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Regulating nightlife, policing race: a critical exploration of public and private policing in a non-metropolitan setting

Wicks, N.

Regulating nightlife, policing race: a critical exploration of public and private policing in a non-metropolitan setting.

Nikhaela Wicks

Abstract

This thesis draws attention to the ways in which nightlife is constructed along white, local norms by those who have a responsibility for governing and managing nightlife. Situated within 'Greenshire', one of London's home counties, this thesis draws upon direct observations and interviews with police officers, door staff, venue managers, police and local authority licensing officers and street pastors. The research contextualises understandings of race within the broader move from race to diversity, as exemplified by the Equality Act (2010), and supplemented by diversity training programmes and agendas put in place by many police forces across the UK.

This thesis identifies several key findings. The language of diversity, and not race, operates to deny racism in the present and place racism in the past. Narrow understandings of racism as language, defined by what is said rather than what is done, and as a negative character trait, serve to reconstruct the police organisation as not institutionally racist. Despite this, this thesis reveals how stereotypes of the Black 'gang' member and the Gypsy and Traveller permeate the police's attitudes and behaviours. Amongst both the official ('public') police and devolved ('private') policers of nightlife, understandings of racialized Others are informed by ideas of place and belonging. Black night-time participants from London are confined to attending 'urban' nights which are intensively governed and segregated to a small number of nightclubs across the county. Gypsy and Travellers also remain excluded from the main night-time high streets through historical policing practices referred to as 'no no-ing'. This thesis uncovers how the night is constructed around the ideals of 'acceptable whiteness' (Bhopal, 2018, p. 29) in Greenshire, defined by forms of embodiment, practices, behaviours and temporal rhythms which are characteristically white and are deemed appropriate by the public and private police. These ideals inform licensing decisions, the policing of 'the door' and dancefloor, as well as the information shared between the public and private police.

This thesis extends the literature on licensing practices (Talbot, 2004, Talbot 2006, Talbot, 2009, Talbot 2011) by drawing attention to how informal investigations into Temporary Event Notices are conducted by police and local authority licensing officers to determine the racialized nature of the night-time event which has been applied for. I reveal how the public police and some licence holders work together to assess the risk of night-time events, audiences and performers through a white lens which problematises Black performers, large

Black crowds and Gypsy and Traveller clientele. Finally, this thesis argues that the public and private police draw upon a victim discourse to reframe themselves as the victims of accusations of racism at night, whilst Black and minority ethnic individuals are framed as problematic, illegitimate complainants.

Contents

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Author's declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

<u>Chapter 1. Introduction</u>

<u>Introduction</u>

The thesis presents the findings of an ethnographic study which uncovers the ways in which nightlife is policed along racial lines in Greenshire. Specifically, this project draws upon observations of, and interviews with police officers, police and local authority licensing officers, door staff, venue managers, licence holders and street pastors. I also draw upon two night-time economy meetings which were attended by a mixture of police officers, door staff, venue managers, bar staff, street pastors and others with a responsibility for overseeing nightlife, as well as informal conversations with paramedics and taxi drivers. As such, the thesis interrogates the policing of nightlife through a top-down approach, informed by observations of night-time economy meetings and an interrogation of police and local authority licensing decisions, as well as being attentive to the types of night-time events hosted by licence holders. The thesis also takes a bottom-up approach, drawing upon observations and interviews with those who have a responsibility for policing nightlife 'on the ground'. This project draws attention to the ways in which nightlife in Greenshire is constructed along the norms of 'acceptable whiteness' (Bhopal, 2018, pp. 29-30), arguing that the access and experiences of white local night-time participants is privileged in Greenshire. Initially, this chapter outlines the aims of the study and the research objectives. I then provide a background to Greenshire and the two nightlife areas which were observed throughout the fieldwork. I provide specific details on the nightclubs, bars and pubs which informed the thesis, through observations in these spaces or via interviews with staff, and then provide a background of Greenshire Police Force. Finally, I finish by outlining the structure that the thesis will take.

<u>Background to the research</u>

1. <u>Postrace sensibilities and contextualising police race relations in the UK</u>

The discourse surrounding race has changed in recent years in the UK, with postrace arguments drawn upon as evidence that 'race' no longer matters and racism no longer exists (Nayak, 2006, Tate, 2016, Tate and Bagguley, 2017). The language of 'diversity' has in fact erased 'race', with an increase in institutions with equality and diversity policies, documents

and agendas in the UK. This can be seen in numerous contexts, from Higher Education (Ahmed, 2007a, Ahmed, 2007b, Bhopal and Rhamie, 2013), to healthcare (National Health Service, 2018) as well as the public police (National Police Chiefs Council, 2018) to name a few. Within the public policing context specifically, the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) (2018) recently launched the Diversity, Equality and Inclusion Strategy for 2018-2025 which states that their vision is to create a more representative workforce by 2025 (NPCC, 2018, np). Local police forces set their own Diversity Agendas, training and targets for the recruitment of Black and minority ethnic police officers and staff (NPCC, 2018). Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) are responsible for scrutinising the progression of a Diversity, Equality and Inclusion Strategy in each local police force. Interestingly, at the time of the research, not every police force had a Diversity Agenda or strategy available on their website which uncovers the ways in which this front-facing engagement with diversity is localised.

