is conceived and organised, but also as an initial analytical move, establishing the basis on which subsequent chapters of the analysis will return, considering the influence of axiomatic organisation on the social control of desire in the nightclub. Drawing on the theory laid out by Deleuze and Guattari, the following analysis examines how the management of work intensity is subordinated to principles of axiomatic organisation. This involves an examination of the axiomatic conception and organisation of work by critically assessing its abstract measure of labour time. This chapter highlights the different ways axiomatic organisation imposes a series of impractical and at times impossible demands on employees. Therefore, the central concern of this chapter becomes the disconnect between the axiomatic organisation of work and the intensities employees engage with.

In the first section of the chapter, the analysis considers the different intensities that emerge at work in the nightclub and the financial pressures that shape its employment conditions. The two sections that follow consider how this is managed, first as a problem of psychological adaptation and second as an issue of controlling labour power and time. The fourth section of the analysis draws on Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatics advanced in the theoretical framework to analyse the various ways work is intensified at the nightclub. This chapter demonstrates how the management of work intensity, seen as a problem of psychological adaptation or the control of labour power and time, fails to directly engage with the intensities of work that employees encounter.

The intensity of work

Working conditions at the Assembly Club are marked by employer-led flexibility, unsocial hours and pronounced variations in the degree and nature of work intensities. Customers squeeze together, jostling, shouting, staring, waving, and reaching into the service area to grab or attract the attention of employees. When the nightclub is at full capacity it is not first come first served, employees often work from left to right or vice versa as it is nearly impossible to recall the order of who is next. Invariably this leaves some waiting longer than others and, in these circumstances, it becomes increasingly difficult to serve customers 'politely' and in the order of who has waited for the longest. This plays a significant role in the frequency and degree of abusive and at times violent behaviour directed at employees but also among customers. The degree of work intensity also differs considerably over a shift. Between 9 pm and 10 pm, the nightclub is typically empty aside from one or two groups of customers and the only tasks necessary involve preparing fruit for cocktails or replenishing stock from the cellar. Whereas between the hours of 12 am and 1 am, the nightclub is often at full capacity and the intensity of work increases significantly. In considering the prospect of breaks during these periods, the general manager employed at the beginning of the research period, George, thought this was inconceivable,

> When the hell are you going to give someone a half-hour break? You can't take half an hour, it's just so much time.

Time seems to lengthen or expand during these periods of the "compression of work activity" (Piasna, 2017, p.16) and the suggestion that work in the nightclub could be organised to allow for "respite breaks between interactions which may help employees recover resources lost" (Gabriel & Diefendorff, 2015, p.37) appears unlikely in these circumstances. This fluctuation in work intensity was reflected in the organisation of shifts, where fewer employees were already asked to work during quieter periods.

Sales were accounted for electronically by the assignment of a unique identifier for each employee which was entered before every transaction on the till system. This meant that employees could serve on any station along the bar and have their sales recorded across different tills over their shifts. The recording of sales figures enabled employees to be rewarded with a bonus for reaching specified targets. This bonus scheme was set up originally by the venue owner, Kathryn, incentivising sales across the bar. The scheme rewarded employees who took over £1000 or £1500 during one shift with a £10 or £20 bonus respectively. Will describes the flexibility of the bonus scheme favourably,

> You just serve who needs to be served, go where you want. Some people liked to sit back and relax and serve a few people, or for the people who wanted the bonus, you could smash through everyone.

Will describes how employees could elect to work at a lesser intensity provided they waived the possibility of reaching targets for the additional bonus payment. However, George expressed concern over individualised targets,

> If everyone is aiming for their own target it does two things, one, it encourages them to take risks and two, it doesn't promote teamwork, it encourages a proper cut-throat attitude. Bartenders are going for targets and they're stealing each other's customers off them because they're desperate to make money.

The bonus scheme gave rise to several consequences, for example, in the quote below Chloe describes her reluctance to give way to the incentives of the bonus scheme,

> Staff would fight to try and get to the customer first, it's just not right. For me personally, I'd rather just be calm about it, if there's a customer there, I'll serve them, but I'm not going to run over to them straight away to beat the targets, I don't really think about targets when I'm serving.

A propensity for taking risks to reach individualised targets is illustrated in Will's comment below, where he describes his temptation to become more lenient with who he served alcohol,

> They are pushing you, it's an incentive to get people worse off drunk than normal, just to reach your personal target. I'd probably be, 'yeah, ok, I need that extra £10 or £20', so I'm more likely to be a bit lenient with who I give alcohol to.

This tendency toward leniency is an illustrative example of the concern highlighted by Sallaz & Wang (2016), where commercial practices are shaping the sumptuary labour of employees towards revenue-maximisation rather than the restriction of consumption. There was also a sense among some employees that the bonus scheme was not always adhered to and in some cases adjusted arbitrarily,

> Jessica: Last week, I worked the bonus scheme, I fucking made my bonus, I'm going to message him because I fucking sold two bottles of Ciroc [brand of alcohol], I definitely made all my bonus that week, not a fucking mention.

> Will: I think I've made bonuses, but I was going to say, he seems to mention bonuses as and when he wants.

Adam: Yesterday he made mine £1600.

Compounding the challenges that employees faced working at the nightclub, many of the respondents interviewed during this research also felt under pressure to avoid making any mistakes. As an example, in the quote below Chloe describes an incident involving Patrick, who had made a mistake on one of his first shifts at the nightclub that resulted in a sizeable loss to the nightclub's accounts,

> Patrick, when he first started, I don't know why, but Tom [general manager] did not get on with him. As soon as he took a load of unauthorised receipts on top bar, the card machine wasn't working, so he thought they were going through, but they weren't and there was £200 where they'd not actually paid and straight away, Tom was like, 'get rid of him… get rid of him', and I was like, 'It's not his mistake', he offered straight away to pay for it.

This sense of the precarious condition of their employment was a recurring theme in interviews and focus group discussions. In the following quote, Emily reflects on occasions where discrepancies were found on the balances of till counts at the end of shifts,

> It's just not fair, people make mistakes, when it's that stressful and it's that busy, sometimes you don't count properly or they tell you they've given you £20 and they actually gave you £10, and you think, 'I'm not going to waste 10 minutes of my serving time when I could be getting my bonus', to go back and look through all this camera footage to see what note this man gave me, just for him to be right and yet, I wasn't paying attention because I have been here for 6 hours without a break.

This quote offers a telling example of the disconnect between the experience of work at the nightclub and the measures used to organise it, giving rise to circumstances where its intensities are systematically overlooked. Or better still, 'subtracted' from consideration. Furthermore, it seemed that employees were acutely aware of the possibility that they might be 'gotten rid of',

> Charlotte: Bar staff turnover is really high, so if we said, 'we're not going to work because we want more money', they'd say, 'fair enough' and fire us all and get people in who will work for that amount.

> Will: On a zero-hour contract, there's nothing making sure that you can stay there, there's nothing stopping her barring you, there's no job security [she could say] 'do you know what, I don't want you here tonight. Out. And don't bother coming back.

This passage is a further example of the decline of worker protection in the nightclub industry and the experience of working in insecure conditions. The precarity of work in the nightclub seemed to be closely associated with a sense of being, as Adam concisely put it, 'disposable'. Maintaining employment meant accepting shorter hours, intensive work, a lack of rewards and little room for mistakes. With these intensities and conditions of employment at the nightclub in mind, the following two sections discuss in more detail how the intensities of work at the Assembly Club were managed.

Work intensity as a psychological issue

This section begins with an account of the approach taken by George (the ex-general manager) in managing work intensity at the Assembly Club. George was appointed prior to Tom (the general manager) after a prolonged period in which the nightclub had been managed by Kathryn (the venue owner) and Emily (the assistant manager). George had arrived at the nightclub with experience working in nearby bars and cocktail lounges, but this was his first appointment as general manager. Over 3 months it became clear that George had a specific approach to addressing the management of work intensity and his efforts were directed specifically to enhancing the psychological experience associated with work at the nightclub. In discussing the bonus scheme described in the section above, George suggests below that while the scheme has merit, he favoured an approach focused on cultivating 'easier' and 'fun' ways of working. In this way, George regards the bonus scheme with caution,

> Individual targets encourage you to work harder, but it's the wrong way to go, there's an easier way to make people work harder and to work properly and that's encouraging them to want to become better bartenders, it's all about inspiring. A lot of people just bartend for money, to inspire them into the actual fun side of bartending, the interesting field of cocktail making, or having a bit of pride in your bar... Then naturally, they speed up, then you don't have to worry about profitability, it just comes naturally.

Here George outlines the way he seeks to organise the intensity of work by what he perceives to be an improvement in the psychological experience of 'working harder', by attempting to separate the intensity of work from the psychological experience of working. He continues to explain how such psychological interventions could lead employees to "comfortably do their job quicker" and that this could make the intensity of work less "stressful". Notable, in this case, is his assertion that employees can pursue the experience of 'easier' and 'fun work' at the same time as they are made to 'work harder' and 'properly'. Underpinning this perspective there

appears to be a considerable faith implied in the idea of developing a capacity to 'serve well' and this should compensate for or even overcome the experience of intensity at work in the nightclub. George was convinced that the bonus scheme was not an appropriate means of managing the intensity of work:

> That's how you chose your bartenders, you find people who can go all day long and keep smiling, these are people that eventually take such pride in their work that service is so fast, so second nature that money is just going to flow in whenever they're on the bar.

Here, George appears to assume that work intensity is a psychological experience that can be altered or adapted in the mind; it is only a matter of one's outlook or attitude.

It is also worth considering how he describes his aim of making work at the nightclub something for employees to look forward to,

> George: You wanted to go… you wanted to see your friends… you don't care about work… you've got to encourage hard work, without seeming like a piece of work yourself.
>
> Researcher: In a way, you're saying you expect them to work hard, but you're trying to make it fun to conceal the fact that they're working harder.
>
> George: Well yeah, in a way. I suppose. It's not tricking them, it's not tricking them.
>
> Researcher: Is it not?
>
> George: It's a little bit of mischief, but I'm not saying work them to the point that they drop dead on the bar.

Based on this statement, fatigue or strain on the part of the employees is something that can be adapted to by seeking 'inspiration' or 'fun', ushered in by the image of the worker that labours with infinite energy and resolve. George's perspective on work is influenced by a long-standing tradition in work psychology which favours work satisfaction and intrinsic motivation over the direct control of employees (Maslow 1943; 1954, Locke; 1968). But it also links to the positioning of employees as infinite in their resourcefulness, a trend which has been identified in contemporary human resource management literature; postulating an employee that is "always capable of 'more', of 'becoming better' or learning, creativity, knowledge and 'talent' beyond that which is currently performed" (Costea et al, 2007, p.250). While George indicates that there is a limit to which he would intensify the work of employees there is, at the same time, a

sense of endless resourcefulness expected of employees 'who can go all day long and keep smiling'; a belief in the idea that the individual employee is always capable of more. In this respect, an expectation is placed on bar staff to increase and intensify their involvement in work as 'human resources' to enhance service, further customer satisfaction and thus contribute to the Assembly Club's success. Indeed, George often shadowed employees while they were working and gave specific instructions to achieve the specificities of service in the nightclub the way he saw fit, consequently, during his time managing the nightclub, it appeared there was always 'room for improvement'.

At this point, it is worth reflecting on the notion of 'fitting workers to jobs' discussed in the literature review (Hollway, 1991) and the significance these passages have for understanding the way work intensity is conceived and managed as an issue of individualised psychological adaptation. George encouraged employees to work at a faster pace, justified on the basis they were challenging themselves, for example, to serve multiple customers at once and reduced idle periods by only permitting breaks during quieter hours. In this respect, George's approach may be interpreted as an effort to cultivate a 'challenging demand' of work at the nightclub, to fit employees to conditions of employment in a way that was predicated on the assumption working intensely could be allied with a sense of pride, meaning or self-fulfilment. It could be argued, therefore, that George's management approach at the nightclub *did* acknowledge the intensities of work, directing efforts toward enhancing its psychological experience. Indeed, attempting to improve the experience of work at the nightclub by making its intensities less 'stressful', 'comfortable', 'easier', even 'fun' and 'inspiring' seems to be indicative of a recognition of the intensity of work and an approach that emanates from a standpoint that is familiar with its demands. However, one might exercise caution in assuming that compensating for work intensity through cultivating an association of 'personal growth' and 'self-esteem' with working 'faster' or 'properly' is practically achievable. As discussed in the literature review, the discourse of psychology has been criticised for the way it abstracts the individual from their context and circumstances (Riger, 1993, p.280). The management of work intensity as an issue that can be adapted to psychologically, could be argued as an approach underpinned by a perspective that is distinct from the body that labours and the situation in which labour takes place. Suggestive of this separation is the faith George seems to place in overcoming the fatigue and strain of work in the nightclub through 'inspiration' and 'pride', assuming employees are always capable of 'more'.

The following section will discuss Tom's management of the intensity of work at the Assembly Club, which followed George's departure, precipitated by tension with the venue owner

Kathryn, over how the nightclub was operating and its service offer. Tom's appointment furthered the disconnect between the intensities of work experienced by employees at the nightclub and the management of work intensity through changes made to the reduction of costs and shift times. This had a significant bearing on the intensification of work at the nightclub and in the following section, the chapter moves to consider the consequences for employees.

Extending the disconnect between work intensity and its management

Tom had the experience of managing other venues in the city centre and spent the first two weeks observing how the nightclub operated and made no immediate changes. However, from his appointment to the end of the research period, it emerged that his approach to the management of work intensity at the nightclub departed from George's concern with aligning 'working hard' with fun, meaning and self-fulfilment. Tom did not attempt to encourage a sense of meaning or pride with work intensity at the nightclub. Instead, the focus of his effort was predominantly directed at making changes to the length and timing of work shifts and therefore matching labour power and time at the nightclub with the intensity of work required, rather than aligning hard work with meaning or self-fulfilment. Through the course of his appointment at the nightclub, Tom made significant changes to the availability of working hours, so that shifts that were previously available during lower intensity periods were either no longer on offer or shortened significantly. In this respect, Tom ensured that employees were only working during intense periods.

These changes were perceived by the employees interviewed below with cynicism and frustration. Here, employees reflect on Kathryn and Tom's decision to change shift patterns and the availability of hours,

> Jessica: She's a nice person, but I think she's fully money orientated.
>
> Chloe: Yeah, she's a typical businesswoman.
>
> Jessica: She doesn't give a shit about anyone else.
>
> Chloe: As long as she's getting money it's fine.
>
> Adam: She's just been seeing the wages are low, even though we're now getting overworked, she's thinking, 'oh, we've got less staying doing the same work', so she's earning more because she doesn't have to pay an extra one or two people a wage, that's the only thing she sees, she's not seeing us all at the end of the shift dying.

Charlotte: That's what Tom said when he was deciding whether to keep more people on later.

Adam: Even though we get the close down done so quickly, she'd rather it take an extra half hour but with half as many staff.

Charlotte: Yeah, so she doesn't have to pay.

In this passage from the second focus group, employees convey their sense that Kathryn and Tom were oblivious to the constraints imposed by shorter working shifts at the nightclub following their changes. While on shift, Adam remarked that he would like to see Kathryn attempt to work a shift and it would only be then that she would 'see' the intensity for work for herself. A practice that became the norm in Tom's organisation of work involved scheduling shifts that were only 4 hours long and therefore avoided the legal requirement of paid breaks. These shorter length shifts invariably began during periods of higher work intensity and in the quote below, Charlotte expresses her frustration over these changes,

He keeps putting me on 11 pm shifts, I only do one a week and he keeps putting me on at 11, it's a piss-take, you're waiting around all evening.

Aside from salaried roles held by management, no other employees held contracts that could be described as full time. Zero-hour contracts were the only modes of employment available to employees and Charlotte's contract allowed for her shift pattern to be adjusted further toward periods when work intensity was at its highest level. Removing labour power during periods of low work intensity allowed for a reduction in labour costs as employees could be hired for "the minimum number of hours deemed necessary to complete their tasks and when demand for labour is at its highest" (Piasna, 2017, p.170). This approach to the management of work at the nightclub offers an illustrative example of how non-standard working hours and employer-led flexibility can give rise to "pronounced work intensification" (ibid, p.173).

As a result of these changes, the nightclub saw an increase in profitability, and this was communicated to employees at one of the monthly staff meetings. Joe, however, did not feel that their efforts were being rewarded appropriately,

I do feel like there should be more incentive… there is absolutely nothing in the rewards.

Similarly, Emily describes her sense of an imbalance, drawing attention to how the nightclub's increased profits were not being shared with employees in the same way as they might have been in the past,

> We'd have staff parties here, we haven't had one in fucking ages… we'd come here, drink non-premium stuff, then I'd come in the next day and clean it up before we open, nice and easy everyone has a great time [whereas now], I feel we're just not getting anything out of it.

This perception of a lack of reward for their increased efforts became pronounced concerning the changes perceived in the quality of staff nights out,

> Staff nights out used to have everyone behind the bar, it was a night where you could just… 'we've made x amount of money extra, feel free' and now, it's a case of… what did we have last time? We had a few of the old beers we put into beer pong cups that had gone out of date months ago, it's stingy ain't it.

Will conveys his sense of a lack of reciprocation for their efforts made visible through a distinctive change in the quality of drinks offered to staff for organised nights out. Indeed, in reaction to these changes and the perceived 'stingy' quality of the nightclub's new organising practices, Will sought to 'get even' following his perception that he was worse off under Tom's changes to shifts,

> I feel if the rules got a bit stricter and I was being paid more, I wouldn't be taking liberties, like, having an extra few drinks. I'd feel ok, so I don't need to take extra, to take extra is cheeky, whereas, I don't mind being a bit cheeky now, because I know that I'm going to get only one drink at the end of the night and I'm going to take so much shit that I'm going to need a few drinks after work anyway… the other day, I didn't tell Tom, I was just making cosmopolitans, just for shits and giggles, so I could drink them.

These attempts to 'get even' could be interpreted as the emergence of "problem drinking" (Ames et al, 2000) in coping with the demands of the intensification of work, but at the same time, it may be considered just as much a pragmatic attempt to resist the constraints of Tom's management practices and reclaim a reward for increased work efforts. Indeed, where employees negotiate the work effort bargain, "active and innovative" means of employee resistance and reappropriation have long been a feature of workplace sociology (Ackroyd & Thompson, 1999, p.36).

Any such 'deviation' however, was laden with risk due to their precarious employment conditions and extended probationary periods. For employees that did manage to work within these constraints, since their employment contracts were arranged on an individual basis, conflict emerged around who was to be given the most of what little hours were still available,

> Will: It's going to be difficult, we're all wanting more shifts.
>
> Charlotte: Well, fuck off, I was here first.
>
> Will: I know what you're saying, but we've worked more shifts.
>
> Chloe: Well, fuck you all, I've been here longer than you have.

While this passage from the second focus group was a light-hearted exchange, there was nonetheless an undercurrent of tension during this discussion which appeared to be a result of Tom's changes to the hours of work available. Indeed, for the employees interviewed that were working during the period Tom managed the nightclub it appeared that the intensification of work at the Assembly Club became 'hindrance' rather than a 'challenge'.

Drawing these two sections together, it can be argued that the management of work intensity discussed above, brings into question the limit to which individual employees can adapt themselves to the intensities of precarious work in nightclubs. Green argues that "just as an extension of the length of the working day is bounded ultimately by the number of hours in the day, so human physical and mental capacities do not allow for an endless extension of effort" (2004, p.615) and the management of work without sufficiently accounting for the nature and degree of its intensities led in this case to staff anxiety, cynicism, resentment, and increased turnover. A sense of management out of touch with intensities of work seems to have emerged across the accounts in this section. For George, this appeared to be a consequence of an assumption that employees could tap into an endless store of resourcefulness in the pursuit of working hard and becoming better bartenders. While for Tom, this seemed to be a result of stretching employees' capacities to their limit, raising targets to make them practically unreachable and the reduction of available working hours. In both cases, there was a clear disconnect between the management of work at the nightclub and the intensities that employees encountered.

In the next section, the chapter offers an interpretation of the ways George and Tom approached the management of work and the nature of the disconnect employees encounter between intensities in the nightclub and the organisation of their work. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical distinction between problematic and axiomatic thought, it will be argued

that both George and Tom's approaches were subordinated to what will be argued as the 'axiomatic organisation' of labour intensity at the nightclub.

Work intensity and axiomatic organisation

As indicated above, the purpose of this section is to critically examine the management of work at the nightclub drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of axiomatic thought outlined in the theoretical framework chapter. This theoretical perspective offers the opportunity to analyse the disconnect between the intensities of work at the nightclub and the management practices that are employed to organise them. This section will demonstrate that George and Tom's management approaches discussed above were subordinated to the *axiomatic organisation* of work. Exploring the implications of this mode of organising on the intensity of work for employees becomes the central concern of this section. To briefly revisit the analytical intention proposed in the theoretical framework, Deleuze and Guattari describe the axiomatic plane of thought as an abstract form of knowledge that is used to make approximate deductions, projective assessments, and discrete measurements of various 'problematic' engagements. The problematic plane is conceived as a way of thinking that engages directly with the intensities of phenomena and is, therefore, irreducible to such engagements. As discussed earlier in the thesis, problematic thought is associated with the actions of "sectioning, cutting, projecting, folding, bending, stretching, reflecting [or] rotating", and the evaluation of intensive differences (Smith, 2003, p.415).

The purpose behind this theoretically informed analysis of the way work intensity is conceived and managed, however, is not to discover a 'pure' mode of thought that will definitively assess the intensity of work. Indeed, Deleuze and Guattari maintain that 'problematic' thought should not be thought as 'better' than its axiomatic epistemology, it is only "different" (1988, p.372). As such, rather than attempt to conceive the intensity of work at the nightclub without adopting an axiomatic epistemology, this section of the analysis seeks to examine what relation this mode of thought has with the management of work at the Assembly Club. Drawing on the theoretical framework set out in chapter three, it is possible to interpret how axiomatic principles underpin how work is managed in the nightclub, and the way the management of work intensity discussed above reinforced and extended axiomatic organisation.

A key way of understanding how axiomatic principles operate in the management of work at the nightclub is to examine the measurement of work intensity as a unit of labour time. In the context of wage labour at the nightclub, an employee's capacities to work during specific periods are prospectively purchased. An hour of labour power is expressed as an abstract unit of time

and each prospective hourly unit appears to be regarded as continuous and uniform. Since this measure is underpinned by axiomatic principles of uniformity, equal distribution, divisibility and continuity, employees may work for one hour a week or fifty consecutively, the unit remains the same. In this way, axiomatically conceived measures of labour time offer the "permanence of a fixed point of view that is external to what is reproduced: watching the flow from the bank" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p.372). The implication is that work intensity at the nightclub can be conceived axiomatically and divided into equal parts, however, this projected measure of labour power can only approximate the intensity of work. In this sense, the use of an axiomatic unit which allows for the recording of the "intensive to the extensive, the continuous to the discrete, the non-metric to the metric" (Smith, 2003, p.424) inevitably cancels out qualitative differences pertaining to intensive changes that are inherent to the *problematic* engagements of employees discussed above.

The 'zero-hour contract' held by all employees working at the nightclub (except for management) is a key illustration of the way axiomatic principles function in the management of work and attests to their influence where 'deviation', 'error' or 'discrepancy' become increasingly important issues of concern. In Patrick's case, for example, the precarity of his working conditions may be interpreted as an example of the decline in his protection as an employee in the NTE, the challenge he faced adapting to new technologies or the increased level of scrutiny enabled by the till system, but it is also indicative of the way work at the nightclub and its intensities were managed according to axiomatic principles. However, while a sense of expendability or 'subtraction' might be a constant threat felt by employees, affording them little room for error, in some circumstances, as discussed above employees made room for 'getting even'. Indeed, the axiomatic indifference to individual and specific employees seems (in some cases) to have resulted in the potential for a corresponding indifference held on behalf of employees, drinking alcohol while at work, for example. On this basis, a move toward axiomatic organisation may appear to be the way the nightclub 'should be run', from a standpoint that is "external to what is reproduced: watching the flow from the bank" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.372), but in 'reality', or from a problematic and intensive standpoint, (derived from close familiarity with the intensities of work), employees may find it difficult to accept working under these conditions. In this respect, the distinction between 'hindrance' and 'challenging' demands could be understood as a qualitative shift between work managed in a way that is informed by problematic engagement to axiomatic measurement.

George's psychologically informed interventions had a significant affinity with the axiomatic organisation of work. As an example, the notion that employees should modify their perception

of work intensity through "changing their cognitive appraisal of the situation" (Grandey cited in Zhan et al, 2015, p.2) was ideally suited to work organised axiomatically in the nightclub, which required the maintenance of continuous and uniform operations while offering qualitative specificity to customers. The implication was that for employees at Assembly Club, it was not the work itself that was expected to change, but rather, the employee who was expected to adapt. This was a task that was made difficult given that axiomatic organisation is external to, abstract from and indifferent to the work involved and the situation in which it takes place. In this respect, one might take caution in suggesting that at the nightclub "the problems that concern us most border on the psychiatric" (Mills, 1969, p.xx). A focus on psychological constitution, the resources of interiority and the tendency to overstate capacities to adapt to work organised in this way, seems only to reinforce and expand the influence of axiomatic organisation. In this respect, the problem of work intensity addressed as a psychiatric issue and the rise and growth of associated concepts such as emotional regulation, appear as symptoms of the axiomatic organisation of work, rather than the source of its solution.

Tom's approach to assigning shorter shifts during periods of higher demand was one of the principal ways in which axiomatic organisation at the nightclub could be leveraged to reduce labour costs. This functioned, effectively, by conceiving work effort as uniform and additive, such that it could be added or subtracted. Indeed, the way that time seemed to expand or lengthen over periods of the "compression of work activity" (Piasna, 2017, p.16), during busy periods and the concentration of available hours during these times seemed to contribute to the fitting of workers to axiomatically organised labour. It is, however, important to note that while axiomatic units of labour time can only be conceived by way of approximation, it is not as if their 'margin of error' is wholly unaccounted for. The national minimum wage, for example, is set by law as a minimum hourly rate that is assessed to be in line with factors such as age and inflation. Furthermore, over a full shift at the nightclub from open to close, there are changes in the intensity of work (indeed, work at the nightclub is far from 'continuous and uniform'), and therefore taken as a whole, one could argue that approximate measures can be adapted to take into account such variances. However, when the decision was made to adjust labour power to demand - since zero-hour contracts were the only contracts available to employees - this left the management of work open to changes that exploited the approximate character of axiomatically conceived labour time. Therefore, under Tom's management of the nightclub, it can be argued that the 'margin of error' or disconnect between the intensity of work at the nightclub and its axiomatic measurement was extended.

Maintaining employment at the nightclub, particularly under Tom's management, meant accepting that the effort one exercised during a shift would be recorded and remunerated in a way that was increasingly "indifferent to the nature of what it [was] applied to and to the context of its application" (Roffe, 2015, p.108). Furthermore, the perception of the 'staff night out' diminishing in quality, coinciding with a reported increase in profitability at the nightclub seems only to reflect this axiomatically influenced disconnect that occurred between the management of work effort and the intensities encountered by employees. Setting targets that were just out of reach can also be understood as influenced by the axiomatic organisation of work; indicative of assessing projected labour power from a standpoint that is "disjunct from both the body that labours and the situation in which labour takes place" (Roffe, 2015, p.108). In this respect, working at the Assembly Club was predicated on accepting shorter and more intensive hours, the pursuit of out-of-reach targets and little room for error. As such, it can be argued that George and Tom's management approaches were subordinated to axiomatic principles, reinforcing and extending a disconnect between the nature and degree of intensities that employees engaged with, and the way work in the nightclub was conceived and organised.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that to understand the organisation of work intensity at the nightclub, it is important to conceive its subordination to principles of *axiomatic organisation*. Drawing on the theory of axiomatic thought, this chapter critically examined the management of work according to principles of uniformity and continuity, generating a disconnect from the intensive engagements encountered by employees. It has considered how the management of work intensity reinforces axiomatic principles predicated on a standpoint that is distinct from the employee that labours and the situation in which labour takes place. This approach emphasises a sense of organisational 'indifference' to the intensities of labour and an expectation of employees to maintain a capacity of 'endless resourcefulness' to satisfy customers and reach impractical targets in precarious, challenging and seemingly unrewarding work.

While a critical examination of the way these phenomena are managed within a capitalist political economy has been achieved elsewhere (Marx, 2013, p.362-372), the disconnect between axiomatic organisation and the intensities employees engage will be an issue subsequent chapters will return to. In this way, the discussion presented in this chapter offers the grounds on which the next two chapters of analysis can consider how the management of work, shaped by axiomatic principles, influences relations between active and reactive forces, and the consequences for the social control of desire in the nightclub.

6

Conceptualising impersonal forces

Introduction

The preceding chapter, informed by Deleuze and Guattari's theory of axiomatics, took the first step in the analysis to consider how working at the nightclub is conceived as a problem of individual psychological adaptation or the control of labour power and time. This was achieved by considering how intensities of work are conceived by axiomatic principles. A key aspect of this way of thinking is that it presupposes a concern with the engagement of the *individual* at work. The purpose of this chapter of analysis, however, is to conceive work at the nightclub *without* presupposing an autonomous and capable employee, or an embodied subject situated amid affective encounters carrying out the work of regulation. Informed by Deleuze and Guattari this second chapter of the analysis interprets perceptions and meanings associated with work as symptomatic of the forces that constitute them. This analysis seeks to adequately express the co-existence of forces in the nightclub by offering a diagnosis of their impersonal encounter. Consequently, this chapter re-conceptualises the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption in the Assembly Club as an encounter between impersonal forces.

To do so, the chapter begins by considering how employees perceive work in the nightclub, focusing specifically on the practices involved in the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption. It then moves to consider how the atmosphere, machines and materials shape the work of employees involved at the Assembly Club. Through this**,** the chapter establishes an understanding of various aspects of working at the nightclub, which include preventing escalating situations and their thresholds, interventions in escalated situations and their fallout, the creation of atmospheres, phases of escalation and occasions of irreversible atmospheric change. Following Deleuze and Guattari's call for the creation of concepts, the chapter introduces the concept of *suspension* as its conceptual diagnosis of work at the nightclub. Therefore, one of the key contributions made in this chapter is to challenge the conception of work in the NTE as a *contradictory* problem encountered by individual employees characterised

by, on the one hand, selling alcohol (as the 'toe') and on the other, regulating consumption (as the 'heel'), and instead, to offer the concept of *suspension* to express how forces are held in a relationship of *co-existence* at the nightclub.

Reacting to degrees of escalation

This section begins by considering how employees perceive work at the nightclub and then a challenge is presented to the way regulatory aspects of their work are understood in the legislative framework as the 'prevention of drunkenness and disorder'. It soon becomes clear through discussions with bar staff and glass collectors that this conception of work at the Assembly Club is inadequate. Indeed, the notion of preventing drunkenness and disorder was met with incredulity. Below, Will mocks the suggestion that work at the nightclub involves preventing disorder,

> Researcher: You're legally responsible since 2005 to prevent drunkenness and disorder in night-time premises.

> Will: Disorder? Beautiful.

With the expression 'beautiful' Will conveys derision toward this idea and indicates it is a poor conception of his work. This sentiment may be shared widely at the nightclub given that no employee defined work in this way unless prompted to do so as part of discussing their legal responsibilities. Instead, there is a sense in which employees are resigned to the expectation of drunkenness and disorder. For example, in the following quote, Sophie conveys her perception that 'rude' behaviour and 'drunkenness' is to be expected,

> Researcher: Do you think that's part of what bar work is? You're going to get that kind of thing ['drunk' and 'rude' customers], or…?

> Sophie: Yeah, you kind of expect it don't you, everyone seems to get it and if you're on the front line, it's the first place it's going to…

Rather than prevent 'it', Sophie describes how all employees working on the 'front line' of the bar seem to 'get it'. Notable here is the way Sophie elects to speak of drunkenness and rude behaviour not as discourtesy or disrespect but impersonally as 'it'.

Similarly, Adam expresses his sense of resignation to expecting drunkenness at the nightclub, recalling his thoughts when he applied for the position knowing what he 'signed up' for,

Adam: If you sign up for the job, you kind of know what to expect... it's not exactly a walk in the park... at the end of the day, you're serving drunk people at 3 am in the morning. If you open at 3 am, it's going to be the last lot, they're probably going to be quite drunk, you kind of expect it.

At this early stage of the analysis what can be taken from these passages is a sense in which the conception of regulatory aspects of their work as consisting of preventing drunkenness and disorder does not adequately express the experience of employees at the nightclub. Indeed, it is anticipated and expected, as opposed to an intermittent occurrence that is to be prevented from happening altogether. Joe emphasises this in the quote below by comparing work at the nightclub to a supermarket,

It's not like working at [a national supermarket chain]. It's not as if you say, 'smile, have a nice day', at the end of every service, it's a lot more chaotic environment than that.

Here Joe draws attention to what he perceives to be a chaotic environment that characterises the nightclub. Taking this as the crux of the problem, one could attempt to exhaustively account for antecedents to 'chaotic' conditions; "crowding... smokiness... uncleanliness... rowdiness... permissiveness... swearing [and] loudness" (Graham et al, 2006, p.1569), and attempt to reduce or eliminate them. However, by drawing associations between factors perceived to contribute to such 'chaotic' conditions, work in the nightclub continues to be conceived or diagnosed in advance. And more problematically, it appears to be shaped by a one-sided interpretation that is prevalent in research on criminology, public health and urban studies. In this literature drunkenness and disorder is perceived as a product of "bad bars" (Graham et al, 2006) and "irresponsible sales and management practices" (Measham, 2006, p.261), which must be curbed and reformed to maintain sobriety and order. The question for this analysis, therefore, is whether a more adequate conception of work at the nightclub can be posed.

To address this question, one can begin by considering how employees describe the practices of *regulation*, rather than prevention, they carry out in the nightclub. In the following quote, Chloe explains how situations can become 'heated' and highlights her capacity to distinguish between different degrees of 'escalation',

There's been a couple of times where I've seen people get heated... and you know it's not joking around... and... this could escalate so I've gone back to the bar and either told the manager and seen what they've had to say or go straight to security... depending on how bad it is, sometimes it can be heated, then it's fine.

Aside from the judgement of 'how bad it is', Chloe describes how she can distinguish whether a situation is about to escalate and to what degree this escalation might reach. The degree of escalation influences whether she informs management or bypasses them, speaking directly to the security team. Relatedly, Will also insists on the importance of being able to distinguish between situations that are becoming 'hostile' and those which are not,

> If someone starts being rowdy to another customer if they're waiting… pushing, shoving, bad language… sometimes you can tell it's a jokey push, if it's their mates, you've got to learn to understand the difference between it all, so if you can see it's hostile, then yeah, you obviously intervene.

Here again, a judgement of 'bad' is ascribed to behaviour, but the 'pushing' and 'shoving' indicate something of the characteristics of 'escalating situations'. In the account below, Joe describes how through working at the nightclub over time he has developed a 'feel' for situations that 'will escalate',

> Did you see that fella who got his head badly done in?… just before this fight starts to happen, I can see these two arguing, so I run outside and tell the bouncers before a punch is being thrown… I know it was a little bit too late, but the fact that I was serving someone else, I could see it going on behind them, I could see that this was going to be an issue… the sort of argument that will escalate to a fight and you know that through seeing it happen.. you get accustomed to the environment, you do get a feel for it, you know exactly when they walk in… you can tell people who are likely to be boisterous. If it was a betting game, it would be easy, I'd win every time.

Drawing these accounts together it is clear that part of the work involved at the nightclub involves becoming accustomed to distinguishing when situations are likely to escalate and this is one of the most significant aspects of work for employees. Therefore, it could be argued that the prevention of drunkenness and disorder might be understood as the prevention of a certain degree of 'escalation'. In this sense, determining at what level situations become too 'heated', 'boisterous', or 'hostile' is an important aspect of understanding work at the nightclub empirically.

An illustrative example of this can be seen in Adam's account when he describes how preventing escalation involves being able to serve drinks to customers quickly,

> If I know certain people are on… I'm not going to be the only one doing stuff… I know they're going to pull their weight… there needs to be people there, they're going to be serving, they're going to be running around… if [they] go, I'd want to go… I'm not being left behind to pick up the slack because I'd be the only person in there who can serve three people at a time and keep a busy bar under control, whereas the people next to me are probably going to be struggling and then they're going to start panicking and asking for help and then that's when I'm going to have to start helping them with their drinks and customers are going to start getting arsey… I'm going to have to deal with that as well because they're not used to a bar environment… and when it's like that, it starts spiralling…

Adam's account speaks to the challenge employees face working at the nightclub. He expresses his concern that if experienced members of staff are to leave, inexperienced employees may need support and guidance while he attempts to serve on his section on the bar, potentially delaying drink service. Here the pressures of work can be perceived in that spending time supporting colleagues Adam conveys his sense that the situation may quickly 'spiral' out of hand. Theoretically speaking, one might turn to the conceptual framework of emotional labour to understand this account, drawing attention to the commodification of Adam's capacity to maintain composure under conditions of high pressure. However, this presupposes subjective experience as the explanatory focus which may constrain the understanding of their work to the level of psychological interiority.

What is of importance for this analysis are the characteristics Adam perceives within these situations at work which indicate that an intervention must be made. These characteristics may be conceived as *thresholds* at which employees are provoked into action. In Adam's account, one can see his insistence that when a situation escalates or passes a certain threshold, immediate action must be taken; "[if] customers are going to get arsey… I'm going to have to deal with that". In this sense, employee interventions can be considered as involving attempts to prevent situations from escalating, but also, it appears to denote circumstances where employees are drawn into or caught in the middle of situations that have already 'escalated'. This sense of getting involved and being caught in the middle becomes an important theme that arose in many of the interviews and focus group discussions. Below, Will describes a situation he 'had to' become involved in,

> You two both saw that fight I had to… with them two arguing in the middle of the bar, them two girls and the woman fucking kicking off at me, I was just like, 'look,

I'm stopping you from getting in a fight and getting yourself kicked out, you just told me you're going to cave this girl's head in'.

Tom: Her boyfriend started it initially.

Will: Yeah, I told that guy to get her out and I was like, 'mate, she's fucking mental get her out'.

On this occasion, Will describes how he becomes involved in a situation that could escalate and attempts to make the customer aware that their conduct may result in them being removed from the premises. As such, one could add to the conception of practices involved in preventing escalation by recognising how bar staff attempt to make customers aware of the thresholds they cannot pass. However, the responsibility for preventing situations from escalating beyond certain thresholds is not perceived equally by employees. Chloe, for example, perceives the task of keeping things 'running smoothly' as the responsibility of management,

> You want everyone to feel safe, you don't want things to kick off. When things kick off, customers do feel a bit on edge, so I think, in a way, you do want to make sure nothing kicks off, you don't want to deal with it either, it is to do with my safety as well. So if something kicks off and I was in the middle of it, I wouldn't have a leg to stand on. So I do look but at the same time, I don't look at every detail of everything, that's not my job... if anything, that's more the manager's job, making sure things are running smoothly, if security's needed to call on straight away, they should have an eye for that, it's a manager's role.