The Stephen Lawrence murder in 1993 and the resulting Macpherson Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999) was a catalyst which drove much change in the policing discourse and a respect for diversity and recognition of cultural and gendered identities became normative (Loftus, 2007, p. 2). Macpherson found police institutions to be institutionally racist, coming to very different conclusions to those of Scarman in 1981 (Scarman, 1981, para 4.63) who traced racism in the police force to a small number of prejudiced individuals. Macpherson defines institutional racism as:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people (Macpherson, 1999, para 6.34).

This has resulted in new generations of police officers who are encouraged to show better regard and treatment to groups who have not traditionally been fairly served by the public police institution (Loftus, 2007, p. 2). Until recently, some institutions, including the police, used positive discrimination to increase the recruitment and promotion of those from Black and minority ethnic groups, as well as other under-represented groups (Dene, 1991, Johns, 2006, People Management, 2013, Johns et al., 2014). Positive discrimination is now

prohibited under the Equality Act (2010), which allows service providers to take 'positive action'. Positive action is defined as:

> treating one group more favourably where there is a proportionate way to help members of that group overcome a disadvantage or participate more fully, or in order to meet needs they have that are different from the population as a whole (Government Equalities Office, 2010, p. 3).

Three conditions must be met for employers to take positive action: the service provider must think that a group of people who share a protected characteristic are disadvantaged because of that characteristic, the action taken needs to enable or encourage the group to overcome disadvantage and must be a proportionate way to increase participation, meet different needs or overcome disadvantage (Government Equalities Office, 2011, p. 3). It is unlawful to treat members of an under-represented or disadvantaged group more favourably if these conditions have not been met (Government Equalities Office, 2011, p. 5).

In addition, figures reveal that stop and search continues to be disproportionately used in police interaction with Black and minority ethnic groups (Shiner et al., 2018). In England and Wales, Black people were eight times more likely to be stopped and searched in comparison to their white counterparts in 2016/2017, whilst Asian people and those in the 'mixed' group were twice as likely (ibid.). Disproportionate arrest rates, the use of out of court disposals and sentencing statistics also demonstrate that Black and minority ethnic groups continue to be discriminated against in numerous realms of the criminal justice system (ibid.). The Best Use of Stop and Search Scheme (BUSS) (Home Office, 2016) was launched in August 2014, which sought to reform police stop and search in the UK with forces now required to actively monitor their use of stop and search powers. Within this scheme, there is no mention of disproportionality or how discrimination might be eliminated (Shiner et al., 2018, p. 7). Recent research by Long also draws upon interviews with Black and minority ethnic individuals who share their experiences of racial profiling from an early age and continue to feel under protected by the police institution (Long, 2016, p. 183). Black and minority ethnic individuals also report lower levels of confidence in the police compared to their white counterparts in the UK. Gypsy and Travellers report the lowest levels of confidence in the police, only half as likely to have confidence in their local police force compared to the percentage for all adults (The Traveller Movement, 2018, p. 3). The world-wide 'Black Lives

Matter' movement also demonstrates how race continues to affect the life experiences of racialized minorities (Garza, 2016). Any ideas or beliefs that we are 'postrace' must therefore be critiqued. Race continues to impact one's experiences and perceptions of the police force and the over-representation of Black and minority ethnic individuals is apparent at every level of the criminal justice system (Shiner et al., 2018). The next section will explore the ways in which race informs the construction and policing of nightlife and racialized night-time participants.

2. <u>Policing race at night: a snapshot of the literature</u>

In this section I explore how nightlife is produced as a racialized space from a 'top-down' perspective, specifically paying attention to licensing practices in 'Southview' (Talbot, 2004, Talbot, 2006, Talbot, 2011). I then examine how processes of gentrification mark nightlife in city spaces as white space (Hae, 2011, Hankins et al., 2012, Oloukoï, 2018), before outlining how racialized night-time participants face discrimination through door practices and dress code policies in Denmark, the US and Canada (May and Chaplin, 2008, Rigakos, 2008, Søgaard, 2014, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2017). Much of the research on race and nightlife has taken place in city centre contexts, with non-metropolitan contexts narrowly understood as areas which do not have a 'race problem' due to their whiteness (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997). The existence of Black and minority ethnic individuals in contexts outside of urban areas has been denied (Jay, 1992, Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, Neal, 2002). My research seeks to fill a gap in the literature by exploring how race is produced through the policing of nightlife in a context which is distinctly provincial.

Until November 2017, the Metropolitan Police force used the 696 form to police live music events in London. This form evidences an explicit link made by the Metropolitan police between Black music events (Talbot, 2011, p. 89) and disorder. The London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, banned the use of the 696 form in November 2017, stating this unfairly targeted Black and minority ethnic performers, particularly grime artists (Gillet, 2017). The Fridge Bar in Brixton was famously closed in 2014, following unsubstantiated claims by police licensing officers that Black participants were causing high levels of disorder (Peyer, 2015). More recent academic literature has revealed how traditionally Black forms of music, such as grime and drill, continue to be criminalised in the UK (Fatsis, 2019, Ilan, 2020).