Chloe describes how she would prefer that situations did not escalate or 'kick off' in the nightclub so that customers felt safe. She also expresses her concern that becoming involved in incidents could result in a threat to her safety. In this sense, employees may hold different thresholds at which they intervene depending on their perceived sense of safety or responsibility. During the first focus group, Will and Adam convey a sense in which they are forced to put themselves at risk,

> Adam: It's like tonight, [security] should have reacted a lot quicker than they did... you and I had to run into the fucking crowd.
>
> Will: What, earlier?
>
> Adam: Yeah, I didn't even know it was happening, it was some guys at the bar, they were like, 'you need to get security now', and I looked over and been like shit.

> Will: Yeah because I shouted to Emily, 'fight!', and she told them, and I went in there to stop them from carrying on.

In this account of a serious incident (which occurred on shift immediately before the focus group discussion after hours), Will and Adam describe how they are drawn into a situation that had escalated significantly. There is a perception that becoming involved is unavoidable, even inevitable; "I had to run into the fucking crowd". Without prompt assistance from the security team, intervening in escalated situations seems to be perceived as a problem that employees have significant involvement in.

Theoretically, there are different ways in which one could understand this, for example, it could be interpreted as an expression of agentic or masculine identity seeking behaviour (Ward et al, 2020). Indeed, as discussed in the methodology chapter, Adam and Will's account could be read as an attempt to affirm themselves as unperturbed in the face of threatening situations. But this interpretation assumes that the source of insight into work at the nightclub and the origin of its explanation rests in the interiority of the subject. This analysis seeks to go further by interpreting how perceptions of work expressed in this section are symptomatic of the impersonal forces that constitute them. To that end, considering the key characteristics from this section; the resignation to incidents occurring, anticipating rather than preventing them and the sense for situations that will become too 'heated' or 'hostile', employees are caught in the middle of situations that pose a risk to their safety and security, where it seems that extricating themselves is either impractical or impossible. And as employees are *provoked* into acting, one can maintain their conduct is agentic, in the sense that it expresses a force of acting, but they *re-acting.* Consequently, an argument can be made that work involved in the prevention of escalating situations can be interpreted as an expression of a *reactive* force. The task of the following section on 'atmospheres' is to continue the analysis further into how the thresholds of escalating situations are constituted in the nightclub, thereby extending this chapter's understanding of the work of employees at the Assembly Club.

Atmospheres

Drawing on the literature informed by affect theory, it might be plausible to understand situations in the nightclub that employees become involved in as affective atmospheres. From this perspective, the different thresholds at which employees intervene constitute points at which atmospheres in the nightclub are perceived to exceed employees' capacities to control them; 'spiralling' out of hand. These characteristics are highlighted in the passage below where Tom

(the general manager) describes challenges the security team face when ejecting individuals from the nightclub,

> I radioed once, no one reacted, radioed twice... [member of security staff] walks down towards the front door... but I said, 'get a doorman to main bar', so he shouldn't have been going that way... issues with door staff right, when they get people out they'll all go outside, but they'll take one group out... so it could still be happening inside.. they should leave a doorman inside to deal with whatever's left.

Tom draws attention to circumstances where members of the security team remove those who have been involved in serious incidents, but this does not always have the effect of immediately subduing the nightclub's atmosphere. Tom conveys a sense in which once a threshold of escalation is passed, even if those involved at the time are removed, what might be understood as the fallout from these events gives rise to further incidents occurring. Relatedly, Will and Rob describe how a sustained period of incidents occurred which illustrates the significance of their fallout,

> Will: That's what happened with them three fights about twenty minutes in, they threw one lad out and then the other kicked off.

> Rob: That girl who got hit earlier, instant black eye, massive bruise and she was bleeding from her nose and her lip... I've never seen it that fast... it was crazy.

Will and Rob suggest that when incidents occur there is a sense in which they give rise to one another, even in this case where the incidents appear to involve individuals that were not known to each other. Theoretically, one might draw on affect theory to understand this as a form of affective contagion (Wetherell, 2015) or as indicative of the "autonomy of affect" (Massumi, 1995), taking atmospheres in the nightclub in directions that exceed comprehension and control. While this conception may take one's understanding further than explaining this phenomenon as an expression of an "essential disorder" (Hobbs et al, 2005), as indicated in the literature review, this perspective raises several questions. For example, how do incidents affect other incidents? In what way does an incident's fallout affect the atmosphere in the nightclub? How can escalating situations be conceived through affect, do affects escalate? How can the prevention of escalating situations be understood through the notion of affect? With these questions in mind, the following section attempts to explore these questions further by considering the DJ's account creating and maintaining the 'atmosphere' at the nightclub. This offers an opportunity to understand more about the relationship between employee interventions, escalating situations, their thresholds, and the different atmospheres they

constitute. In particular, it demonstrates how escalating situations appear to be significantly mediated by the atmosphere constituted in the nightclub.

This is an important aspect of work in the nightclub that emerges through Frank's account of the way music mediates the escalation of incidents. Frank explicitly perceives his work as involved in creating and maintaining the 'overall vibe' or the 'atmosphere' and in the following quote he describes how he continually assesses the 'vibe' of the nightclub,

> A good DJ is constantly assessing the dancefloor… and the.. overall vibe of the venue, maybe without even realising that they're doing it… you can generally tell which way the atmosphere is going, whether it's a party vibe or if it's becoming a little bit moody and aggressive and the music definitely has an impact on that… if there was a potential for something to escalate then I would definitely switch the music up into something a little bit more, what I would class as fluffy.

In this account, a number of salient points can be drawn out which are significant for understanding the relationship between the nightclub's atmosphere and the escalation of situations. Frank describes his perception of the threshold 'for something to escalate' but also his awareness of the direction the 'atmosphere is going'. He perceives these conditions as constituting certain types of atmosphere, whether it is 'moody', 'aggressive' or a 'party vibe'. Naming atmospheres in this way uses distinct emotional states to represent the quality of a 'vibe' or atmosphere and is a conventional way in which events in the nightclub are conceived. But in the following quote, it is possible to distinguish how the 'direction' an atmosphere is perceived to be 'going' appears to be associated with how it moves through a series of distinctive phases.

Frank articulates his conception of the work involved in creating and maintaining an atmosphere in the venue as follows,

> It's a bit like baking a cake, where all the ingredients have to be in the right order, at the right stages, and you could have the oven at the right temperature but the mix is not quite right and you put it in the oven and it doesn't rise… it has to be in stages…

While this analogy may seem trite at first reading, there is an important characteristic at stake here that extends the conception of work involved at the nightclub advanced in this chapter. When it comes to the initial stages of creating the atmosphere, there is a sense in which certain thresholds must be passed in order, each 'phase' with its specific thresholds. Consequently, not all instances of escalation or the passing of thresholds will threaten the nightclub's atmosphere

or emerge as 'incidents' that require intervention. On the contrary, they are necessary and constitutive phases of escalation from which atmospheres can emerge in the nightclub. It is in this sense that one can consider the escalation of incidents in the nightclub, not as a smooth continuum, but as a series of interrelated phases. Frank also indicates the importance of playing the correct 'mix' of music which he goes on to describe below,

> If they walk into a room and it's pumping and there's… one hundred people dancing away losing their shit, they automatically go, 'oh, it's alright in here', and it's all about that combination. So if it's empty, keeping the energy and building it up and keeping the volume level right and the energy right, so people aren't offended as soon as they walk through the door and… put off by it… until you've got enough people in there… if there's already a hundred people in the venue going daft and you play something that should be played at the beginning of the night when it's just warming, you'll flatten the cake and you'll turn the oven down, but the cake won't [rise].

An important point from this account is to appreciate the fragile quality of the nightclub's atmosphere, where phases have an extremely low degree of tolerance. For example, if a song is played that is more appropriate to a different phase this may have its own 'fallout', taking the atmosphere into a different phase or dissipating it irrevocably. In this sense, a relationship can be drawn between the fallout of escalated incidents and their effect on shifting the 'direction' of the atmosphere into different phases. Perceiving the 'direction' of the atmosphere was key to Frank's work in how he perceives its relationship to the commercial viability of the nightclub,

> A good DJ will not necessarily keep the dancefloor full from beginning to end because people aren't spending money, that's great from a selfish point of view if that happens, but, if they're on the dancefloor all night from beginning to end, they're not buying drinks. So you need to find a combination of keeping people in the bar, keeping people on the dancefloor but rotating it.. so that people will not be dancing twenty-four seven, because they'll get tired… and more a chance of them leaving early… if the vibe's good, but not necessarily high energy, bring the BPM[35] down…. you want to keep them in the venue, but push them to the bar.

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[35] Beats per minute.

In this account, Frank describes his attempts to maintain the atmosphere at the nightclub by 'rotating' phases, not simply to prevent escalation but also to maintain customer energy levels in such a way that they are prevented from tiring out and at the same time 'pushed' to the bar. This constitutes an important link between understanding the relationship between the creation and maintenance of the atmosphere at the nightclub and the work involved in the prevention of incidents escalating.

As Frank explains, creating and maintaining an atmosphere is necessary for the commercial viability of the business and therefore certain thresholds must be passed for an atmosphere to emerge. This has important implications for the work of bar staff in the nightclub who are attempting to *prevent* situations from escalating. Their work is complicated by a dual role, on the one hand selling alcohol and permitting an atmosphere to emerge (as the 'toe') and on the other, regulating consumption and preventing situations from escalating (as the 'heel'). It appears that Frank's work as a DJ is also shaped by these demands. Indeed, later on in the discussion Frank explicitly states how creating and maintaining an atmosphere at the nightclub is his 'job' as a DJ,

> The overall vibe that creates an atmosphere and gets people wanting to dance, even like Beyoncé… some of her lower tempo stuff really works, the girls start singing along and then naturally the boys will follow because there are girls on the dancefloor… so it's not necessarily a BPM thing, it's an atmosphere… you're creating an atmosphere, ultimately, we get paid to create and sustain an atmosphere and keep people in that venue, that's our job at the end of the day.

The point of this discussion is that work involved in the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption at the nightclub must be conducted within the different phases of a shifting atmosphere, punctuated by potentially escalating incidents. For bar staff, preventing situations from escalating, whether it is intervening before they occur or after, can be understood as creating and maintaining the atmosphere, just as much as it is considered regulating customer behaviour and consumption. As such, this section extends the chapter's aim to understand work in the nightclub by demonstrating its relationship to the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere. Specifically, it draws attention to how certain thresholds must be passed as a series of phases that constitute the atmosphere's capacity to emerge and maintain itself. Consequently, the work of bar staff is complicated by these shifting phases, where customers are for example, 'pushed to the bar'. It also suggests that employee interventions may occur in different ways

depending on the 'phase'. Furthermore, distinguishing the direction of the atmosphere's phases is also likely to be an important part of preventing incidents from escalating and therefore an important way of understanding the work of bar staff in the NTE.

By way of extending this analysis, research on affective atmospheres encourages the study of complex and unpredictable interactions that emerge between human activity and non-human interventions (Anderson, 2009; Anderson & Ash, 2015). Consequently, the following section will explore what shapes the work of bar staff at the Assembly Club, considering the influence of machines and materials used in the nightclub.

Machines and materials

This section considers how machines and materials influence the atmosphere and the work of employees at the nightclub. Drawing on participant observation and employee accounts, this section analyses how the atmosphere and working practices of employees are influenced through the operation of a wide range of different machinery. Machines moderate flows of drinks, air, temperature, gas pressure, sound volume, light levels, and temperatures. One of the most important of these is the drinks distribution system [figure 4], a gas pressured system that distributes and moderates flows of drinks from the cellar. Drawing attention to the characteristics of this machine one can better understand the constitutive effects its operation has on work and the atmosphere in the nightclub.

Figure 4 - Drinks distribution system

With machines such as these, one often proceeds on the basis that the machine has an optimal condition within which it can operate. However, a conception that is orientated toward determining the 'optimal' conditions in which machines work offers a reductive perspective of how such machines function. It closes off an analysis of the way its operations mediate efforts to prevent situations from escalating and the creation and maintenance of atmospheres at the nightclub. The key operating characteristics that are significant to employees concerning the drinks distribution system are associated with CO_2 gas pressures and the air conditioning level in the cellar. The pressure of CO_2 has significant effects on the carbonation of drinks and in passing certain thresholds, drinks may be served without carbonation and therefore flat. In addition, if the air conditioning system is not chilling drinks to certain thresholds, drinks are served either too warm and bitter to taste, or too cold and tasteless. While these issues may seem mundane, their influence on the atmosphere and the potential for escalating situations is significant; exceeding these thresholds can only be tolerated for a short period before a shift occurs in the atmosphere. As Adam pointed out earlier in the chapter, avoiding any delay in the service of drinks is an important way in which employees prevent situations from escalating or 'spiralling' out of hand. Leaving the bar to change the gas or reset the air conditioning leaves a section unmanned and stretches the demands placed on fewer employees spread across the bar. On one such occasion when this machine had failed, employees attempted to carry on regardless hoping customers would not notice; soon a sense that things were 'out-of-kilter' and liable to transform the atmosphere in the nightclub emerged. In this sense, the escalation of incidents is closely wedded to the operations and thresholds of the machines used in the nightclub.

Similarly, the materials used also have an important influence on both the atmosphere and the potential for escalating incidents occurring in the nightclub. The serving of drinks in glass vessels, for example, leaves no room to conceal issues with the temperature or carbonation of drinks; much to the concern of employees. Indeed, the use of glassware in the nightclub is doubly significant regarding its capacity to influence the atmosphere in the nightclub in this sense, particularly given that it can become a weapon rather than simply a vessel for drinks. An illustrative example of how this material used in the nightclub can mediate the atmosphere and escalate situations can be seen in Emily's account of a serious incident below,

> The music cut off and I knew in that second the bouncers hadn't done what I'd been telling them all night and made sure there was somebody inside at all times, because [the DJ] wouldn't have had to cut the music off if there was because they would have radioed the others. So, I ran to the front door… got the bouncers… two of them came running in, [member of security staff] had already heard the music had

gone off, and this guy came running out, holding his head and… he was just red all over… his neck…. he was holding his head and was obviously in pain and he had a big cut in his head… it was an open wound and he didn't know what had happened… he just did not have a clue. So I went downstairs [to check the cctv] and this girl had gone up to this guy and started arguing with him… she was getting quite aggressive… she's pushing him.. but he doesn't do anything… but he must be arguing or something because this guy who's… not part of it, just sat there on the table, picks up a glass… and just launches it at him… because of the cut it's made it must have been the bottom side of the glass and it just cracks him on the side of the head and goes flying.. so he grabs his head, like this, pushes his mate behind him to get his mate out the way… and they all just go for him.. so he gets up and starts hitting the guy he's glassed… I went down to get the cameras… and found out what had actually happened… the police got the guy… he made a run for it… [but] the police managed to catch him… but because the guy who had got glassed couldn't remember what had happened, he didn't want to press charges, so they've given us an incident number and we've got it on USB, in case he wakes up and he thinks, 'oh shit… I got glassed for no reason'.

Emily describes the way that glassware becomes a weapon in the hands of a customer sitting and watching an argument unfold in the nightclub and within moments the situation escalates into a serious incident. As discussed in the literature review chapter, the use of glassware in nightclubs is a contested practice and concerning Emily's experience, a legitimate course of action may be to remove all glassware from the nightclub to prevent such incidents from occurring altogether. However, while this intervention may be an effective means of preventing situations from escalating to serious incidents, as the discussion continues below, it may also have a detrimental influence on the perception of the atmosphere at the nightclub. Indeed, in an interview with Steve (the city centre police sergeant), a close relationship between the 'safety measures' employed at the nightclub and the perception of its atmosphere is pointed out,

It's a hard question because ultimately, what you want to do is make your venue welcoming, open… you want people to have a good time and perception is a massive part of that… It's almost like the broken windows effect, would you go to a venue where you're getting your bag searched… patted down… through a knife arch?... if the venue is saying we're taking it to the nth degree…. You would have the safest venue in the city centre and to do that you were going to put all those measures in place, how many people would you have walking through the door?

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Steve draws attention to an important quality that the nightclub's atmosphere must preserve if it is to remain commercially viable, that is, a quality of being 'welcoming' and 'open'. One of the difficulties with making changes to the materials used in the nightclub is that the signs or traces of such measures have a significant influence on the perception of the nightclub's atmosphere. Steve goes on to consider whether nightclubs and bars in the NTE should move towards the use of plastic drinking vessels,

> Shall we go to plastics? Well, we're ruining the earth and it's this, that and the other, they're saying that they want to offer that ultimate drinking experience and nothing beats glass in relation to the feel in your hand and it's because it's a cultural thing… you've grown up with glass, I have and now somebody gives us a plastic glass, 'oh, Christ'… the perception is, 'it must be rough in here, they've got polycarbs'.

In this sense, the fallout of a serious incident is not circumscribed to the immediate aftermath of the event, it can persist as a sign or trace in the safety measures that are put in place at the nightclub. Theoretically, one could understand these interventions into the materials and systems at the nightclub as part of a "compositional process" (Michels & Steyaert, 2017, p.85) whereby bar staff are using the capacities of different materials (plastic drinking vessels) or systems (cooling temperatures from the drinks machine) to modulate the potential for escalating incidents occurring in the nightclub. Indeed, it may be argued, that bar staff are attempting to mobilise "ambient forms of power" (Hadfield, 2008, p.429), orientating customers toward desirable conduct through certain "architectures of choice" (Jones et al, 2011, p.487). However, this interpretation presupposes a focus on the interiority of employees, using, designing and planning to control the atmosphere that emerges at the nightclub. The purpose of this analysis is to interpret how these aspects of the work of bar staff are symptomatic of the forces that constitute them.

By way of considering the key features of this section; escalating incidents are closely wedded to the operations and thresholds of the materials and systems, interventions leave signs or traces of past incidents and these can have a detrimental influence on the perception of the atmosphere at the nightclub, employees are caught in the middle of the thresholds imposed by the very systems they are operating. If they are to exceed their limits, they are again *provoked* into action and in this sense, their conduct expresses a *re-active* force of acting. This *re-active* force is also limited in its expression, on the basis that if the nightclub is to take on additional security measures to ensure employee safety (installation of a knife arch or switching glassware for plastic drinking vessels), such interventions can go *too far*, and pass a threshold of *reactivity* whereby the perception of the nightclub's atmosphere changes from 'welcoming' too 'rough'. As such,

this section highlights the way prevention capacities are *constrained* in their force of acting, as they may prevent an atmosphere from occurring altogether. Following on from this, the next section moves to discuss how serious incidents in the nightclub that are not prevented from escalating can lead to irrecoverable changes in the atmosphere, and circumstances where all interventions aimed at prevention are no longer viable.

Venue closures: exceeding prevention capacities

Despite the interventions of employees, the security measures put in place, and the machines, music and materials that are marshalled together to prevent incidents from escalating into serious events, some occasions exceed thresholds in such a way as to render the atmosphere in the nightclub irrecoverable. One such occasion that significantly exceeded thresholds was an incident that Adam recalled in the second focus group. During this incident, a customer was assaulted with a glass bottle in an unprovoked and indiscriminate attack. Lying in the corner of the dancefloor the individual began having seizures and this prompted management to close the nightclub instantly. Adam and Jessica reflect on the extreme character of this incident,

> Adam: As if that actually happened, like the time that guy got glassed and had a seizure.
>
> Researcher: Yeah, I'm not going to forget that.
>
> Adam: That one for me was a bit…
>
> Researcher: Pretty uncomfortable wasn't it?
>
> Jess: Yeah, shit like that.. yeah, it's definitely something that you wouldn't expect to go to work and see anyway.

An incident of the intensity of this occasion constitutes a situation where it is not only dangerous to leave the nightclub open on account of giving the injured customer space to recover, but also due to the risk of the fallout of the situation potentially instigating further incidents. In this way, serious incidents can be understood as emitting shockwaves that irrevocably exceed the thresholds of all those practices, procedures, materials and machines that are marshalled together to maintain the atmosphere in the nightclub. But this does not imply that an atmosphere is no longer there or has dissipated entirely. On the contrary, these events signal a significant shift in the atmosphere in the nightclub, as the following discussion demonstrates.

Following another serious incident when the nightclub was also closed immediately, one can perceive how the fallout of shockwaves from a serious incident seem to transform the

atmosphere in the nightclub irrecoverably. Following a violent fight that involved many customers in the nightclub, Emily explains her decision to immediately close the venue,

> Sometimes things happen, after that fight happened, I just turned the lights on, turned the music off, closed. Whereas when I look back and think, we could have just carried on, I think once we got everyone out. But all the staff were like, 'fuck this' and the majority of the customers were involved in the fight and it was like, 'what's the point'? When it gets to that, it's just pointless.

In this account, Emily conveys her sense that when a serious incident of this magnitude occurs, there is a perception that another threshold has been passed. A threshold that indicates that the atmosphere in the nightclub may be too dangerous to continue operating. But what is this threshold? How does Emily distinguish that 'when it gets to that, it's just pointless'? There appear to be many degrees of escalation that must be perceived by employees at the nightclub, some thresholds need to be exceeded for an atmosphere to be created and many can be exceeded but then brought back into control, while some, as the occasions above demonstrate, cannot be passed without signalling that a distinct and irrecoverable transformation has occurred in the nightclub's atmosphere. How is it that under some circumstances an atmosphere is perceived as possible to hold, shore up and therefore maintain, while on other occasions, it becomes too dangerous or uncontrollable? Interpreting this change as constituting a fall or descent into disorder, which is so 'disorderly' and chaotic that order cannot be retrieved from the situation does not seem to be convincing. What is this change and is there a more adequate way of theoretically conceiving it? To anticipate the answer put forward to address this question, the last chapter of the analysis seeks to present an argument that this constitutes an expression of the social control of desire that manifests at the nightclub arranged under a capitalist political economy. However, before the analysis moves to consider this, the following section discusses the governance of nightclubs by the local authority and the practice of setting 'proportionate licensing conditions' following serious incidents. The purpose of this section is to extend the chapter's understanding of work in the Assembly Club by situating it within a broader political economy of governance in the NTE.

Licensing conditions

The purpose of this discussion is to consider how licensing conditions and the security measures they require shape work in the nightclub. This section draws on interviews with the city centre police sergeant, the licensing committee chairman and the head of security at the nightclub. An important consequence of serious incidents exceeding thresholds at the nightclub comes in the

form of local authority intervention through setting proportionate conditions on nightclub licenses. For Keith, the chairman of the licensing committee, this strategy is not to be misunderstood as the local authority taking over the management of licensed premises if they fail to operate 'responsibly',

> It's not the role of licensing to manage pubs, it's the role of licensees to manage pubs and for us to… ask them to manage them responsibly and to expect them to be able to do it without us having to say, 'in order to manage it responsibly you must do this… this… this.. this…' because nobody wins out of that. Sometimes you have to put conditions on, but the fewer you can put on the better.

Keith describes the approach taken by the local authority as one that avoids circumstances where licensed premises are beholden to a long list of security measures. The notion that 'nobody wins' under these circumstances could be associated with the signs or traces these conditions leave, creating challenging situations for nightclubs to remain commercially viable when the perception of their atmosphere is at stake. As such, 'the fewer you can put on the better', likely contributes not only to the atmosphere at the premises in question to be perceived as 'welcoming' and 'open' but also the NTE in the city centre more broadly. Relatedly, Steve, the city centre police sergeant stresses the importance of proportion in respect to setting licensing conditions,

> We're not there to try and put as many conditions on a license, the goal is to make sure the conditions are appropriate to the venue and for the incidents taking place… or to prevent an incident from taking place.

However, one issue Steve raises concerning this practice relates to the appeals process, as he goes on to discuss in the quote below,

> Once that risk has been negated… for whatever reason, with operating schedules or whatever, then there's nothing stopping them to come back and say, 'right, we've done this now… can we look at removing this because… operationally it's killing us'… There's a venue that had a certain condition on… where a girl died and we put a condition on there and… eighteen months down the line, that condition is still on there and they… complained saying, 'our condition's very harsh, it's affecting our business now'… well, if the threat's gone, conditions can be changed again. So you could turn around to the police or licensing committee and say, 'yes, we fell foul… dropped the ball on that occasion, it's now been a period of time that we

think that we've operated a lot better, can we have that condition removed?' It's not chiselled in stone.

Steve describes how conditions put on a license following the death of an individual inside a nightclub were rescinded. Theoretically, how can this appeal process be interpreted? Conventionally it might be conceived as a shift from irresponsible to responsible practice, "we… dropped the ball… we think we've operated a lot better". The lapse into irresponsibility is conceived by the imaginary of a descent into disorder; "we fell foul", followed by atonement, "it's killing us' and then an ascent to order and good practice, "we've operated a lot better". On this basis, setting licensing conditions could be understood as an effective means of regulation, punishing, and deterring irresponsible practices, reducing the possibility of serious incidents occurring. However, as Keith comments below, whether such imaginaries of reform have any credible basis in practice is contestable,

> I can't remember a full review after a serious incident where the managers and the owners haven't come up and offered conditions, which would suggest that whilst they may say, 'we were doing everything we can'… if they're offering conditions, maybe they could do a little bit more.

Keith describes a disjuncture he perceives between the way venue owners and managers represent their operations and how they manage their nightclubs in practice. On the one hand, claiming to operate responsibly, doing everything within their means to prevent incidents from occurring, but on the other, voluntarily offering conditions at hearings. Relatedly, Paul, the head of security at the nightclub comments that serious incidents do change practice, but these are not permanent,

> Paul: I've talked and worked with people that have been put under such pressure many, many times.… management decides to let only nice people in and then you end up with an empty bar… So the management decides to be more lenient and all the people that you wouldn't want in, you're forced to let in for commercial purposes and then… the management try to milk it for as long as they can until something happens, and if something happens they change the rules for a bit, let everything calm down, once it's calmed down… just put it back to being very lenient, if you like, until something happens… if something happens they're going to put some extra measures in…
>
> Researcher: It's almost cyclical in a way.
>
> Paul: Yeah, it is… it is, that's exactly what it is.

In this account, several salient issues further this chapter's understanding of work at the nightclub. From his perspective as the head of the security team, Paul emphasises how the pressure for the nightclub to create a commercially viable atmosphere rather than an 'empty bar', can lead to management electing for a lenient door entry policy. This, he argues, leads to circumstances where commercially the nightclub may be profitable in the short term, but incidents invariably occur as a result of "all the people that you wouldn't want in, you're forced to" permit entry. Concerning the setting of proportionate licensing conditions, Paul points out the appeal process can lead to circumstances where a nightclub's regulatory measures shift periodically, as they are punctuated by the fallout of serious incidents. Again, the significance of distinctive phases that shape the work involved in preventing escalating situations and creating and maintaining the atmosphere should not be understated. Therefore, adequately conceiving work at the Assembly Club necessitates an understanding of how the atmospheres that are created and maintained within the nightclub manifest varying prospects for the escalation of incidents. The perception of how these thresholds and phases change over time, whether it is through music, materiality, the operations of machines or licensing conditions, would appear to be an important aspect of work in the nightclub. In this sense, working practices, the creation and maintenance of atmospheres and the various characteristics that mediate them cannot be understood in isolation.

The next section discusses the impersonal forces that constitute the phenomena in this chapter, drawing on the theoretical framework established earlier in this thesis. Introducing the theory of impersonal forces and the philosophy of concepts to this analysis demonstrates how the concept of *suspension* can be used to express the problem of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption in the nightclub.

Discussion: A symptomology of the sale of alcohol and the regulation of consumption

This final section offers an interpretation of the various aspects of work discussed in this chapter, as involved in the *suspension* of forces, drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's symptomatological analysis and the theory of impersonal forces. The concept of suspension represents an attempt to extract a concept from events that manifest in the nightclub which diagnoses the relationship of co-existence between active and reactive impersonal forces. To reiterate the central premise of symptomatology, the perceptions and meanings associated with a phenomenon can be interpreted as an expression of the impersonal forces that constitute them, rather than independent judgements made by autonomous subjects. This symptomatological analysis

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proceeds not by trying to interpret what aspects of work at the nightclub mean, but the way of being that is expressed in their perception. Such questions, Deleuze and Guattari maintain, can only be addressed through distinguishing the quality of forces that constitute them. This is not to establish whether such perceptions are right or wrong, true or false, but to understand how they have come into being. Thus far, this chapter has already gone some way to re-conceive work at the nightclub from the perspectives of those who engage with it as part of their working lives. There is, however, a potential limitation in taking these perspectives without interpreting their provenance. The purpose behind the symptomatological analysis offered in this section is to understand how social phenomena like that of work at the nightclub are constituted.

Starting at the beginning of the analysis, employees perceived their interventions as preventing 'situations' from escalating beyond certain thresholds, intervening in those that had already escalated and the incidents that can occur as a result of their 'fallout'. But how does one interpret escalation, thresholds, incidents and fallout through the theory of impersonal forces? Furthermore, how can one interpret atmospheres, phases and occasions where they undergo irrecoverable changes? Deleuze and Guattari hold that all social phenomena are constituted by relations between *active* and *reactive* forces, but how can one move from the perception of social phenomena to an interpretation of the impersonal forces that constitute them? The key to understanding this theoretical move is to accept that perceptions of work at the nightclub are symptomatic of the forces that constitute them. On this basis, it is possible to interpret the quality of force they manifest, the way of being they constitute and how they express power. Concerning the various aspects of work involved in the prevention of escalating incidents, it can be posited that this expresses a force that *prohibits* another from acting and therefore, it can be interpreted as having been constituted by a *reactive force*. In other words, the *provenance* of these interventions owes to a *reactive force*. Working practices at the nightclub involved in intervening amid escalated situations can also be interpreted as neutralising or restraining forces from acting and therefore are constituted by *reactive forces*. The perception that working at the nightclub is a task primarily of 'prevention' is perhaps the clearest indication that such practices express a *reactive* way of being and means of expressing power. However, the interpretation of forces involved in work at the nightclub is not this clear cut. For example, one might be tempted at this point to postulate that the reactive force that constitutes prevention *opposes* the active forces that constitute escalating situations, but as Deleuze and Guattari maintain, forces do not oppose one another, they *co-exist*.

The question of their co-existence is important for understanding the thresholds, phases and irrecoverable changes in atmospheres that can occur in the nightclub. As indicated earlier in the

chapter, *creating* an atmosphere in the nightclub involves passing thresholds in a certain order of phases. Consequently, not every instance of escalation threatens the atmosphere, they are rather, necessary and constitutive phases through which atmospheres can emerge. Therefore, if one is to interpret the force 'escalating phases' are constituted by, this would be an *active force.* In the nightclub, *reactive forces* do not prevent, prohibit or overturn *active forces* from acting altogether. On the contrary, *active* forces in the nightclub do *act* or escalate, to some degree for the atmosphere to emerge. In this sense, the work of bar staff in the nightclub, as the 'toe' and the 'heel' of the NTE, is constituted by the different ways active and reactive forces express power. Facilitating consumption and deferring to customer wants as the 'toe' of the NTE, is an expression of permitting *active forces* in the nightclub to *act*, whereas, restraining consumption and denying customer wants as the 'heel', is an expression of a *reactive force* preventing *active forces* from *acting*. In this sense, the work of bar staff in nightclubs can be conceived as a reactive force holding an active force in suspension.

Conceptualising their work in this manner draws attention to the way their position as the 'toe' and 'heel' of the NTE is constitutive of a relation of impersonal forces co-existing within thresholds of acting and reacting in the nightclub. This conception challenges the perception that work in the NTE is a *contradictory* problem encountered by employees, negotiating a dilemma between order and disorder, sobriety and drunkenness, responsibility and irresponsibility. Instead, the concept of suspension decentres the individual from analysis, to conceive how the creation of the atmosphere in the nightclub and work of prevention enacted in its maintenance can be interpreted as the co-existence of *active forces* escalating and *reactive forces* preventing or restraining *active forces* within certain thresholds of suspension. Indeed, if interventions at the nightclub are enacted in measures that go too far, as the police sergeant indicated, the signs or traces of the powers they express can shape their relationship with *active forces* in such a way that they can become deprived from acting. Conversely, if *active forces* act (appropriating, consuming, obtaining, possessing or destroying) over a certain threshold, as Emily, Adam and Jess indicated, the fallout of this degree of force shapes the relationship with *reactive forces*, in such a way that employee interventions are unable to restrain or prevent *active forces* from acting.

The concept of suspension provides the point of convergence for various aspects of work at the nightclub considered in this chapter. Introducing this concept to diagnose work in nightclubs is not merely a shift in semantics, it is rather an attempt to extract a concept from the relations between forces that 'speaks their event'. The purpose of postulating such a concept is to refrain from conceiving work at the nightclub without understanding how it exists at the impersonal

level. This misconception is perhaps most pronounced in its depiction as the prevention of drunkenness and disorder. This conception depicts work at the nightclub as characterised by states of order and disorder, bringing with it a perception that is constituted by *reactive forces*. This reactive conception can be seen in much of the academic literature in criminology, public health and urban studies, where drunkenness and disorder are perceived as a result of "bad bars" (Graham et al, 2006), "irresponsible sales and management practices" (Measham, 2006, p.261) or other "negative cultural signifiers" (Liempt et al, 2015, p.413). This position can be interpreted as symptomatic of reactive forces as it depicts that which is active as 'bad' or 'irresponsible' and that which is reactive as 'orderly, 'good' and 'responsible'. Of course, this is not to suggest that this conception is false, but it is nonetheless one-sided.

The concept of *suspension,* by contrast, adequately diagnoses the relation between reactive and active forces the manifest within the nightclub. It articulates how active forces in the nightclub are anticipated, rather than prevented from occurring altogether. In this respect, employees are caught up in the suspension of events, which poses a risk to their safety and security, but at the same time, must be held within certain thresholds to maintain the operations of the nightclub. The work of employees must be adapted to the different phases of the nightclub's suspension, the thresholds at which events are suspended and the direction they are moving in. Employee interventions can leave signs or traces that prevent the nightclub's atmosphere from emerging altogether, and on this basis, the reach of preventative intervention is constrained by the needs of the suspension of forces. Conceiving work in nightclubs as a suspension of impersonal forces can be understood as a form of conceptual cartography that overcomes the limitations of interpreting work through a specific set of reactively constituted values. In this respect, it advances a way of thinking that encourages caution in following dogmatic moral premises in understanding the nature of work in the NTE.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that to adequately conceive work at the Assembly Club, it is necessary to depart from its conception as the prevention of drunkenness and disorder. Instead, by considering the various aspects of work described in this chapter and interpreting how this is constituted by relations between impersonal forces, it is possible to conceptualise work at the nightclub as involved in their *suspension.* Drawing on the theory of forces and the philosophy of concepts, this chapter carried out a symptomatological analysis that involved the interpretation of forces that constitute events in the nightclub, paying specific attention to their co-existence. The concept of *suspension* expresses how *active* and *reactive* forces co-exist within

certain thresholds of acting and reacting. As the second chapter of the analysis, this provides the next step in reconceptualising work in the nightclub. This represents the first theoretical contribution of the thesis, by beginning its re-conceptualisation of work in the NTE.

The following chapter deals specifically with the question of how such a *suspension* of forces in the nightclub expresses an arrangement of the social control of desire under a capitalist political economy. Informed by Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of desire and social control, the analysis now moves to examine the genesis of the social control of desire from the relationship of suspended impersonal forces conceptualised in this chapter. To do so, it will consider how subjective experience manifests from the impersonal relations between forces this chapter has diagnosed. In this sense, the present chapter has established another key theoretical move that extends the Deleuze and Guattari informed analysis of work in the NTE.

7

Understanding the social control of desire

Introduction

The preceding chapter demonstrated how work at the nightclub can be conceived as a suspension of impersonal forces, where active forces escalate situations and reactive forces restrain active forces within certain thresholds. This chapter extends this conception by arguing that the suspension of forces in the nightclub is an expression of the social control of desire. The key contribution made in this chapter is to challenge the conception of the regulation of alcohol consumption as an individualised problem of self-control and highlight the importance of social control undertaken by employees in the nightclub. It does this by considering the influence of alcohol consumption without presupposing customers have an *a priori* capacity for self-control, an assumption that underpins the notion of 'drinking responsibly' (O'Brien, 2018, p.82). The analysis begins by considering employee accounts of judging intoxication, denying service and reprimanding intoxicated customers. It draws specific attention to the prevalence of antipathetic labour and the way employees are socialised into a collective disposition of 'us' (in control) and 'them' (out of control). In addition, the chapter explores how employee interventions are enacted through identifying when 'self-control' is diminished, making an example of those who have 'crossed the line' and the perceived necessity of forceful practices of antipathetic labour. In the final section of the empirical analysis, the chapter considers the limitations of these practices carried out in a position of employment and the consequences of unconstrained alcohol consumption, where customers endanger themselves and others.

Theoretically informed by Deleuze and Guattari, this analysis interprets the incidents that employees encounter at work as manifestations of desire in the nightclub. It does this by considering how employee interventions involving intoxicated customers can be understood as an expression of social control. Drawing the link between this analysis to the preceding chapter's symptomatology of forces, this chapter concludes by arguing that the suspension of active and reactive forces in the nightclub can be understood as the *suspension of desire* by practices of

social control. Consequently, understood within the context of the thesis as a whole, this chapter presents the reconceptualised perspective of work in the nightclub offered in this thesis. It establishes how the aspects of work discussed in the last chapter have come to exist at the nightclub and demonstrates the relationship of dependency between active and reactive forces in the social control of desire. This is an issue that has a significant influence on the precarity of employees working in the nightclub.

Alcohol consumption and self-control, 'drinking responsibly'?

This section begins by critically examining the idea that customers can maintain control over their alcohol consumption. The notion of exercising self-control is an important principle in efforts to regulate the consumption of alcohol. Indeed, alongside a "policy of liberalisation of regulation in the alcohol industry" the belief that "it is the responsibility of the individual to guide their behaviour, 'drinking responsibly'" (O'Brien, 2018, p.82) has perpetuated an assumption that the responsible individual can keep their alcohol consumption in check. Such a perception that 'drinking responsibly' is an innate capacity of the individual shapes some of the accounts below and demonstrates the influence of this way of thinking. Emily (the assistant manager) appears to make this assumption when she comments on a series of clips taken from the CCTV system that show a customer ordering and consuming seven drinks over two and a half hours,

> He is a fully grown man who is more than capable of seeing how much alcohol he's drinking and how much alcohol he's capable of drinking, and kind of, stopping himself.