The academic literature has also drawn attention to the ways in which the process of gentrification has produced nightlife spaces as places for white, affluent individuals (Hae, 2011, Hankins et al., 2012, Oloukoï, 2018). Hae's work (2011) traces the death of downtown in New York, a nightlife area which hosted hip hop and reggae parties attended primarily by Black and minority ethnic crowds. As business owners took advantage of cheap rents and derelict buildings in the downtown area in New York, these parties were closed down in an attempt to draw a more affluent (white) crowd to the area (Hae, 2011). Oloukoï's (2018) research in Jeppestown, South Africa, also evidences how alternative spaces of sociability used by Black and minority ethnic individuals at night, such as shops, grocery stores and hair salons have been closed through processes of gentrification which produce Jeppestown as a place for the needs of white, affluent individuals. The process of reclaiming nightlife space as an area for the needs of whites can sometimes be lengthy, with white elites working together over a long period of time in Atlanta in the US to reclaim night space used by Black students (Hankins et al., 2012). In time, this night space became reproduced as a high-end retail area used primarily by white affluent customers.

In addition, the use of door practices and dress code policies in producing nightlife as a space which is raced, gendered and classed has also been highlighted in Denmark (Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017), Canada (Rigakos, 2008), and the US (May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014). Black and minority ethnic men in Aarhus, Denmark are interpreted through 'vernacular risk perception' (Goldstein, cited in Søgaard, 2017, p. 258) with door staff open about their exclusion of minority ethnic men on the doors of night-time venues. 'Informal attitude tests' are used to test the attitudes of ethnic minority men on the doors of nightclubs (Søgaard, 2014, p. 60). Rigakos found that the nightclub queue was a key area where door staff would sort night-time participants by race, class and body language (Rigakos, 2008, p. 158), although their work does not focus specifically on race. Door policies in 'Northeast', an anonymous area in the US, make racism explicit, with some banning forms of clothing which are racially coded, such as: athletic jerseys, baggy jeans, caps, oversized plain white t-shirts, 'wife beaters' and sweatbands (May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014). White night-time participants were observed gaining entry wearing banned items of clothing, revealing the ways in which dress codes are disproportionately applied to Black and minority ethnic night-time participants (ibid.).

The next section unpacks some of the key terms which have been used in the title of the thesis.

The thesis title

Before exploring the research aim, objectives and the analytical framework that guides the study, it is important to unpack some of the key terms that are used within the title of the thesis. Whilst much of the academic literature on nightlife refers to 'regulation', this term is often not explicitly defined. This thesis is inspired by the work of Michel Foucault, with regulation understood as both framing and responding to social change (Foucault, 1980, p. 106). Foucault's Panopticon is indicative of this, influenced by the importance of visibility and social organisation underpinned by the Enlightenment (Foucault, cited in Talbot, 2002, p. 6). Knowledge informs regulatory responses, with what we think we 'know' about crime in a particular period determining how we regulate and punish individuals (Hall, 1997a, p. 49). Regulation therefore refers to the systems and practices by which meanings of race are constructed by social actors and institutions with a responsibility for policing nightlife in Greenshire.

I refer to the 'public' and 'private' police to highlight the multiplicity of actors who have a responsibility for policing nightlife in Greenshire. Whilst the thesis recognises the blurring of boundaries between the public and private police (Garland, 2001), the 'public police' is used to refer to police officers who are employed directly by the state, whilst the 'private police' refers to those who have a responsibility for policing but who are not directly employed by the state – such as door staff, venue managers and street pastors. By utilising the term 'polic*ing*' the thesis refers not only to social actors but also policing processes which inform nightlife, such as dress code policies and licensing arrangements (Crawford, 2005, Brodeur, 2010, Crawford and Lister, 2014, Bacon et al., 2020). Whilst a much more in-depth theorisation of race, and the other key terms, can be found in my literature review, I approach race as a discursive construct and am therefore interested in the process of racialization (Hall, 1997b). The ways in which race, ethnicity and culture are often intertwined in the process of racialization is explored further in the thesis.

The next section outlines the research aim and objectives and briefly sets out the analytical framework.

Research aim, objectives and the analytical framework

It is important to differentiate between the research *aim* and the research *objectives.* In defining the aim of the research, 'the researcher must decide what its overall, long-term aim is and describe the overall purpose (what should be accomplished) in general terms' (Doody, 2016, p. 22). The research aim leads naturally to the research objectives which are more specific and are often ordered in a logical sequence (ibid.). The overriding aim of the research therefore is *to critically explore how race is produced through the governance of nightlife in Greenshire.* The research objectives are as follows:

1. To examine how formal understandings of race, acquired via the police diversity training and agenda, impact the public police's understandings of race and the interaction between the public police and racialized minorities at night.
2. To critically assess the factors underpinning police licensing decisions and how/if these are informed by ideas of race.
3. To explore how ideas about race influence the public and private police response to racialized night-time participants 'on the ground'.
4. To examine how police understandings of race are made within a provincial context which is predominantly white and to discover how these are informed by the wider political, social and cultural context in which they are formed.
5. To critically assess the relationship between the public and private police in policing nightlife and the implications this has (if any) for policing racialized minorities at night.