In the final clip, the customer attempts to order another drink from the bar but is judged to be too intoxicated and is removed by a member of the security team. Emily conveys her sense that the customer ought to have been able to exercise control over their consumption as a 'fully grown' and therefore responsible individual. However, employees also recognise the dangers inherent in assuming customers have an innate capacity for self-control and 'drinking responsibly'. Below, Adam comments on the same clips as those discussed by Emily above and suggests the onus for regulating consumption is just as much a responsibility for employees as it is for customers,

> Everyone's in the wrong there, the servers should have noticed him being too drunk, the venue should have probably made sure he wasn't… and then obviously him for not knowing his limits.

While Adam maintains that customers ought to know their limits, at the same time, he suggests that employees working at the time ought to have noticed the customer's level of intoxication. As such, Adam demonstrates an awareness of the effect of alcohol consumption diminishing self-control (or knowing one's 'limits') and the importance of identifying those that have become 'too drunk'. However, as Will explains below, in some circumstances the point at which customers are incapacitated by their consumption served as a limit in itself,

> If you see someone strewn across the bar and falling asleep… that's it, cut them, they need to go.

Even Tom, the general manager, offers similar advice to employees during the first focus group,

> If they can't say the full drink and you can't understand it, stop serving them… If you can't understand what they're saying, then that's the limit.

In contrast to Adam's suggestion that employees should identify intoxicated customers and take preventive action, in Tom's account it is intoxication itself that functions as the primary means by which consumption can be regulated. If a customer is unable to express their order, then naturally it becomes difficult for an employee to decipher which drink to serve them. Consequently, intoxication can become a form of control in its own right, as opposed to a judgement made by employees. That being said, an incapacity to 'say the full drink' is not always an effective limit. If the customer is with a group, other members of the party can purchase drinks on their behalf. As Charlotte explains,

> It is very hard to keep an eye on [as] people have ways of doing it… if they get refused service, someone can just go up and get them a drink.

Failing this, intoxicated customers can come to the bar and order simply by pointing at the bar tap or holding up a glass to indicate 'same again'. In this way, customers can be leaning on the bar with very limited conscious awareness but still able to indicate to employees (for example, by raising a finger) their request for further alcohol. Sophie acknowledges the difficulty in identifying levels of intoxication in her remark that,

> You can never fully tell, some people handle alcohol so differently, you might not be able to tell how drunk someone is from how they are at the bar.

During busy periods employees have little time to observe customer conduct and often make their judgement on whether to serve or not within a matter of seconds. For this brief period, customers can lean on the bar or have themselves propped up by other customers standing on

either side of them. Joe describes the minimum 'state of mind' he looks for when deciding whether to serve drinks,

> If they manage to maintain focus on what they're doing, if they are in a state of mind where they can articulate what they want to order, they're not swaying or losing motor control, in my eyes… you can hack another drink.

On this basis, it seems the customer's only task is to 'maintain focus' and stay upright long enough to appear to have a certain level of 'motor control' over their actions. Will also notes that there is no training offered to employees to make this assessment,

> Training wise they don't run through it, do they? So, it's kind of your own judgement on what you think is acceptable to do or who's acceptable to serve.

Consequently, this judgement is left to employee discretion and this is complicated further by the way customers anticipate that their level of intoxication will be assessed. Charlotte explains how this can shape customer conduct,

> The bouncers don't let people in if they're drunk, sometimes you see people coming in and they're just already [drunk] because people are good at hiding it. When you have pre-drinks and you're all absolutely hammered, 'oh god, we have to talk to the bouncers!', you go up and put your straightest face on.

Customers putting their 'straightest face on' can be understood as an attempt to conceal a lack of self-control and appear still capable of 'drinking responsibly' to employees. Nicole judges this as a 'basic' capacity to order drinks and make payment for them,

> Sometimes they do stupid things, they give you a driving license instead [of a payment card], then I'd just say, 'No, you can't have this drink'. If they can't tell the difference in how to pay, or they drop their money, or they're struggling with basic… then no.

In this quote, Nicole conveys her sense that the capacity to exercise self-control and a capability to make payment for drinks constitutes a rudimentary capacity that is necessary for service in the nightclub. Indeed, much like Emily's earlier assertion, there is an expectation that the customer manifests a capacity to 'drink responsibly'. It could be argued that the *expectation* that customers should exercise control over themselves appears to function as a means of regulating at least some of the conduct of customers (by their anticipation of being assessed). Despite this, the task for employees becomes identifying at which point customers' 'self-control' diminishes

to the extent that they must intervene. Thus, understanding how employees make this assessment will be instructive for understanding the relationship between work at the nightclub and the influence of alcohol consumption.

In the following passage, Jessica describes how she makes this assessment by distinguishing between customers who are 'sober' and those who are 'drunk',

> Jess: The customer is not always right, they might always be right in retail situations, but not in the night-time economy *[sic]*, because they are drunk, so it's a different threshold, a different standard because they are drunk.
>
> Researcher: What do you mean? What standard?
>
> Jess: I find it hard to explain because they're drunk, there's a higher standard in the sense that we have to apply ourselves, we cannot take shit from anything, because they are drunk and that could lead to aggression or whatever. You're not going to get that in retail, they're normal, they're sane, they're sober, whereas because they're drunk, I feel it's harder to be the customer is always right because they're not in the right state of mind.

Notable in this passage is the way Jess compares consumption at the nightclub to a context that does not typically involve alcohol consumption and raises the question of their different thresholds. Jess appears to evoke a normative image of the responsible customer that exercises self-control[36] over their consumption activities in 'retail'. In this respect, an association can be drawn between different thresholds and degrees of self-control exercised by customers, a point that this chapter will return to later. Charlotte also makes the same comparison while describing the conduct of customers in the nightclub,

> People think that if they're in a bar and alcohol is involved, all the norms go out the window and it's ok to steal things. If you were in a shop you wouldn't just take the item out of the cashier's hands and be like, 'oh, I want it like'.

Charlotte evokes an image of consumption in a shop where the sober and self-controlled customer refrains from taking the item 'out of the cashier's hands' and compares this with the

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[36] As indicated in the literature review, the image evoked here may not be accurate given that even retail spaces which are not geared toward the consumption of alcohol have seen a rise in levels of abuse and violence. This suggests that the 'retail situations' Jess compares nightclubs to may not be characterised by the level of restraint she suggests.

nightclub where 'all the norms go out of the window and it's ok to steal things'. In this way, both Jess and Charlotte perceive how the consumption of alcohol in the nightclub diminishes customers' capacity for self-control to varying degrees. On this basis, an important part of understanding work at the nightclub involves recognising the different degrees of self-control exercised by customers and the influence of alcohol consumption on their conduct. However, to take this further, the analysis must consider how this capacity for 'self-control' manifests within the impersonal suspension of active and reactive forces conceptualised in the previous chapter. While it is important to problematise the assumption that 'drinking responsibly' is an individualised problem of 'knowing one's limits', the analysis must then ask how this phenomenon of 'self-control' manifests in different degrees within the suspension of forces. By way of exploring this question, the next section considers the way employees' interventions are enacted in the nightclub and the challenges which are encountered between empathetic and antipathetic practices.

Empathetic and antipathetic labour

As indicated above, this section of the analysis considers how employee interventions are enacted at the nightclub and on what basis employees carry out empathetic or antipathetic labour. As discussed in the literature review chapter, service workers are expected to perform both empathetic and antipathetic labour to maximise sales and regulate consumption. However, the perception of what work at the nightclub comprises and what it ought to, varies considerably. In the quote below, Tom (the general manager) indicates his perception of work at the nightclub in a focus group where he summarises his expectations of employees,

> The job we ask you to do is serve customers, serve them politely, serve them as quick
> as possible and take as much money as possible, that's what we ask you to do.

Notable in its absence in Tom's account is an acknowledgement that working at the nightclub may involve enacting practices of antipathetic labour to regulate consumption. Indeed, Tom appears to perpetuate the assumption that service work is characterised only by empathetic labour,

> If they're being rude, do we actually want them in the venue?... at the end of the
> day, if they're being rude to you, half an hour later when they've had two more
> drinks, they're going to be rude to someone else. That can create an issue, so do we
> want them in the venue? No, we don't.

In this quote when Tom does acknowledge the influence of alcohol consumption, he does not consider the possibility that customers may 'create an issue' with employees, only with the consumption of other customers. However, contrary to Tom's depiction of work, Will conveys his sense that practices of antipathetic labour are an important part of working at the nightclub,

> This lad's standing there moaning, mouthing off, so I come over to station four to tell him to move over as people leave the line, he gets a bit frustrated and agitated. I just refuse him drinks, I bollocked him, 'excuse me mate, you don't talk to me like this, go and fuck yourself off, go somewhere else if you want to get served'. Obviously, he storms out, but it also calms everyone else down, because the rest of the customers understand that you're not going to take that kind of behaviour.

In this quote, Will describes a sense of the impatience of those waiting to be served across the bar. He describes his means of dealing with customer impatience as assertive and confrontational, rather than placatory or deferential; indicating to customers that 'moaning' or 'mouthing off' will not be tolerated. What is significant in this passage is the way Will explicitly construes such practices of antipathetic labour, not simply as functioning on an interpersonal level but also influencing customer conduct in the nightclub more broadly. In this sense, antipathetic labour may appear to constitute a means of making an example of those who are deemed to have 'crossed the line'.

Relatedly, in the account below Sophie considers the lengths she goes to enact practices of antipathetic labour after a customer attempts to take drinks without paying for them,

> Sophie: There was a guy on the bar that had ordered two drinks and this guy behind him just came and grabbed one of them. So, then I quickly ran outside and got one of the bouncers. That was a weird one, because I had to leave the bar and run around to get the bouncer, so it's like, you're acting as both.
>
> Researcher: Why do you do that?
>
> Sophie: I don't know why I did it actually. I could have just given him another drink. I guess I didn't have to do it though, it's a good question. I could have just stood there and not have done it. I was just like, 'what he doing like?', I'm going to get him kicked out, it annoyed me.

Sophie has difficulty explaining her reasoning for going to these lengths, but it could be argued that running from behind the bar and returning with the security team closely behind would make the enforcement of antipathetic labour in the nightclub visible and could potentially

influence the conduct of other customers in the venue. Another significant aspect of this passage is her recognition that she is 'acting as both', on the one hand serving alcohol and on the other, carrying out antipathetic labour with a sense of immediacy ('had to' and 'quickly') if customers do not offer payment. This perception of the necessity of immediate antipathetic labour is also emphasised by Emily, who describes how states of intoxication have the effect of diminishing customers' sense of the obligation to offer payment. In this case, she comments on a video clip taken from the CCTV system that shows a customer attempting to take drinks without offering payment,

> If people don't have money for drinks, take the drinks back and if you'd have asked her, 'oh, excuse me, could I have that, can I.. can I... can I just take those drinks back? Because you've not actually paid for it', she would have said, 'no, fuck off' and walked off with it and drank it by the time you'd had the chance to get a bouncer, come back and find the girl.

Emily emphasises that making a polite request for payment by asking for it rather than demanding it is unlikely to be effective. This perception contrasts markedly with the way that Tom depicts work in the nightclub in the quote earlier in this section. Indeed, there is a sense here that Emily considers it a necessity that employees must forcefully impose practices of antipathetic labour. Such a perception is not only held by Emily but shared widely among employees interviewed at the nightclub, to the extent that a reluctance to enact practices of antipathetic labour is met with criticism and scorn.

For example, in the following passage Will, Adam and Tom discuss a video clip from the CCTV system that shows a customer withholding payment. During the clip, Adam (who is serving on the bar) is seen to serve drinks but as he presents the customer a wireless credit card machine (a hand-held device for making payments on a card) instead of entering their pin or tapping the card to make a contactless payment, the customer takes the machine, waving it around and begins licking it instead,

> Will: I'd just be, give me the fucking number [PIN].
>
> Adam: If any of you served on that top station, you'd never want to serve again.
>
> Tom: She's just being a prick.
>
> Adam: See, I'm always too scared to seem like that though, I'm much too scared of how Tom [general manager] and Emily [assistant manager] would react.
>
> Will: Adam just takes shit off people.

Adam: I don't know, I get a lot of shit [laughs].

Will: The worse thing for me is you take it all.

In this discussion taken from the first focus group, Will chastises Adam for his reluctance to enact practices of antipathetic labour. Will suggests that he would take the card machine back and demand the customer's pin number to process the payment himself. Adam, however, conveys a sense of conflict he experiences between an obligation to his employer to maintain practices of empathetic labour (to deal with customers politely) and circumstances in which he may need to enforce the obligation to make payment through antipathetic labour. This is an issue that employees find especially difficult to engage with when starting out serving on the bar and in the quote below, Joe describes his initial experience with work at the nightclub and his confusion when confronted with the conduct of intoxicated customers,

> When I first started, I wouldn't dream of doing things. I'd probably just be, 'oh, what's happening?'. I'd probably go downstairs [to the office in the basement] and say, 'they're doing this upstairs, how should I react?'.

Joe coveys his initial reluctance for 'doing things', by which he refers to practices of antipathetic labour in the context of this interview discussion. Instead, he sought to according to what he perceived to be the wishes of his employer. As such, it seems that employees can arrive with the expectation that empathetic labour (politeness and deference) will be required of them, but their experience of working at the nightclub and dealing with intoxicated customers soon tells them otherwise. This perceived disconnect between the experience of work at the nightclub and managerial expectations was also raised later on in the focus group, where Adam tries to ascertain the degree of control he can deploy through practices of antipathetic labour,

> Adam: So, I'm allowed to react quite badly?
>
> Tom [General manager]: No, you're not.
>
> Rob: You're not supposed to.
>
> Amber: You shouldn't have to do something about it, because you've got security, you shouldn't have to, it's not your job.

In this passage and throughout the discussion, Tom maintains that at no point should an employee forcefully control customer conduct. Amber (a glass collector) also reminds Adam that he is not contractually obliged to carry out practices of antipathetic labour as this is could be considered the responsibility of the security team. But despite managerial expectations and the

absence of a contractual obligation to enact these practices due to a formal division of labour, it seems that employees are quickly socialised into adopting practices of antipathetic labour in attempts to control customer conduct. But how can this socialisation be understood? How is it that employees take it upon themselves to enact antipathetic labour when it is not ostensibly part of their contractual obligation to the owner?

To address this question, it is worthwhile considering Sophie's account of an incident that occurred when she first started working at the nightclub that involved an abusive customer. From this point onwards, Sophie quickly perceived the importance of antipathetic labour,

> Emily was literally like, 'if anyone ever says anything slightly rude to you, just don't serve them'. I think I got that in my head... She was just being really rude, really abusive. I served someone else and she started calling me a bitch, shouting, 'that little bitch!'. She kept swearing at me and I was really scared, so I served her next and she started shouting at me, I think she was asking for some wine we didn't have, so I went and asked Emily and as I walked away, she said something else, it was really rude. So, I told Emily and straight away she kicked off, and was like, 'get out!'. It was good.

In this quote, Sophie describes the way that Emily (the assistant manager) dealt with an abusive customer and insisted on the importance of enacting practices of antipathetic labour. One of the explanations for this may simply be that employees are, in most cases, left to themselves to serve drinks, judge levels of intoxication and take payment. However, this does not seem to offer a convincing way of understanding how it is that employees come to take it upon themselves to carry out practices of control. Indeed, as Sophie states earlier, employees could just 'stand there'. Instead, one might draw attention to the way that Sophie finds Emily's assertive and confrontational reaction satisfying but is this psychological interpretation sufficient? A similar question arises in consideration of the quote below where Charlotte describes a collective disposition that is held among employees concerning the enactment of antipathetic labour,

> It's such a tight-knit... everyone is so close, it does kind of feel, it's going to sound weird but, sometimes it is us against them, bar staff against these horrible rowdy people. It's kind of not about the money, but getting back, uniting against the...[does not finish the sentence and laughs].

Charlotte conveys her sense that employees seem to unite in enacting antipathetic labour against 'horrible rowdy people', even to the extent that their wages seem of secondary importance to the control of customer conduct and consumption. An important aspect of this passage is her

perception that it is 'us', 'against them'. The use of these terms may seem to suggest that this is a question of identity or psychology, but can this be explained sufficiently through the interiority of the subject? Perhaps the most instructive passage for understanding this issue is in how Charlotte describes her 'one strike you're out policy',

> There's been times when people have done something and I've turned around and said, 'don't do that'. But they're really apologetic afterwards, so that's ok. But it's when after you first tell somebody something, if they carry on doing it, or turn around and snap at you, or are really rude to you, that's when it's just, refuse service.

In this quote, Charlotte describes the basis on which she assesses whether customers are to be served more drinks. If they are perceived to act unacceptably, they are given a chance to apologise and demonstrate that they can exercise self-control, but if they 'carry on', 'snap' or are 'rude' following their reprimand, service ought to be refused. In this way, the 'collective disposition' of 'us' and 'them' can be interpreted as emerging through this very act of judgement carried out by employees, who deem themselves *in control* (us) and those who are perceived to be conducting themselves without self-control or *out of control* (them).

Drawing these passages together and contrary to Tom's conception of work in the nightclub as primarily involved with empathetic labour, employees must serve as many drinks as possible and enact practices of antipathetic labour under circumstances where alcohol consumption continues to diminish customers' sense of the obligation to pay. As such, self-control and 'drinking responsibly' can no longer be relied upon to restrain customer conduct and employees begin to perceive the need for enacting practices of antipathetic labour. This perspective can be contrasted with the literature on public health that has placed employees in the NTE under increasing scrutiny for contributing to and exacerbating hostility and aggression (Graham et al., 2005) and setting "unfriendly, confrontational" tones which are argued to incite "patrons to engage in violence" (Tutenges et al, 2013, p.459). This research calls for a change in orientation to "foster less aggressive approaches" (Graham et al, 2011, p.558). Simply put, there is a normative assumption that the work of regulating consumption should not involve forceful intervention. But considering the discussion above, it seems that forceful practices of social control are an important part of the work of employees at the nightclub.

The tension between empathetic and antipathetic labour is therefore mediated by the influence of alcohol consumption, employees must intervene as the 'heel' rather than the 'toe' in proportion to customers' diminishing self-control. This is a key issue to recognise in work at the nightclub and indicates the challenging nature of service work in the NTE for employees

attempting to regulate alcohol consumption. It also speaks to the question of understanding the suspension of forces and the different thresholds discussed in the second chapter of the analysis. While this will be discussed in more detail in the final discussion section of this chapter, to anticipate the argument it is possible to say that the difference between a threshold that can be exceeded, but then brought back into check and one that cannot be passed without an irrecoverable and potentially dangerous transformation, is closely associated to the diminution of self-control brought on by the consumption of alcohol. What is interpreted as the lapse into disorder and irresponsibility, appears to be the crossing of this threshold where the capacity for self-control becomes irretrievable. In this respect, *constituting* the phenomenon of self-control appears to be an important part of work in nightclubs in the suspension of active force by reactive force.

Before this chapter moves to consider the way 'self-control' can emerge within impersonal forces at the nightclub and how this can change the way work in nightclubs can be understood, the next section considers what limitations there are to practices of antipathetic labour and the way work in the nightclub can become increasingly precarious for employees as customers begin to endanger themselves and others.

The limits of control, customer intoxication and employee precarity

In this section, the analysis considers occasions when customer conduct cannot be controlled and the consequences this has for employees working in the nightclub. The purpose of this is to demonstrate how acute levels of intoxication create circumstances where serious harm can occur to customers within the premises and the precarious position this puts employees who are dependent on the commercial viability of the nightclub for their employment. In the quote below, Emily reflects on the way alcohol consumption is organised and the precarious condition this presents to employees. She asks whether employees should be held responsible for controlling customer consumption,

> People come in to drink and it's a nightclub, so it's not like people come in for one pint, people come in for doubles, people come in for a few drinks and because one person doesn't hold on to the handrails [and falls down the stairs], does that mean we deserve to not have jobs?

In the context of this discussion, Emily is referring to an incident where an acutely intoxicated customer fell twenty feet down a flight of stairs and suffered a serious head injury. An important aspect of this passage is the sense of precarity that Emily conveys which speaks to the challenging

position employees must work in. As discussed in the preceding chapter, following incidents such as these nightclubs may have stringent licensing conditions imposed on them or be forced to close altogether and forbidden from operating permanently. In this sense, employees become reliant on permitting alcohol consumption in the nightclub, but in a way that is subject to a degree of constraint to prevent serious incidents such as these from occurring.

An illustrative example of this can be seen in the way Charlotte describes an incident where she encounters a customer that has become a danger to herself and others, smashing glass bottles on the floor,

> I was glass collecting, walked past this girl on the floor, sobbing her eyes out and she's picking up glass bottles and trying to smash them on the floor. So I took all the glasses away and made sure she wasn't near anything. She comes up to the bar, 'I've lost my phone!'. It turns out the phone had been handed in, so it got given back, and I went up to her, 'the next time you lose your phone or anything, don't try and smash glasses against the floor, or I'll kick you out'. She turned around and snapped at me, shouting in my face. I just stood there, she was screaming at me, swearing, calling me an idiot. So I said, 'I was perfectly kind to you, I didn't stop you whilst you were doing it. I could see you were upset, but I'm trying to remind you that's not an acceptable way to behave". She ended up getting kicked out because she was screaming at us, Tom [the general manager] got the bouncers and we said, 'she needs to leave'.

In this account Charlotte describes how she elects to refrain from intervening in the first instance, however, after the customer's phone is returned, she warns her not to conduct herself in this way in the future. In this respect, Charlotte attempts to remind the customer of her obligation to 'drink responsibly' in the nightclub and to prompt her to exercise self-control. However, on this occasion, the customer is too intoxicated and is removed from the premises by the security team out onto the street. When customers are ejected from the nightclub, enforcement is at its most visible and arguably, this may be regarded as another means of making an example of those who have 'crossed the line' or the threshold of intoxication. But it could be argued that the effectiveness of this intervention has its limitations. Indeed, as Emily explains in the quote below, refusing service and removing intoxicated customers from the premises does not prevent incidents from occurring altogether,

> Even if we serve him one drink and we've said, 'oh, sorry, you've had your one drink max, that's our rule here', he's going to go somewhere else, he's going to go to [a

different venue] and fall down their stairs instead, it's still going to happen, he could

sit in his own house and do it.

Here Emily conveys her perception that due to the widespread availability of alcohol in nearby venues, even if employees enforced stringent practices of control, attempts to limit alcohol consumption would be in vain. Indeed the 'exile' of the street may do little to reinforce to customers they have 'crossed the line' when they can walk into any number of nearby venues on the same street to drink more. Alternatively, the practice of barring customers can be deployed to control customers more forcefully, so that repeat offenders can be recorded on the Pub Watch list. Once on this list, customers are barred from entering any premises in the city centre however, recording identifying information from intoxicated customers is not always feasible, nor is it practical for employees who are under pressure to return to serve on the bar.

Drawing these passages together, it can be argued that amongst those employees interviewed there is a perception that the work of controlling consumption is not only important for recovering payments, but also in preventing customers from becoming a danger to themselves and others. The risk of harm to customers and others complicates the task of attempting to guide customers in a way that does not interrupt or violate their sense of being "autonomous choice makers" (Korczynski & Evans, 2013, p.70?), presenting them "freedom to choose" (Jones et al, 2010, p.493) and maintaining an "enchanting myth of sovereignty" (Korczynski & Ott, 2004, p.577). As this section has demonstrated, when it comes to enforcing control at the nightclub, the 'autonomy', 'sovereignty' and 'freedom to choose' that is maintained for customers can result in significant consequences for their welfare. Indeed, customers' sense of control over their own choice, conduct and consumption will already be diminished by intoxication and therefore this 'enchanting myth' can be a dangerous one. Despite this and as demonstrated in this chapter so far, numerous challenges constrain employees' abilities to maintain control over alcohol consumption and on many occasions, like the incidents described in this section, acute levels of intoxication can lead to customers seriously harming themselves or others. As such, employees are not only expected to serve as much alcohol as possible - while the consumption of the product itself diminishes a sense of the obligation to pay - but also in circumstances where the commercial viability of the nightclub and the security of their employment is threatened by the degree of intoxication in those they serve.

In the next section, the analysis interprets these aspects of work at the nightclub from the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari's theory of desire and social control. The intention is to theorise the influence of alcohol consumption without assuming customers have an innate

capacity to exercise self-control and 'drink responsibly'. But to go further than this, bringing the previous chapter's conception of work in the nightclub as the suspension of impersonal forces into relation with Deleuze and Guattari's theory of desire and social control. In the section that follows, it will be argued that the incidents discussed above can be understood as indicating how desire manifests in the nightclub as an active force, the reactive control of which becomes the task of employees. Theorising work in the nightclub in this way offers the analysis an opportunity to understand how the social control of desire manifests within the nightclub's suspension of impersonal forces diagnosed in the previous chapter.

Theorising work at the nightclub as the social control of desire

As indicated above, this section interprets the aspects of work described in this chapter through Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of desire. From this perspective, the conventional understanding of the regulation of alcohol consumption as a problem of individual self-control is no longer tenable. Indeed, Deleuze and Guattari question whether self-control can be considered an essential capacity of the 'responsible individual'. To recall their position advanced in the theoretical framework chapter, self-control is not an *a priori* capacity of the individual, it is understood as a phenomenon that emerges following practices of social control. For Deleuze and Guattari, self-control refers to a memory of pain inscribed by practices of social control and the anticipation of punishment. From this perspective, self-control can be understood as the force of desire becoming aware of itself from the memory of anticipating the punishment or force of social control. Therefore, the 'hold' of social control over desire can only be maintained in so far as the memory of pain and anticipation of punishment manifests. If this memory or anticipation of pain does not occur, for example, in intoxication, this represents a significant problem for the social control of desire as intoxication unburdens the "thought of consequences that hold desire and impulse in check" (O'Brien, 2018, p.81).

In this way, the assumption that a responsible individual has an innate capacity for exercising self-control is brought into question. Therefore, in the first section of this chapter which discussed the expectation held by employees that customers should exert self-control - 'knowing their limits' and maintaining a minimum 'state of mind' to make payment - from this perspective, it is only practices of social control that can train and discipline desire such that it can come to control itself. Therefore, what is known as 'drinking responsibly' is constituted by a complex range of practices associated with social control. Indeed, as the earlier section demonstrated, customers often *anticipate* that their level of intoxication will be assessed on entry to the nightclub, which appears to function as a means of regulating the conduct of customers to some

extent. In this sense, a degree of the anticipation of social control does manifest in the thought of being barred entry or removed from the nightclub. But the task for employees then becomes one of judging whether customers remain under the 'hold' of social control.

An illustrative example of this assessment comes in the comparison between the 'retail situation' where the customer anticipates the consequences of taking items 'out of the cashier's hands', and the nightclub where 'all the norms go out of the window and it's ok to steal things'. From the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of desire, the relations conceived here between subject and object – the customer, item, and cashier – should be reassessed. Terms such as these have been construed prior to the forces of desire and social control that have constituted them. On this basis, it is the *subject* that is drunk or sober, responsible, or irresponsible, in control or out of control, rather than a force of desire that has begun to act unthinkingly. To understand this from Deleuze and Guattari's perspective, it is not that it has become 'ok' for the customer to 'steal things', neither is it a reassessment of culpability, but a diminution of the memory of pain and the anticipation of punishment; the force of desire itself begins to act unthinkingly. In states of intoxication, desire occurs *to* the subject rather than being under conscious control; the interruption of thought that manifests in the contemplation of, for example, how many drinks one has had, will have, or should have can only emerge from a sense of the bearing of social control and without this anticipation of punishment, consumption may occur without restraint.

As discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, Deleuze and Guattari maintain that uninhibited desire threatens to "deluge every attempt at collectivity" (2000, p.180) and this becomes the fundamental problem practices of social control are exercised to prevent from occurring. As discussed already in this chapter, this task is complicated by the influence of alcohol consumption, narrowing or contracting attention (O'Brien, 2018, p.80), limiting awareness to the present moment (Turner, 1974, p.87). This can be seen in the impatience that manifests in customers as they stand at the bar waiting to be served, jostling, shouting, staring, waving and reaching to grab the attention of employees in the service area. From this theoretical perspective, patience can be interpreted as a manifestation of the deferral of desire, an interruption of 'self-control' that stretches into the past (recalling the punishment of social control) and projecting into the future (anticipating gratification). However, for the intoxicated customer if only the present exists, then there is no memory of pain from the past or anticipation of punishment in the future to call into question uninhibited consumption in the present.

This is the problem that complicates the work of employees in the nightclub. On the one hand, the consumption of alcohol contributes to the proliferation of uninhibited desire, but on the other, its social control is necessary for collecting payment and preventing dangerous levels of overconsumption. Consequently, employees are expected to serve as many drinks as they can, but at the same time, collect payment in circumstances where those who are being served become increasingly detached from the anticipation of punishment for anti-social conduct and over-consumption. Under these circumstances when employees attempt to make examples of those who have 'crossed the line' or crossed the threshold of self-control (to influence the conduct of other customers in the venue) this can be interpreted as an attempt to reaffirm the force of social control and the 'hold' that is exercised by the anticipation of punishment.

This perspective can be contrasted with an interpretation of such interventions as attempts to preserve a sense of autonomy at work (Paules, 1996). This interpretation might conceive employee interventions as part of attempts to "disrupt the carefully preserved emotional climate of servitude" to maintain a sense of dignity (Bolton, 2010, p.212). Or even as occasions where "customer incivility, sparks the abandonment of display rules and the goal of having satisfied customers" (Gabriel & Diefendorff, 2015, p.40). However, there seems to be something different at stake here than a reassertion of autonomy following a perceived slight. Arguably, neither explanation accounts for the way that employee interventions are involved in maintaining the 'self-control' of customers. In this sense, one might take caution in assuming that employees relish opportunities to 'get their own back' for the indignities of serving 'rude' or 'horrible rowdy people'. Nor would it be certain that employees intervene on account of a cathartic expression of anger or malice that arises from their position or subordination. Indeed, a version of this argument is presented by Stein through his notion of toxicity. This interpretation suggests that "under severe pressure from customers" employees may retaliate by "exacting revenge" (Stein, 2007, p.1223). The issue with this interpretation is that its explanation presupposes a focus on the interiority of the subject, interpreting the task of control as a question of psychological motive. Instead, through theorising employee interventions as the social control of desire, this perspective maintains that it is not customer abuse and psychological wounds from which 'severe pressure' emerges, but from the dangers of uninhibited processes of desire.

Nevertheless, a significant question remains in understanding how a collective disposition emerges amongst employees that sense the necessity of immediate and forceful acts of social control. How is it that a reluctance to enact such practices is met with criticism and scorn? How can their socialisation be understood? How does this collective disposition emerge, and can this be theorised from the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of desire? From the

accounts discussed in this chapter, it appears as if employees who deem themselves in control manifest a conscious will to intervene in customers' consumption which is deemed to be out of control. However, as stated in the theoretical framework, even if employees construe themselves as autonomous - taking their choices or will to be determined by their conscious interests - it is the force of desire that generates this choosing. So how can the genesis of a subject (that is, the employee) be constituted from a force of desire that not only comes to act back on itself - manifesting a deferral of desire in the anticipation of a wage-income - but also on customers, restraining their consumption?

The key to understanding this issue is to understand the relationship of dependency between social control and desire. As Deleuze and Guattari maintain, the social control of desire is central to lasting social collectivities and different arrangements of social control have emerged to permit but at the same time restrain the force of desire. Desire is permitted in a controlled way to siphon off its productive process so that a reserve stock can be stored and distributed to the collective. In the case of the nightclub, this arrangement is carried out by employees that work for a wage, but the function of their social control remains the same, organising and allocating "portions due to each person" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.15) in such a way that the nightclub's profitability is maintained. Deleuze and Guattari argue that the collective disposition to enact social control emerges from the fear of a return to a life that is short, bloody and violent. Therefore, from this perceptive, the collective disposition held by employees in the nightclub can be interpreted as an anticipation of pain, not inscribed by practices of social control, but from a *fear of the force of desire itself*. Intoxicated customers pose a danger to themselves and other customers, but also employees working at the nightclub. The collective disposition of 'us' in control and 'them' out of control, can be understood as emerging from a sense of danger of harm to 'us', the employees, from the force of uninhibited desire, 'them' the customers. This is a fear that is heightened by the specific arrangement of the nightclub's organisation and allocation of "portions due to each person" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.15) from the stock of alcoholic drinks, served principally to maximise sales and accumulate payments.

In this arrangement of the social control of desire in the nightclub and as demonstrated in this chapter, numerous issues constrain employees' capacities to maintain the hold of social control and on many occasions, the force of desire becomes a danger to customers and employees alike. However, employees in the nightclub are dependent for their income on the control of desire in the nightclub in such a way that permits consumption, but in a constrained manner to ward off serious incidents from occurring. Therefore, it is in this sense that employee interventions can be understood to serve a similar function to the spectacle of punishment carried out by an

external authority (discussed in the theoretical review chapter), but the force of their social control is limited. Employees may attempt to maintain the hold of social control through the training and discipline of desire, however, on many occasions, a sense of social obligation amongst customers cannot be maintained. In this sense, work at the nightclub organised toward the "absorption of surplus value" and only secondarily through the collection of taxes for the "requirements of the socius" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p.144), constitutes a distinctly precarious occupational position for employees. This is especially so given that the absence of social obligation and contemplation of consequences is one of the allures of alcohol consumption. When the security team eject customers, social control at the nightclub may be at its most visible for customers to behold (making an example of those who have 'crossed the line'), however, employees do not appear as the 'origin of law and force' and neither do customers owe them a 'debt of existence', only the cost of their drinks. The precarity of employees emerges due to their dependence on a wage siphoned off from payments customers provide for their consumption of alcohol. In this sense, social control becomes dependent on the very force it must restrain. The organisation of the nightclub and the continuity of its functioning depends in part on the interventions of employees, but crucially, it can only maintain its control by first *permitting* desire and then *restraining* it to siphon wages and secure profit. Therefore, social control in the nightclub and by extension the condition of employees is, in this sense, wedded to the force of desire and the consumption of alcohol. The creation of an 'atmosphere' discussed in the first chapter and the practices of control enacted in its maintenance can therefore be understood as this precarious relationship between social control and desire.

Taking the diagnosis of forces in the preceding chapter, from the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari's theory of desire and social control, one can (re)interpret the active force of 'escalation' as constituted by processes of desire and the reactive force of employee interventions as its social control. To recall the position laid out in the theoretical framework on the theory of forces, active forces appropriate, possess, consume and obtain, while reactive forces neutralise, restrain, deprive or prohibit. In this way, reactive forces are conceived as judging the activities of active forces from the perspective of a recipient, "what benefits me, what seems to be selfless on the point of the actor is good…. What is harmful… can be attributed to… selfishness… evil" (Widder, 2012, p.74-75). In other words, from the side of reactivity, active force becomes "blameworthy if it acts, *deserving,* on the contrary, if it does not" (Deleuze, 2002, p.125, emphasis in original). However, to understand how this position of the "spectator" is constituted from a reactive force, "who considers the action he does not perform… as something

to evaluate from the advantage he draws of can draw from it" (ibid, p.74), it is necessary to understand the connection between the theory of forces and the social control of desire.

As demonstrated in this chapter, social control in the nightclub does not prevent, prohibit or overturn desire from manifesting altogether. On the contrary, desire in the nightclub is permitted to manifest in such a way as to siphon off its productive process through the collection of payments. The task of social control in this context becomes the constraint of desire within certain 'thresholds' by reaffirming the memory of pain and the anticipation of punishment to maintain a hold over customer conduct and consumption. The suspension of forces can only be maintained if the *active force* of desire is permitted to manifest within the capacity of the *reactive force* of social control to restrain it. Consequently, it is possible to interpret the provenance of the refusal to 'put up with obnoxious behaviour and sexual harassment' in Sosteric's (1996) study, as constituted by a *reactive force* of social control seeking to prohibit the *active force* of desire. In this way, the point made by O'Doherty & Willmott (2000, 2001) concerning instances when employee interventions were forbidden by management in Sosteric's (1996) study, employees' sense of embodied insecurity and vulnerability ('no matter what you do to me, I still have to serve'), can be interpreted as owing to the perception that the a*ctive force* of desire is no longer restrained with sufficient social control. In this way, the position of the 'spectator', judging force from the perspective of a recipient, can be associated with establishing a sense of security and independence for 'us' and establishing restrictions and limits to the *active force* of desire for 'them'.

From this perspective, the 'uncomfortable marriage' between the alcohol economy, night-time led regeneration of urban centres and civic governance can be understood as a problem that is constituted at the level of the social control of desire. Consequently, the conception of regulation in the NTE as the prevention of drunkenness and disorder is in pressing need of reassessment. This chapter, therefore, argues that it is possible to reconceptualise the conventional understanding of the regulation of alcohol consumption in the NTE, as the *suspension of desire*, rather than the prevention of drunkenness and disorder. As indicated in the preceding chapter, depicting work in the nightclub as characterised by states of order and disorder, responsibility and irresponsibility, sobriety and drunkenness, good and bad; emerges from the perspective of social control. The *provenance* of this perspective is on the side of *reactivity*, conceiving the *active force* of desire as 'bad', 'irresponsible' or 'disorderly' and the *reactive force* of social control as 'good', 'responsible' or 'orderly'. However, the risk of thinking about work in nightclubs in this way is to overlook how both desire and social control as *active* and *reactive*

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forces must *co-exist* to permit desire to bring social life together, but not in a way that it becomes a danger to itself.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that to understand work at the Assembly Club it is important to forgo assuming that the regulation of alcohol consumption is an individualised problem of self-control. Instead, it has considered work at the nightclub as a problem of the social control of desire, which has drawn attention to the role employees play in their attempts to maintain the 'hold' of social control in circumstances where the consumption of the product itself diminishes customers' awareness of consequences to their actions. The chapter draws an important link with the symptomatology of forces, diagnosed in the preceding chapter, demonstrating how the co-existence of *active* and *reactive forces* in the nightclub can be understood as the suspension of desire by social control. The importance of thresholds and escalating situations discussed in the preceding chapter can be understood from this perspective, as mediated by the influence of alcohol consumption and the tension between desire and practices of social control. Furthermore, irrecoverable changes in the atmosphere of the nightclub owe to circumstances where social control is perceived to be no longer capable of restraining the force of desire. Extending the preceding chapter's diagnosis of the suspension of forces, this chapter represents an important theoretical contribution to the thesis, presenting an alternative way of understanding work in the nightclub. The interpretation offered in this chapter departs from its conventional understanding as the prevention of drunkenness and disorder; to offer a conception that acknowledges the reciprocal dependence between forces of desire and social control, recognising the necessity of their co-existence rather than opposition.