Whilst an in-depth exploration of the analytical framework underpinning this study is provided in Chapter Three, here I briefly outline the chosen analytical framework and the rationale for this. Reviewing the literature led to the identification of critical discourse analysis as the guiding analytical framework. Critical discourse analysis allows me to reinstall the critical lens which has been lost in some of the criminological literature on policing. McLaughlin writes:

> it has never been more important to forge a critical police studies that is ... capable of conceptualising policing developments against socio-cultural, economic and political transformations. It remains the case that studying the police in the

broadest contextual manner is of vital importance (McLaughlin, cited in Loftus, 2007, p. 73).

Whilst this thesis is not a cultural studies thesis, it is influenced by cultural studies theorists, placing understandings of race within a wider cultural, social, political and economic climate which draws on post-race sensibilities (Tate, 2016) in an attempt to deny racism, prejudice and discrimination in society (Pitcher, 2014, p. 2). In using critical discourse analysis, I explore how conceptions of race and nightlife are produced in and through the actions and language of the public and private police in a range of different contexts. I use this analytical framework to analyse my observations in the police diversity training room, as well as in interviews, observations and informal conversations. I also utilise textual discourse analysis in the analysis of Greenshire's Diversity Agenda. This analytical framework allows me to remind the reader that race is not something which objectively exists in the world, but is meaningfully produced through discourse (Hall, 1997a, p. 6), and has effects on the ways in which nightlife is produced, policed, accessed and experienced in Greenshire. With the analytical framework defined, the next section provides a background of Greenshire and outlines the two main towns in which the fieldwork took place.

Mapping Greenshire

The research was conducted in 'Greenshire', a provincial context located in the South of England. Firstly, I will provide a background of Greenshire's demographics and map the area, before moving on to provide details of Greenshire Police Force and the nightlife in Greenshire. In this thesis, I preserve the anonymity of Greenshire Police Force and as such, the names of the towns, my research participants and the nightclubs have been altered. Some details of the research environment have also been altered.

Throughout the thesis I refer primarily to three policing areas: North Greenshire, West Greenshire and South Greenshire. Observations took place primarily in Forsham, a town situated in South Greenshire, and Penton, a town situated in North Greenshire. A small number of observations of police licensing officers took place at night-time venues situated in various towns across Greenshire, however, these towns will not be referred to separately. To provide clarity, this thesis will make reference primarily to the three policing areas, referring

only to Forsham and Penton when drawing upon particular observations or night-time practices which were specific to these locations.

Greenshire is a wealthy county, with many commuters taking advantage of the strong transport links to London, although pockets of deprivation can be found across the county. The most recent census data from 2011 reveals that Greenshire is a predominantly White British area, with over 90% of residents describing themselves as White British. A smaller percentage of residents are from Black or minority ethnic backgrounds (BAME), with the majority of those comprising of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black African ethnic origin. BAME residents are more concentrated in the policing area of West Greenshire. University campuses are situated in both West Greenshire and North Greenshire. The student BAME population has increased yearly over the last decade, however, the difference in the racial and ethnic makeup of the campuses is marked. The campus in North Greenshire is predominantly attended by white British students, although an increase in Asian and Black students has been seen in recent years. A new campus has been established in West Greenshire which has generated an increase in the number of students from BAME backgrounds, particularly those who are Black African or Black Caribbean. Many of my research participants noted the increase in Black students from London who took advantage of the quick transport links between the university campus and their home. This is summarised by Scott below:

> The university campus here is relatively new, as in, ten years old really, and the demographic of that is predominantly a much higher proportion of Black and ethnic minority than what we have in West Greenshire initially. I think there are more diverse groups around now than there ever has been

> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

Students reside in concentrated areas in West and North Greenshire. South Greenshire is populated primarily by residents and is an area made up of a number of traditional market towns. These towns differ in wealth, with some boasting a number of private schools, national trust properties and acres of rural countryside. Others, like Forsham, are more densely populated with large shopping centres, cinema complexes and restaurants which generate high footfall throughout the week and weekends.

<u>Nightlife in Greenshire</u>

The changing nature of nightlife has resulted in a reduction in privately owned bars and pubs which provide alternative nightlife experiences and an increase in a small number of large scale corporate leisure chains producing branded experiences (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). In Greenshire, there has been a marked reduction in the number of nightclubs, bars and pubs in the last decade, with many towns which once had established night-time high streets now having a handful of bars and pubs which are owned by a small number of breweries. However, two main towns remain known for their nightlife: Forsham, situated in South Greenshire, and Penton, situated in North Greenshire. Some residents use transport links to travel to these towns for nights out, however many residents favour visits to local bars and pubs for ease. Venues in both Forsham and Penton tend to be more 'mainstream' rather than 'niche' (Lindsay, 2006, cited in Nicholls, 2015, p. 15), catering to a predominantly white, local, largely heterosexual clientele. The nightlife offered is therefore geared towards a fairly narrow consumer base, although bars, nightclubs and pubs use their own branding and advertisements to draw their desired clientele. Dress codes, door policies (with some operating 21 and over on weekends), branding and location meant that some venues attracted students whilst others favour residents of differing ages. Local residents tend to go out on Friday and Saturday nights, whilst students favour week nights where they take advantage of drink promotions and themed night-time events. Some locals were observed at student nights throughout the fieldwork.