The conclusion that follows, reflects on the research aims posed at the beginning of this thesis, considering the discussions that have emerged in the analysis chapters. It will articulate the contributions of the thesis in relation to the limitations identified in the extant literature, discuss this study's limitations and possibilities for further research.

8

Conclusion

Introduction

The preceding chapters have presented and analysed the empirical findings of the research to reconceptualise and critically examine work in the Assembly Club. The purpose of this chapter is to recapitulate the key arguments made in this thesis and its original contribution to knowledge. To do so I will take each of the research aims and objectives presented in the introductory chapter, to discuss how the thesis addresses limitations identified in the literature review and consider how the thesis challenges or redirects debates on service work more broadly. I will then integrate these themes, demonstrating how the thesis can be considered as a whole and the contribution it makes to reconceptualising work in nightclubs. This will be followed by a discussion of the theoretical perspective that underpins the thesis, marking out how its symptomatological approach addressed key issues in theorising the relation between human intention, activity and experience and impersonal forces. I will then consider the study's limitations, which will link back to the discussion in the methodology chapter, considering the process of conducting this thesis and how this influenced the perspective it offers. In addition, I will discuss the scope for future research informed by this study, potentially broadening the agenda of this inquiry into alternative industries. Lastly, in my concluding remarks, I reflect on the way thinking about work in nightclubs has offered a unique opportunity to problematise assumptions about service work and to challenge the way regulation and consumption are understood in the NTE. The next section initiates the conclusion of the thesis by considering its aims and how it has engaged with them.

Research aims

The overall aim of this thesis was to understand the work of bar staff in a nightclub, attending to the nature of their role in selling alcoholic drinks, while at the same time holding responsibility for the regulation of their consumption. In the introduction, I highlighted how bar staff appear to be confronted with a contradictory set of demands, where a profit imperative solicited the maximisation of sales and duties under license restrict unrestrained consumption. To understand

how these are shaped by the context of the NTE and the implications for work in nightclubs, this thesis has shown that it is important to avoid making several problematic assumptions. These include assuming that bar staff can be considered deployable resources for regulation, 'drunkenness' and 'disorder' are 'negative' elements that must be prevented from occurring or designed out, and individualised capacities for 'responsible drinking' can be relied upon to maintain a safe environment for night-life to come together. Drawing on the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, the theoretical framework established how these assumptions have emerged, predicated on a conception of the nature of being and subjectivity that presupposes a concern with interiority. But also, as expressions or symptoms of certain ways of being or qualities of force that require interpretation to understand their provenance. In this thesis, I have argued that to decentre a concern with interiority and to analyse work at nightclubs by forgoing the limitations of these assumptions, it is necessary to analyse the way impersonal forces constitute the phenomena of consumption and regulation in the NTE. This study has shown that there is a need to reconceptualise work in nightclubs as the 'suspension of desire' and provided a critical assessment of the way this is managed axiomatically in a capitalist political economy.

This is the central thesis put forward in this study and is supported by an engagement with the three objectives set out in the introductory chapter. Therefore, in the following three sections I address each of these, by positioning them in dialogue with the limitations they address as identified in the literature review chapter and discussing how they support the central thesis of this study.

Critically examining the management of work intensity

The first objective of this thesis was to critically examine the management of work intensity at the nightclub by analysing its association with principles of axiomatic thought. The literature review chapter discussed how the literature on industrial relations, labour economics, occupational psychology, human relations and organisation studies have identified a trend toward the intensification of work in the UK. Within the literature in industrial relations and labour economics, there is a tendency to consider work intensification as a macro-level phenomenon, influenced by the demands of technological change and market competition (Green, 2004; Green & McIntosh, 2001). However, fewer studies consider changes in management and organisational practices. As the literature review observes, writers in the human resource management literature (Piasna, 2017), point to employer-led flexibility and the management of work effort around short and unsocial hours as a key influence on work intensification. This is also considered to be a pronounced feature of work in nightclubs, where

authors argue that "intensity permeates and shapes the working lives of bartenders" (Buvik & Tutenges, 2017). By way of understanding how this condition of intensity has emerged and shapes work in nightclubs, the theoretical framework chapter presented a need to critically examine axiomatic ways of thinking in its conception and management. This was justified on account of the way that axiomatic principles have become an influential factor in the measurement and organisation of labour power. As the theoretical framework chapter demonstrates, the axiomatic treatment of labour power was first related to the legally imposed limit on the length of the working day, however, with a measure of labour power expressed by a unit of time, it then became possible to derive an axiomatic assessment of labour power that did not express "the nature or quality of work, but simply the time spent working – abstract homogeneous labour-time" (Holland, 2018, p.3). Drawing on this theoretical point, the first chapter of analysis critically examined how an employment relationship managed by axiomatic principles shaped work in the nightclub. This critical inquiry into the way work intensity was conceived raised important questions for understanding how bar staff simultaneously engage with intensities of work that are conditioned by intensive differences yet managed by axiomatic principles.

The first chapter of the analysis, drawing on the theory of axiomatics, analysed the management of work intensity at the nightclub. The thesis demonstrated that the management of intensity, whether it is conceived as an issue of psychological adaptation or the control of labour power and time to maximise profit, is subordinated to the axiomatic organisation of work. The critical assessment this chapter offered, presented an opportunity to understand how management practices reinforced and extended the axiomatic organisation of work at the nightclub. This approach to the management of work intensity resulted in a series of impractical and at times impossible demands imposed on employees. As the chapter demonstrated, the approximate measurement and projective assessment of labour intensity, expressed as a uniform and continuous unit of labour time, generated a disconnect that could be leveraged and exploited to reduce the cost spent on labour. This 'margin of error' emerged as a result of the function of axiomatic thought which generates an abstract form of knowledge to produce approximate measurements and projective assessments of work intensity which were subject to significant intensive differences. This gave rise to a sense shared amongst employees that the management of work was out of touch with its intensities, creating a similar source of "staff anxiety and resentment" observed in Granter et al's study (2019).

This analysis can make an important contribution to broader debates on the intensification of work. The study of axiomatic organisation and engagement with intensive work presents itself

as an important way of bringing two levels of analytical concern with the macro and micro together. It offers an opportunity to assess how abstract labour time and market pricing (typically regarded as macro-level phenomena), interact with management and organisational practices (typically regarded and micro-level phenomena). Or, better still, how they *disconnect* and what the consequences are for employees who inhabit a rift between two sides of the market, one constituted by intensive differences, the other, uniform and continuous. The present study has demonstrated how this disconnect is reinforced by conceiving work intensity as a psychological problem and extended through the control of labour power and time towards profit maximisation. An examination of these issues would seem a pressing concern given that this disconnect may have a significant bearing on trends toward the global intensification of work (Paškvan & Kubicek, 2017, p.30), but also in the United Kingdom especially (Green & McIntosh, 2001; Burchell, 2005). As far as the working conditions for bar staff are concerned, this analysis challenges the assumption that bar staff can be considered readily deployable axiomatic resources for selling alcohol and regulating its consumption.

By highlighting the disconnect between the axiomatic organisation of work and the intensities employees engaged with at the nightclub, the chapter presented an opportunity to further understand how employer-led flexibility is maintained and reinforced in nightclubs (Hadfield, 2006). This represents an important part of recognising how working intensely becomes a significant feature of the working lives of bar staff (Buvik & Tutenges, 2017), but it goes further in examining how it is that the intensities employees engage with are systematically overlooked. Indeed, it is in this light that one can understand how bar staff feel continuously "harried and expected to do more than is possible" (Sallaz & Wang, 2016, p.56). By acknowledging the function of axiomatic principles in the management of work intensity, it is also possible to make an important contribution to debates in the literature on occupational health. Drawing attention to the way axiomatic principles conceive work as uniform and continuous, rather than subject to differences in both degree and nature, one can recognise how they may contribute to the "unsustainable lifestyle" bar staff must attempt to adapt to, with "chronic exposure to heavy drinking customers and demanding shift work" (Conway & MacNeela, 2012, p.983).

Focusing on the disconnect between axiomatic organisation and the intensities of work could also make a significant contribution to debates on coping with the demands of employment in nightclubs and the notion of "extreme work" (Granter et al, 2015). Indeed, it raises important questions for understanding how bar staff "endure their work day" (Reynolds & Harris, 2006, p.101). This analysis adds to these debates in its concern with how employees must endure the management of their work shaped by axiomatic principles that are indifferent to the conditions

that they engage with and the circumstances in which they are employed. In this light, coping strategies (especially those that involve the consumption of alcohol and drugs, for example), that enable a correspondence between individual employees and the demands of work shaped by axiomatic principles, potentially reinforce and accentuate working extremely, pushing its boundaries further (Granter et al, 2015). This would seem to be an important area of concern given that bar staff have the highest rates of occupational mortality from alcohol related problems (Conway & MacNella, 2012).

Conceiving impersonal forces at the nightclub

The second objective of this thesis was to conceive the relation of impersonal forces at the nightclub through an interpretation of the practices involved and employees' lived experiences of work in the venue. The literature review presented in the second chapter established a need to interpret how impersonal forces constitute events in the nightclub. This was justified, first, on account of a tendency in the extant literature on psychology and emotion at work to focus on the interiority of individual employees, overstating individual capacities to overcome complex demands imposed by conditions of work in the NTE. And second, due to the way extant literature informed by affect theory - which attempts to decentre interiority from analyses - continues to posit human intention, activity and experience either alongside or prior to the emergence of impersonal forces, using, designing or planning to control them. The second chapter of the analysis, drawing on the theory of forces and the symptomatological approach laid out in the methodology chapter, decentred interiority as the focus by interpreting aspects of work at the nightclub and perceptions associated with them as *symptomatic* of the impersonal forces that constitute them.

The thesis demonstrates how working at the nightclub can be conceived as involved in reactive suspension, holding active force within certain thresholds to prevent serious incidents from occurring and causing irrecoverable changes in the nightclub's atmosphere. This involves preventing situations from escalating beyond certain thresholds while neutralising escalated situations. In addition, the chapter examines how the reactive force expressed by work in the nightclub functions in a relation of *co-existence* with active force, rather than opposition. This is highlighted in the way that the reactive force is *dependent* on active forces acting to create an atmosphere in the venue. By way of extracting a concept to express this relation of impersonal forces, the chapter advanced the concept of *suspension* as an alternative conception of the function of work in the nightclub, articulating how forces must be kept within thresholds of action and reaction.

Conceiving the relation of impersonal forces at the nightclub and how they constitute the work of bar staff makes an important contribution to debates on affect theory and affective atmospheres. Work influenced by affect theory has sought to decentre interiority from analyses, in favour of analysing "pre-individual forces" (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012, p.52) "capacities" (Clough et al, 2006, p.62) that manifest "prior to the subject" (Fotaki et al, 2017, p.5), in a "prepersonal or transpersonal" dimension (Anderson, 2009, p.77). However, there is a tendency to continue theorising relations of affective forces while presupposing human intention, activity and experience alongside or prior to their emergence. The analysis of suspension in the second chapter challenges this tendency and, instead, demonstrates how intensions, activities and experiences are constituted by relations between impersonal forces. In other words, this meant interpreting how the experience of individual bar staff and impersonal relations of forces are constituted simultaneously. This position calls for a different way of theorising the relation between the personal and the impersonal. While some scholars informed by affect theory recommend that analyses should engage less with representation and significations, to understand the intensities and forces that constitute organisational life (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012, p.52) this analysis suggests, on the contrary, that perceptions and meanings associated with work represent an important part of interpreting relations between impersonal forces.

The analysis of impersonal forces at the nightclub also presents an important contribution to debates in criminology, public health and urban studies. Within these debates, the ideas of "distempered social order" (Hadfield et al, 2009, p.478), a "general sense of… pandemonium" (Tomsen, 1997, p.97), "irresponsible sales and management practices" (Measham, 2006, p.261) and drunkenness are invariably understood as negative elements (Liempt et al, 2015, p.413) that must be prevented, regulated or designed out to offer a commercially sustainable and safe environment for nightlife. On this basis, 'good' or 'responsible' practice is determined as operating in the absence of these negative elements, maintaining an ideal of "public order" (Hadfield, 2008, p.431). The second chapter of analysis, however, challenges this position on account of the way it demonstrates how work in the nightclub cannot function entirely in opposition to these phenomena. Indeed, reactive force is *dependent* on these phenomena occurring, or active force acting within certain thresholds to create a profitable atmosphere in the venue. Therefore, a concern with the *co-existence* of forces in nightclubs signals a departure from the notion that the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption is awaiting a "systematic recovery" (Hadfield et al, 2009, p.478), striving toward order and the absence of "bad bars" (Graham et al, 2006). This perspective reinforces a dichotomous way of thinking which appears to be an inadequate way of determining the problem of work in the nightclub,

constituted by thresholds of action and reaction. As such, changing how this problem is determined and highlighting the importance of the *suspension* of activity and reactivity, at both policy and organisational level, may translate into more appropriate expectations placed on local authorities, police forces, venues and employees which are established in association with the necessity of forces co-existing in suspension, rather than opposing one another.

In summary, supporting the central thesis of the study, the second chapter of analysis has offered an alternative conception of work in the nightclub and the suspension of impersonal forces, drawing on the theory of concepts presented in the theoretical framework chapter. Positing this conceptual framework constituted the chapter's attempt to extract a diagnosis of the relations between impersonal forces that manifest in the nightclub, in a way that 'speaks their event', as opposed to reinforcing an inadequate determination of the problem which expresses a partial conception, owing to a reactive perspective of opposition. Indeed, such perspectives may be argued to speak less to the events that they are intended to describe and more to the position of those describing them. In this respect, Deleuze and Guattari's approach to the creation of concepts may offer further insight into the work involved in selling and regulating the consumption of perceived 'problematic' commodities more broadly. Conceptual diagnoses and the symptomatological study of forces permits thinking that escapes the black and white confines of good and evil, order and disorder, responsibility, and irresponsibility. But most importantly, it offers the basis for adequately determining the nature of complex problems, a task in the literature on work and governance in the NTE that appears to be insufficiently attended to.

Understanding the social control of desire

The third objective of this thesis was to understand how work in nightclubs relates to the social control of desire, by interpreting employee interventions involved in the regulation of alcohol consumption. The theoretical framework established the way impersonal forces relate to specific arrangements of the social control of desire. Theorising work in nightclubs as the social control of desire was justified on account of a need to theorise the manifestation of human intention, activity and experience without presupposing subjectivity. As the literature review chapter demonstrated, emotion is thought to be personal, something the individual possesses and therefore a concern with interiority is presupposed in its analysis. While affect is proposed to be prior to the subject, as indicated in the literature review chapter, but it is not clear how the subject is constituted by affective forces. Indeed, as the literature review demonstrates, the extant literature informed by affect theory tends to continue presupposing subjectivity prior to or alongside affective forces when the intention is to decentre it. As such, it was argued that if one is to strictly maintain (as scholars of affect theory contend) that impersonal forces emerge *prior*

to the emergence of human intention, activity and experience, it must then follow that human ingenuity and embodied skill (conventionally understood as capacities unique to the human individual), should be considered as expressions of a type of impersonal force, rather than the exclusive property of individual subjects.

Deleuze and Guattari's conception of desire offered the basis on which the analysis could conceive how human intention, activity, and experience can be considered an expression of a type of force. As the authors argue, desire functions impersonally and prior to the subject, but it is also constitutive of subjectivity when it is interrupted by the force of social control. As the theoretical framework chapter demonstrated, without this interruption, the hold of subjectivity and the "production of relations" (Colebrook, 2002, p.117), there is no group, collective, society or civilisation. The third chapter of the analysis, therefore, took this theoretical perspective to the interpretation of work in the nightclub, challenging the conception of regulating alcohol consumption as an individualised problem of self-control. Theorising work at the nightclub from this perspective offered an opportunity to consider the influence of alcohol consumption and the challenge this poses to bar staff in their attempts to maintain the social control of desire within certain thresholds. In doing so, the thesis highlighted the importance of the social control undertaken by employees in the nightclub, drawing an important link with the suspension of forces diagnosed in the second chapter of the analysis.

This chapter makes a key contribution to the literature on customer conduct, where scholars have drawn attention to an increase in customer abuse and violence directed toward customer-facing staff (Korczynski & Bishop, 2007). Concerning the NTE, Reynold & Harris (2006) have noted that employees in hospitality occupations are routinely subject to abusive behaviour. The analysis has offered an opportunity to understand further how such conduct may manifest within nightclubs. For example, it demonstrated how employees are expected to serve as many drinks as they can, but at the same time, collect payment in circumstances where those who are being served become increasingly detached from the hold of social control and the anticipation of consequences to their actions. This perspective stands in opposition to the assumption that customers possess individualised capacities for 'drinking responsibly' (O'Brien, 2018). This latter conception holds that individuals can maintain control over their alcohol consumption and has been an influential principle within regulatory policy frameworks (Nicholls, 2009). Indeed, as the discussions with employees demonstrated, such an assumption is, at times, reinforced by those working in the nightclub. However, as the analysis demonstrated, employees were also keenly aware of the different degrees of 'self-control' exercised by customers and the mediating influence of alcohol consumption (O'Brien, 2018).

This thesis also contributes to debates on practices of antipathetic labour in the emotion at work literature (Ward & McMurray, 2016), in the sense that it affirms the importance of the hold of social control in the nightclub and, in some circumstances, making examples of those who have crossed the threshold of diminished inhibition. As the second chapter of the analysis established, this aspect of work at the nightclub can have an important influence on the conduct of customers in the venue, effectively functioning as the role of the external authority discussed in the theoretical framework chapter. The position advanced in this thesis challenges authors writing in the literature on criminology and public health, who have placed bar staff under scrutiny for their perceived contribution to hostility and aggression in the NTE (Graham et al., 2005), setting "unfriendly, confrontational" tones that potentially incite "patrons to engage in violence" (Tutenges et al, 2013, p.459). The analysis challenges this concern on the basis that intoxicated customers pose a danger to themselves and other customers, but also employees at work in the nightclub. On this basis, the collective disposition that emerges among employees to enact practices of social control appears to emerge from a fear of the force of uninhibited desire, rather than an inclination towards hostility and aggression.

Consequently, this thesis questions the assumption that the work of regulating the consumption of alcohol could be possible without forceful intervention, as argued by scholars in the public health literature (Graham et al, 2011, p.558). For example, Graham et al (2005) have expressed concern that bar staff can perceive themselves as enforcers rather than protectors. However, this thesis argues that forceful practices of social control are a necessary part of work in nightclubs. As the third chapter of the analysis demonstrated, it becomes an essential aspect of work for bar staff to become enforcers, establishing a sense of security and independence by maintaining desire within a threshold of social control. In this respect, employees in the nightclub do not merely acquiesce to the responsibility of regulating alcohol consumption, it is also an expression of the existential risk that confronts them in their work. In this way, the analysis contributes to debates on subjectivity and the labour process (O'Doherty & Willmott, 2000; 2001), by offering insight into the way the existential concerns of employees are accentuated by the perception that desire is no longer held within the threshold of social control. However, an important part of this analysis is recognising that employees become *reactive* participants, rather than *active* participants or "protagonists" in the reproduction of the nightclub's organising processes , as theorists informed by Autonomist Marxism may suggest (Gill & Pratt, 2008, p.5). This *reactive* sense of their engagement highlights the way bar staff in the nightclub are dependent on the force of desire that they must also regulate, to ensure the ongoing suspension of events in the nightclub, and to maintain their employment prospects.