My observations took place primarily alongside police officers and door staff in Forsham and Penton. I also conducted interviews with venue managers and door staff at a small number of nightclubs and bars outside of these main towns. Firstly, I describe the nightlife in Forsham and Penton in turn, providing a description of the night-time venues situated in these towns which inform the findings of this thesis. I then provide a description of three venues which are situated outside of Forsham and Penton but inform the thesis due to observations of police licensing visits, as well as interviews with door staff and venue managers who work at these venues.

Forsham

Forsham is situated in South Greenshire and has traditionally had the most established night-time high street in Greenshire. However, the town has seen a decline in the number of nightclubs in the last decade. Nightlife in Forsham is now primarily made up of bars and pubs with two nightclubs near the main high street. During the thesis, I regularly draw upon observations and interviews with those who work at the following venues in Forsham:

Altitude is the largest nightclub in Forsham, open Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The venue hosts local DJs on a weekly basis as well as ticketed events with famous performers and DJs. Weekdays tend to be reserved for students, with some locals attending. A student only bus service takes students from the university campus in West Greenshire to *Altitude* on Wednesdays to attend 'urban' nights'. On 'urban' nights there was an increase in Black night-time participants and the music played tended to be a mixture of grime, drill, R&B and hip hop.

Teasers is a sexual entertainment venue (SEV), described as a high class bar which offers VIP tables on Friday and Saturday nights. Night-time participants are able to book private dances in private suites. The drink prices were noticeably more expensive than other high street venues and bottles of champagne and very large bottles of prosecco were displayed in advertisements and in the bar area, with the licence holder describing wanting to attract a more 'sophisticated clientele'. There were a number of other bars and pubs which were located along the main high street in Forsham, however I did not conduct observations at these venues or interviews with staff and they have therefore not been referred to separately in the thesis.

Penton

Penton is situated in North Greenshire. Nightlife is concentrated primarily to the high street which is formed largely by a mixture of bars, pubs and two nightclubs. Many of the pubs are owned by a nearby brewery, and sell many of their own brands. Some of these pubs and bars are corporate-owned chains and serve food during the day-time. There two nightclubs that are situated near the main high street which are referred to throughout the thesis as *Dashers* and *AM to PM.* Throughout the fieldwork I became aware that *Outlaws,* a cocktail bar turned

nightclub, also hosts 'urban' nights on an irregular basis. There is a university campus which is situated a short bus ride or taxi journey away from the main night-time high street in Penton. I draw upon interviews with research participants who work for *Outlaws* and *Eclectic* throughout the thesis. A brief overview of these night-time venues is provided below:

Eclectic

Eclectic is the main university nightclub in Penton. This nightclub hosts regular themed nights as well as local and famous DJs and performers. In the past, the nightclub hosted 'urban' nights, however, throughout the fieldwork door staff informed me that these had recently been banned by the university management.

Outlaws

Outlaws is a venue which markets itself as a restaurant and cocktail bar by day and early evening. At night, the venue transforms into more of a nightclub experience, playing a mix of music across different floors, with one floor playing hip hop, R&B and grime whilst the other floor plays old school dance anthems and chart hits. 'Urban' nights are hosted on an irregular basis.

Other venues of note

Throughout the fieldwork, I also conducted observations of police licensing visits and interviews with the licence holders and door staff at the following venues:

Monarchy

Monarchy is a nightclub which is situated on a fairly quiet high street in a town in West Greenshire. The nightclub is popular with students from the university campus in West Greenshire and hosts foam parties, fancy dress nights and ball pit parties. The nightclub had a small number of rooms with each playing different music from R&B, chart music and cheese. Low admission and drink prices are used regularly to encourage students to attend on week nights. The venue manager described the nightclub as a place attended by both students and locals on weekends.

Air and Breathe

Air and Breathe is the largest nightclub in Greenshire and is situated in West Greenshire. The nightclub has two floors and a number of rooms where a range of music is played to cater for a wide range of clientele. The nightclub hosts ticketed events with famous DJs and performers as well as live boxing. VIP tables and booths are reservable which allows night-time participants free entry, queue jump wristbands and waiter service. The licence holder works closely with the police and council in a partnership scheme which aims to keep nightlife in West Greenshire safe.

The Kings Arms

The Kings Arms is a pub owned by a large national chain with pubs across the UK. *The Kings Arms* offers cheap food and drink and continues to attract large numbers of night-time participants. I interviewed a member of door staff who worked at one of *The Kings Arms* establishments situated in North Greenshire (but not in Penton).

The above provides details of the venues that informed the thesis, through either interviews with door staff and venue managers that worked there, or via observations of the venue (and in some cases, both). I did not observe late-night food venues or restaurants, only alcohol centred venues.