The alternative perspective established in this thesis also offers a chance to examine the way that the reactive force of social control increases and diminishes, which has important consequences for the NTE and the working lives of bar staff. In work influenced by affect theory that discusses the phenomenon of affective labour, scholars suggest that employees involved in the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption are *powerful* on account of the dependency of customers for the service of drinks, but at the same time, *powerless* as they remain at customers' "beck and call" (Dowling, 2012, p.111). This thesis extends this idea, by distinguishing the different means by which power is expressed in the relation between the reactive force of social control and the active force of desire. In the perspective Dowling (2012) offers, power is conceived as a unitary force of affect. In certain circumstances, employees express affective power and in others, they cannot. By way of an extension to this formulation, the analysis in this thesis offers a way to understand how the expression of power in these circumstances is not unitary, but functions as a manifestation of two forces that express power by different means (Widder, 2012). Consequently, through this analysis, one can understand further how employees are in some circumstances powerful, and others, powerless, as this is *symptomatic* of the ongoing *suspension* of desire and social control in the nightclub constituted by the relation between reactive and active forces.

The third chapter of the analysis, therefore, presented an opportunity to understand further the relation of co-existence established in the second chapter of the analysis, between the active force of desire and the reactive force of social control. Theorising work at the nightclub as the suspension of desire draws attention to the influence of alcohol consumption, narrowing attention and limiting awareness to the present moment, and diminishing the phenomenon of 'self-control', which brings the challenges of suspending events in the nightclub into sharp relief. Importantly, it also highlights the complex relationship of dependency employees have on the suspension of desire in the nightclub and the limits of their capacity to enforce social control. The apparent contradictory role between empathetic and antipathetic labour discussed in the literature review chapter, therefore, is a manifestation of the suspension of desire constituted by a relation between active and reactive forces, mediated by the influence of intoxication. The dual demands placed on employees for 'warmth', 'friendliness' and 'surliness' 'indifference' are, in this respect, symptomatic of the tension between forces of social control and desire.

This thesis argues that the organisation of the nightclub and the maintenance of its function depends on permitting desire within thresholds of social control, to secure payment for wages and the accumulation of surplus. As such, social control and by extension the ongoing employment of bar staff becomes dependent on the force of desire. The dependency of social

control on desire demonstrated in this thesis, encourages a departure from the characterisation of the NTE as functioning purely based on an "essential disorder" (Hobbs et al, 2005). Instead, this chapter reinforced the need to acknowledge that both social control and desire must co-exist to permit life to come together in the nightclub, without it becoming a danger to itself, or inhibiting its activity altogether.

Reconceptualising work in nightclubs

By way of integrating these themes, this section will explore the relationship between the suspension of desire conceptualised in the last two chapters of analysis, and its axiomatic organisation examined in the first chapter of analysis. This will be followed by a discussion of how, taken as a whole, this thesis reconceptualises work in nightclubs and what contribution it makes to the understanding of service work more broadly. Taking the analysis chapters together, the influence of axiomatic organisation discussed in the first chapter raises important questions for the suspension of desire in the nightclub. If, as discussed in the previous chapter, the function of work in the nightclub serves as permitting but at the same time restraining the force of desire, what are the consequences of organising this work axiomatically? If the operation of the nightclub sustains itself on the co-existence of desire and social control, how does axiomatic organisation influence this process?

Key in answering these questions is a consideration of the significance of suspending desire within certain thresholds. As demonstrated through the analysis chapters, the importance of keeping activities in the nightclub within certain thresholds should not be understated. Both active and reactive forces must co-exist within thresholds of acting and reacting. If these thresholds are not maintained, this may lead to active forces creating irrecoverable changes in the nightclub's atmosphere, on the one hand, or in excessive reactive force which may prevent an atmosphere from emerging altogether. Consequently, the ongoing suspension of forces within thresholds becomes the central task for employees. The suspension of desire in the nightclub is irreducibly problematic, in the sense that it is characterised by intensive differences that necessitate close familiarity and intuitive engagement. And the suspension of desire within certain thresholds becomes even more significant when it is understood in relation to the dependency of employees on the force of desire. The ongoing security of their employment depends on the prevention of serious incidents escalating, avoiding the imposition of license conditions and the maintenance of profitability at the nightclub. At the same time, the security of those working at the nightclub is directly threatened by dangerous levels of overconsumption where customers can become a danger to themselves and others. In this respect, the importance

of assessing thresholds and the enactment of employee interventions which are intuitively evaluated according to the intensities of incidents and events unfolding in the nightclub becomes an essential part of bringing nightlife together in a way that it does not become a danger to itself.

However, the axiomatic organisation of work reduces the problematic complexity of the task encountered by employees in the way it conceives the nature and degree of intensities at work as uniform and continuous, overlooking the sensitivity of thresholds of suspension. Organising the suspension of desire by axiomatic principles proceeds on the basis that the reactive force of social control is *constant*. However, as is clear from the analysis in this thesis, the work of social control enacted by employees in the nightclub is not continuous or uniform. Dependent on the force it must restrain, and therefore precarious in its capacity to express power, the means or tactics of reactive social control can be systematically undermined by organisational principles that are indifferent to the circumstances in which this work must be performed and the thresholds of suspension that must be maintained.

Indeed, a key point to be taken from the final chapter of analysis is to recognise that bar staff are not powerful external authorities, they are not the chieftains of the tribe gathering the excess of harvest, nor can they organise periodic occasions of festive excess to entail a powerful bind on their customers (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000). The reactive force of social control employees enforce can itself be diminished if its means of expressing power (neutralising, restraining, depriving and prohibiting) are attenuated for the purposes of accumulating surplus. Work in the nightclub becomes marked by a constant risk of dangerous levels of overconsumption and the escalation of serious incidents that could lead to dangerous transformations in the atmosphere. Indeed, an indication that the reactive force of social control is being undermined can be observed in the way that thresholds are periodically exceeded in the nightclub, endangering both employees and customers alike.

This thesis, therefore, raises questions over the way that desire, social control and the accumulation of surplus is organised within a capitalist political economy. Indeed, a reconsideration of the way work in nightclubs is understood and the principles by which it is organised seems a pressing question for economic activity that accumulates surplus from the consumption and sale of alcohol; governed by the notion of knowing its limits (Home Office, 2008). Therefore, while this thesis does not advocate for the "systematic recovery" of the NTE (Hadfield, 2009), it does argue that a reconsideration of the way the accumulation of surplus is organised in nightclubs would seem an important concern following on from this research.

One of the overarching analytical questions that drove this research was to critically examine the work of bar staff as situated in its commercial, socio-economic and political context (Hadfield, 2006; Hobbs et al, 2003). This inquiry might conventionally be approached by considering how the individual experiences of employees and their organisational practices within nightclubs are negotiated within the context of a deregulated NTE. Indeed, this is how the thesis was initially set up, in the sense that its principal concern was to understand how individual employees working in the NTE had ostensibly been rendered "deputies" of state regulation (Sallaz & Wang, 2016), selling alcoholic drinks, while at the same time holding responsibly for the regulation of their consumption. This thesis, however, has demonstrated that presupposing a concern with the individual employee located within the context of the NTE, overlooks how this position of employment and the demands of their role are *produced* by impersonal forces, as opposed to being already there, awaiting analysis and understanding. In this respect, the thesis demonstrates the importance of reconceptualising work in nightclubs from the notion of a contradictory occupational role encountered by individual bar staff, to a problem of the social control of desire constituted by impersonal forces. This alternative conception of work as involved in the suspension of desire contributes less an insight into the work of bar staff situated within a political economy of the night-time hospitality industry, as it is more an examination of the way work in nightclubs is a specific *expression* of the political economy of desire and social control in contemporary capitalism.

This argument represents the response offered by this thesis to the challenges posited in the introduction, namely, how to understand work at the nightclub without positing a human subject at its centre and how to approach the analysis of forces beyond human control, when the research process itself is bound to the activities, meanings, and interpretive perspectives of human subjects. As can be seen from the analysis, Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical commitments demand significant revisions to the grounds on which mainstream studies of organisation and management premise their research. In this respect, the thesis builds on existing work informed by Deleuze and Guattari in studies of organisation and management. Conceptualising the suspension of desire in the nightclub and drawing attention to the way activities must be kept within thresholds of action and reaction extends on the work of Cooper & Burrell (1988) and Linstead & Thanem (2007). The analysis of work in the nightclub acknowledges how forces of social control constitute a "defensive reaction to forces intrinsic to the social body which constantly threaten the stability of organised life" (Cooper & Burrell, 1988, p.92). But the concept of *suspension* highlights the way forces within the nightclub may threaten its stability, but they are also essential to its operation. Indeed, active forces of desire

may create irrecoverable changes, but without permitting active forces or by establishing an excessive degree of reactive force, an atmosphere may be prevented from emerging altogether. This conception also extends the way one can understand how desire and social control constitute the "social fabric" (Mohammed, 2020, p.207) of the nightclub. It may be argued that an excessive degree of reactive force, preventing active forces from acting altogether, could be considered an expression of the 'microfascism' that Deleuze and Guattari raise concern about. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, employees are neither "police" or "neighbourhood SS" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, p.228), on the contrary, the reactive force that employees manifest is limited by their dependence on the forces that they must permit to maintain their employment. As such, this thesis has focused on the relationship between active and reactive forces of organisation, as phenomena of desire and social control, which *simultaneously* threaten the stability of the capitalist social body, but also constitute the forces that channel and are channelled into its ongoing functioning (Carter & Jackson, 2004).

Drawing attention to the way forces of desire and social control are "inseparable and co-evolve" does have an affinity with Linstead & Thanem's notion of the 'trembling' nature of organisation (2007, p.1496).The concept of 'suspension' posited in this thesis, accommodates how forces of change are "intricately and co-emergently" embedded within organisation, but it also demonstrates how the 'trembling' of the nightclub's atmosphere is constituted by permitting and regulating the force of desire by reactive forces of social control. In this way, the thesis represents an effort to show how such a relation of forces has come to exist in the nightclub, how they constitute the work of selling alcohol and regulating its consumption, and in doing so, demonstrates a way to approach their analysis empirically. It is in this respect that the thesis extends on previous work informed by Deleuze and Guattari, following through on the implications of their philosophy to make the "shift in theoretical perspective" (Cooper & Burrell, 1988, p.106) that is necessary to accommodate their insights into the study of work and organisation. The following section discusses contributions to wider studies of work before the conclusion moves to consider the limitations of this study and potential avenues for future research.

Theoretical contribution

The principal contribution of this thesis was the reconceptualisation of work in the nightclub as the suspension of desire. By advancing this conceptual perspective, this research offered a way of conceiving how a relation of impersonal forces constituted the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption in the NTE. This challenges the presupposition of interiority

evident in the way work in nightclubs has been theorised to date, whilst also highlighting the importance of thinking through the co-existence of forces, rather than reinforcing the dominant view of their dichotomised opposition. This required a theoretical perspective that could enable an interpretive connection between impersonal forces and human intention, activity and experience.

The symptomatological approach addressed this issue in the way it encourages the interpretation of signs or symptoms of complex social phenomena as expressions of the forces that constitute them, recognising and identifying the provenance of what is said, felt and conceived. An important premise in this approach was that the constitution of social reality emerges first and foremost through relations of impersonal forces, from which subjective experience then manifests. Therefore, the meanings, perceptions and lived experiences attributed to work by employees through this research have been interpreted based on the 'way of being' or force of existing they have expressed. Proceeding on this basis, the symptomology presented in this study demonstrates how working in nightclubs can be diagnosed as a symptom of the forces that have constituted it.

To express this diagnosis conceptually required an ethnographic approach which offered the time to engage with events at the nightclub and to study the problematic of the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption. Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy presented a way of moving from an empirical field in the nightclub to the creation of a singular concept to express the nature of its events. As Brown argues, concept, event and problematic must be "posited together" (2010). The concept of the suspension of desire bears the mark of encounters with the problematic of maintaining the social control of desire within the nightclub. In this respect, the ethnography presented by this thesis informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari is still involved in the process of 'writing culture', but by bringing together the symptomology of forces and the creation of concepts to express problematics, the present study offers a way of understanding the relationship between fieldwork and the process of writing. The potential of this interpretative approach and conceptual development offers considerable opportunity for diagnosing the symptoms and ways of being expressed in other forms of work, and across social phenomena more broadly. Therefore, it has significant scope to inform future theoretical work and practice.

Limitations and future research

At the close of this study, it is important to reflect on the limitations of this research and the potential scope for future enquiries informed by its contribution. The principal limitation to this

thesis is its focus on a single organisational setting, which, as a medium-capacity nightclub in the North of the UK, has organisational problems that are specific to the venue itself and therefore, the issues highlighted in this research should not be considered generalised principles that apply across the night time hospitality industry. Indeed, smaller bars and cocktail lounges, larger nightclubs or public houses are likely to have different relations of forces, arrangements of desire and social control, atmospheres, phases, and thresholds. Consequently, the form of work that takes place in these organisational settings may necessitate different degrees of force and the enactment of different employee interventions. That said, as outlined in the methodology chapter, the purpose of this thesis was not to postulate generalised conclusions about the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption in the NTE but to reconceptualise work in a nightclub in a way that attended to the specific nature of employee engagements and the impersonal forces that constituted them. Therefore, it may be argued that the reach of this empirical study may be constrained in its capacity to inform future research into work in other settings of the NTE, or even to sites of the sale and regulation of 'problematic commodities' more broadly.

To this conclusion, however, I would offer the rejoinder that by demonstrating how to diagnose the impersonal forces that constitute a social phenomenon, creating a conceptual framework that expresses their relationship and conducting a critical examination of their arrangement, this thesis can have broad appeal and relevance to theorists who are attempting to think through work and life organised within a capitalist political economy. And especially for those who seek to understand how social phenomenon can be conceived without presupposing an autonomous and capable individual at their centre or reinforcing limited perspectives on social phenomena that are trapped within dichotomies of thought that pit order against disorder, responsibility against irresponsibility and sobriety against drunkenness.

In this respect, the discussion of the arrangement of desire and social control in this research is not exclusive to the nature of work in nightclubs, and therefore, it is hoped that this thesis can inform future research that takes concern with these questions into other sites of work, production, consumption, and regulation within a capitalist political economy. Researchers may also look to consider themes that were not explored during this research but appeared to be important factors in the regulation of alcohol consumption in the NTE. During this study, for example, one of these themes was the enactment of social control by *customers* in the venue. Customer interventions were beyond the remit of the present study, however, future research might consider this issue in understanding how alcohol consumption is regulated within nightclubs. While this thesis has highlighted the extent to which the regulation of alcohol

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consumption has become an issue that bar staff are increasingly expected to fulfil, customers within the venue also exercised practices of social control on those they appeared to perceive to be a danger to themselves or others. This issue raises important questions about the way social control is potentially internalised amongst customers, as opposed to only those involved in the sale of alcohol. This issue presents itself as a key avenue for future research in the NTE, but potentially across sites that involve the sale of 'problematic commodities' more broadly, whether that is in off-licenses, betting shops, festivals or even supermarkets, which have become a significant outlet for the sale of alcoholic drinks.

The symptomatological approach adopted in this thesis may be considered a limitation as it is reliant upon the interpretation of subjective experience and recollection. Indeed, as the methodological chapter discussed, it is necessary to exercise caution in treating perceptions and meanings attributed to work as a direct reflection of understandings existing outside of interview or focus group interactions. This also seems a point of contention for the symptomatological approach, where the symptoms of social phenomena may present differently. For example, respondents may shape the impressions they give of themselves during conversations. As such, the generation of data, whether it is through interviews, focus groups or video elicitation, is a social phenomenon constituted by relations of impersonal forces and therefore does not exist in isolation.

During discussions across this research for example, whether it was a focus group or one to one interview, specific atmospheres emerged, and certain thresholds of our interactions were constituted and negotiated. Consider also, the way the use of the CCTV system during this research influenced the conduct of bar staff, 'acting up' to the camera and enacting practices of social control they may not have exercised previously. Furthermore, reflecting on my positionality as a researcher, what does the perspective established in this research, which highlights the importance of the social control of desire, express about the way of being or force of existing that the author is constituted by? Is it possible to isolate, distinguish and diagnose the forces that constitute how one thinks? While it is beyond the scope of this study to address these questions in detail, it is important to state that the research process itself was constituted by impersonal forces and in future work that sets out in adopting this approach, an explicit concern directed to the relations of forces that constitute research activity would seem an important area of scholarly attention. Indeed, given that all research is perspectival, including the present study, an attempt to diagnose the symptoms of one's thought and the forces that constitute them would seem an important way of understanding how the research process itself influences the social phenomenon under study and vice versa.

This research also remained focused within the bounds of the atmosphere *within* the nightclub, whilst through the course of this research there appeared to be significant scope for the consideration of the atmosphere on the 'strip' outside the nightclub. This street linked several bars and nightclubs in the city centre and was a location where many intoxicated customers were ejected to. The relation of forces in this area seemed an important area for future research, particularly concerning the way forces manifesting on the 'strip' could influence the suspension of desire within nightclubs, and vice versa. This line of enquiry naturally points to the possibility of future research that addresses the possibility of interpreting relations between forces and the arrangements of desire and social control they constitute on a broader scale, for example, at the level of the NTE within city centres. The potential for future research in this area is already indicated in the second chapter of the analysis, where a discussion was presented on the relationship between serious incidents that exceeded thresholds of social control at the nightclub, and the interventions of local authorities in the form of licensing conditions. Of course, the remit of this study was to consider work in a nightclub and the impersonal forces that constituted it, but extending the scope of this agenda across a city's NTE could be a fruitful line of inquiry.

Concluding remarks

Drawing on the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari this thesis has reconceptualised work in a nightclub involved in the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption, as the suspension of desire. This is a perspective that is underpinned by a theoretical framework and methodological approach that proceeds on an alternative understanding of the nature of being, highlighting the importance of interpreting how impersonal forces constitute social phenomena, human intention, activity and experience. As such, the conception proposed in this research offers an alternative understanding of the nature of work in nightclubs to that which can be gleaned from the extant literature in this area. This research has demonstrated that work in the nightclub is an expression of a reactive force of social control, restraining the active force of desire in a relation of co-existence. A task that is complicated by the influence of alcohol consumption, axiomatic organisation, and the accumulation of surplus, which undermines the social control enacted by employees. This is a pressing issue for the regulation of the NTE as social control constitutes a key function in bringing nightlife together in a way that it does not become a danger to itself. Indeed, as this thesis demonstrates, employees working in the nightclub are dependent on the very force they must restrain, which poses a risk to the security of their employment and a danger to their safety. Consequently, this thesis raises concerns over the way working in nightclubs has been understood and the principles by which it is organised. It is therefore hoped that this thesis may influence theory, policy and practice; presenting a 'well-

posed' determination of the problem of the sale of alcohol and the regulation of its consumption in a nighttime hospitality venue.

Work reconceptualised as the suspension of desire signals a departure from the reactive and limited perspective expressed by its formulation as the 'prevention of drunkenness and disorder'. The latter conception fails to account for the necessity of the co-existence of desire and social control. This alternative perspective forges new questions about how work, regulation and consumption can be conceived in the NTE. It presents a way of understanding how challenges faced by employees working in nightclubs are symptomatic of relations that have emerged between alcohol, human civilisation, power and the economy. Eight years of work in nightclubs have contributed significantly to the pursuit and genesis of this alternative way of thinking. Drawing on a series of insights from Deleuze and Guattari's analysis of life and work in capitalism, this thesis has sought to close the gap between the nature of work in nightclubs and the future of its conception in academic literature.

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