Greenshire Police Force

The police force employs around 3000 police officers who police a mixture of police districts made up of rural areas, traditional market towns and a city. Greenshire has experienced a recent increase in new police recruits, driven forward more recently by a national campaign launched by the government to increase recruitment across all 43 police forces between 2019 to 2021 (Home Office, 2019). Externally, the force are working to increase the number of BAME police officers and host a range of recruitment days and events. BAME police officers continue to be underrepresented in proportion to the BAME resident population in Greenshire, with the force looking to increase BAME recruitment by roughly 5%. The diversification of the police force continues to be an overarching goal of the wider police institution, with the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) Diversity, Equality and Inclusion Strategy stating that their vision is:

That by 2025 policing will be a profession with a more representative workforce that will align the right skills, powers and experience to meet challenging requirements (NPCC Diversity, Equality and Inclusion Strategy, 2018, np).

Internally, there has been a creation of staff support networks for women police officers and staff and BAME officers and staff. All new police recruits are required to attend diversity training as well as a two day 'diversity placement' before they start their roles as police officers. The Deputy Chief Constable runs senior level board meetings to ensure that the force is operating according to the College of Policing's Code of Ethics, underpinned by the following policing principles: accountability, fairness, honesty, integrity, leadership, objectivity, openness, respect and selflessness (College of Policing, 2014, p.1). More locally, police officers and staff with different faiths or cultures are encouraged to host events or talks on these for attendance by their colleagues. Information on the different faiths and cultures of residents in Greenshire is also available for staff on the internal police website.

The police officers who were observed and interviewed as part of the research were primarily of police constable rank. I had meetings and telephone calls with senior police officers, including those at assistant chief constable level, to obtain access to the force. I also had meetings and informal conversations with a small number of inspectors in charge of sergeants and police constables to obtain access to their teams for observation and interview. Almost all of the police officers who informed this study are white British, with one officer of Indian heritage. I also interviewed and had informal conversations with police support staff who are of Indian and Pakistani heritage. These informal conversations, meetings, observations and interviews have informed the thesis.

This section has provided a brief background of Greenshire Police Force and the structural and cultural changes which have taken place in recent years. The next section outlines the structure that the thesis will take by providing an overview of the focus of each chapter.

Structure of the thesis

This chapter has situated the study by providing a background of the geographical context in which the fieldwork took place, as well as a brief overview of the current literature on the policing of race within the context of nightlife. This thesis investigates the ways in which

race is produced through the policing of nightlife in a non-metropolitan context which I have called Greenshire. It explores how the policing of nightlife functions in night-time economy meetings and through licensing decisions, as well as 'on the ground'. By exploring the policing, management and construction of nightlife in a wide variety of contexts, this thesis argues that taken for granted understandings of how the night should be and who the night is for operate in a myriad of different settings. The results this has for producing nightlife as a space for predominantly acceptable white (Bhopal, 2018, p. 29), young local night-time participants is explored in more detail throughout the thesis.

Chapter Two outlines the definitions of race, policing and nightlife which underpin the thesis. The chapter is then broadly framed through three themes. Firstly, I explore the literature on the policing of race in the UK before turning to historical understandings of the racialized 'folk devil' (Cohen, 1972). I then explore the policing of race within the context of nightlife by paying attention to the practices, policies and processes used to police nightlife in a variety of contexts. Finally, I explore conceptions of race and racialized Others within contexts outside of city centres, in order to further situate my research study amidst the wider literature on race in non-metropolitan contexts. In doing this, I deconstruct whiteness to explore the racialization of Gypsy and Travellers and the discrimination that this group faces in a variety of contexts, including nightlife in the UK (The Traveller Movement, 2018).

Chapter Three provides a background of the research methodology, the methods used and the theoretical framework which underpins the study. I outline the ethnographic approach that the fieldwork took and provide a rationale for focusing on those who have a responsibility for policing nightlife rather than the experiences of minority ethnic night-time participants themselves. Critical discourse analysis is introduced as the analytical framework which guides this study, and I explore how this has been used to analyse Greenshire Police Force's Diversity Agenda, as well as interviews, observations and field notes which informed my research findings. I reflect on the research process by exploring my own white privilege and positionality as a white researcher conducting research on race and policing. Gaining access and acceptance and the ethical considerations which informed this study are also covered in detail.

Chapter Four is the first findings chapter. This chapter is informed by observations of the police diversity training, analysis of the force Diversity Agenda, interviews with police

officers and meetings and informal conversations with police trainers. In doing this, this chapter provides an understanding of how race and racism are constructed and produced within broader diversity discourses which are drawn upon in a range of different policing contexts. In exploring how racism is constructed in these settings, I provide an alternative definition of racism which will inform the findings chapters.

Chapter Five explores licensing practices in Greenshire. Primarily, this chapter draws upon interviews with police licensing officers and a local authority licensing officer and observations of licensing visits alongside police licensing officers. This chapter draws attention to the importance of Temporary Event Notices (TENs), revealing how police decisions regarding TENs are informed by local policing practices, the individual subjectivities of the licensing officer and the geographical area in which they police. The relationship between the public police and licence holders in maintaining nightlife space as an area for white locals is explored in this chapter. I reflect upon conversations in multi-agency night-time economy meetings, led by either the police or street pastors, as well as an interview with a local authority licensing officer, to reveal the explicit racism that informs TENs for night-time events where a Gypsy and Traveller clientele is anticipated.

Chapter Six pays attention to the policing of 'urban' nights. 'Urban' nights is a term used by my research participants to refer to nights at a small number of night-time venues in Greenshire which play traditionally Black music, such as grime, drill, hip hop, R&B and bashment. These nights see an increase in the numbers of Black night-time participants from the university campus in West Greenshire as well as nearby cities. This chapter draws upon observations of 'urban' nights to explore how Black night-time participants are understood, governed and managed by door staff and licence holders at night. I argue that the ways in which these nights are noted, and are accordingly policed, are indicative of the underlying, often invisible ways in which nightlife is constructed along the norms and ideals of white locals.

Chapter Seven reveals the explicit exclusion that Gypsy and Travellers face from nightlife in Greenshire. This chapter draws attention to the informal practice of 'no no-ing', where night-time radio systems and CCTV cameras are used to govern, manage and displace Gypsy and Travellers from the night-time high street in Forsham. I reveal how despite an acknowledgement of racism towards Gypsy and Travellers by the public police, their

exclusion is legitimised through stereotypes which are presented as factual by many of my research participants. I argue that narrow understandings of racism and the ambiguous racial status of Gypsy and Travellers mean that racist practices, such as 'no no-ing', continue to operate without being challenged.

Chapter Eight presents the main conclusions of the research by drawing together the key findings present across the four findings chapters. I outline how this thesis provides an original contribution to a much under-researched area in the UK and highlight areas which need further investigation. I specify organisations and individuals who will be interested in the findings of this research and finish by revealing how the research findings have been fed back to my participants. The impact this has had in driving changes in the training of street pastors is discussed.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

<u>Introduction</u>

In many of the early night-time studies, nightlife was presented as a hedonistic space of violence and transgression (Muggleton, 2000, Bennett, 2000, Hobbs et al., 2003, Winlow and Hall, 2006), and the segregation and marginalisation which permeates nightlife was overlooked. In recent years, there has been a growing body of literature which draws attention to the ways in which subcultural forms of expression, and Black and minority ethnic night-time participants, are segregated and excluded at night in the UK, US and Denmark (Talbot, 2007, May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017). Media attention has also drawn attention to discriminatory policing practices at night in the UK, with police licensing officers banning bashment music (Nagesh, 2016) and famously closing the Fridge Bar in Brixton in 2014 following unsubstantiated claims that Black night-time participants cause high levels of disorder (Peyer, 2015). The discriminatory actions of door staff and the impact these have on Black and minority ethnic participants has also come to light in the academic literature (Søgaard, 2014, 2017, May, 2014, May and Chaplin, 2008) and in the media (Duell, 2015). This chapter will initially define the key concepts which underpin the research project: race, policing and nightlife. An overview of the literature will be provided in order to demonstrate how my research provides a unique contribution to this body of knowledge.

<u>Key concepts:</u>

In this section I provide a brief introduction and understanding of the three key areas which underpin my study: race, policing and nightlife. Intersecting literature on these topics is explored in much more detail later in the chapter.

<u>Race</u>

Historically, understandings of race have been based upon the premise that there are real genetic differences as the basis for racial classification (Hall, 1997a). This drives essentialist understandings of particular racialized groups, such as the racist belief that Black people are

naturally better at sport and dance but are less intelligent than white people. Essentialist understandings of race position Black individuals as inferior to whites and become a way of creating and justifying inequalities (ibid.). Comparatively, the linguistic position argues that there are no real differences between the races as differences are created by humans in their language and culture (ibid.). This research sees race as a discursive construct, as race has been, and continues to be, defined differently throughout time (Hall, 1997a). Understandings of any given topic are dependent upon history, context, events, stories and culture which provide us with different understandings throughout time. Pitcher writes:

> Just as meanings of the words in a dictionary change as the culture that uses them changes, it is an illusion to think that the meaning of any concept (from race to gender to class to cupboard to computer to love to kindness) remains static across time and space […] its meaning is thoroughly cultural […] it does not and cannot exist outside of this (Pitcher, 2014, p. 4).

The language of race and ethnicity continues to shift in the contemporary globalised world, with 'Black' no longer used to refer to anyone who has suffered from white racism (Gilroy, 2002, Arshad, 2010). 'Black' now refers to people of African and Caribbean origin, with terms such as 'Black and Asian' or 'Black and ethnic minority' introduced to describe others who would have previously fallen within the 'Black' category (ibid.). 'Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME)' is increasingly used to describe all minority groups who are viewed as having suffered racism due to their skin colour and/or ethnicity (Institute of Race Relations, 2020). In addition, the importance of self-defined ethnicity arose following the national census in 2001, and police forces began asking individuals to self-define their race against the 16+1 ethnicity codes outlined by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2007). However, identity codes (IC) continue to be used by police officers to describe the perceived race or ethnicity of an individual in radio communications and on police databases (Kirk, 2017). More recently, the ethnic status of Gypsy and Travellers has been outlined by the Equality Act (2010), which protects this group from discrimination by the law. Two new code values were added to the 16+1 ethnicity codes in 2018, one being W3 -Gypsy or Traveller and the other O2 -Arab (HM Government, 2018). Understandings of race, and definitions of race, ethnicity and culture are therefore intertwined and shift over time. This thesis refers to the process of racialization, which is defined as follows:

above all a process (thus evoking a historical trajectory) in which ideas and practices of "race" are injected into a social relationship, as properties of people (Garner 2013; Maldonado 2009); places (Durrheim and Dixon 2001); spaces (Lipsitz 2007); institutions (Brewer and Heitzeg 2008; Carter, Harris, and Joshi 1987; Harell, Soroka, and Ladner 2014), relationships (Eng, 2010), inter alia. In these examples, there are implicitly agents, mechanisms, subjects and objects although these are seldom given explicit focus in the work on racialization (Garner, 2017, pp. 2-3).

By exploring race as a discursive construct, this thesis pays attention to the thought processes, language and practices of the police which reveal particular understandings of race and racialized minorities in Greenshire. This thesis explores the locally contingent nature of racialization, and the impact this has for the specific ways in which nightlife is managed, policed and experienced. The research will be attentive to the ways in which race gets made in numerous, complex ways in different settings, drawing upon observations of diversity training, night-time economy meetings as well as the policing of night-time high streets and venues in Greenshire. Before considering such issues, it is important to explore contemporary understandings of the police and policing.

Policing

The policing context has changed dramatically in the UK in the last seventy years. Throughout this time there have been shifting relations between state and market providers of policing (Crawford, 2014, p. 173). In the 1950s, the public police experienced a 'golden age' of policing, where crime rates were low and the public opinion of the police was high (Bayley and Shearing, 1996). The golden age began to dwindle in the early 1970s, with corruption scandals regarding police violations of legal procedures leading to an increase in civil liberties groups (Reiner, 1992, p. 764). The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE) was created to balance police powers with the concerns of civil liberties groups, however, the cases of the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six, alongside a number of other miscarriage of justice scandals continued to see a decline in public attitudes towards the police (ibid.).

Since Garland argues that the boundaries of the public and private police have become 'blurred', with the government encouraging 'partnership', 'inter-agency co-operation', 'multi-agency approach' and 'active citizens' (Garland, cited in Davidson, 2011, p. 53). Policing is now increasingly carried out by private security in the commercial sector, with numbers in private security now outweighing those in the public police in the UK (Davidson, 2011, p. 58). This process has been commonly referred to as the 'pluralisation of policing' (Lister, 2006), resulting in the end of a monopoly of public police and the public police's search for a new role in society (Bayley and Shearing, 1996, p. 591). The pluralisation of policing has been noted by many police researchers (Loader, 2000, Newburn and Jones, 2006, Crawford, 2014, Lister and Jones, 2016), with policing in contemporary society depicted as beyond the work of the uniformed police force. Crawford writes:

> Policing can no longer (if it ever could) be conceived as simply 'what the police do'. This necessitates an acknowledgement of, and political engagement with, the mixed economy of policing which is structured by a complex division of labour and multi-faceted relations between plural providers, auspices and actors (Crawford, 2014, p. 173).

Policing has become increasingly privatised, with profit-making, commercial industries providing direct security as well as unpaid non-commercial volunteers (ibid., p. 587). Door staff are also increasingly responsible for policing nightlife on the ground and operate either independently or work for private security firms. Interestingly, whilst door staff operate independently, the requirement of the Security Industry Authority (SIA) licence is set by the Home Office (Security Industry Authority, 2015).

However, policing also 'exceeds the work of the police. It is diffused everywhere into the social and institutional order' (Foucault, cited in Garriot, 2013, p. xv). In a nightlife context, one is policed not only by the private and public police, but also through CCTV surveillance, night-time radio systems (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002), identification scanning (Palmer et al., 2013) and 'BarWatch/PubWatch' schemes (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, Rigakos, 2008). Throughout the thesis I use the term 'private police' (Crawford et al., 2005) to refer to any social actors or organisations that have a responsibility for policing who are not employed by the state. This includes door staff, venue managers and street pastors. I use the term 'public police' (Crawford et al., 2005) to refer to the activities of the state sponsored

police force in Greenshire. Whilst there is an osmotic relationship between the state and private forms of policing, resulting in the 'cross fertilisation of techniques, practices and mentalities' (Crawford, 2014, p. 174), there needs to be a clear distinction between the private and public police. Private policers tend to be reactive rather than proactive, concerned with risk and loss prevention, whilst the public police are concerned with law enforcement or detection (ibid.). For private policers, regulatory forces of 'membership' and 'access' are powerful modes of control, with powers centred around removal, dismissal and exclusion (Crawford, 2014, p. 175). Making a distinction between the public and private police is crucial for making a contribution to the academic literature, as

> relatively few authors have discussed private and other plural forms of 'policing beyond the state' when reviewing options for establishing democratically accountable policing (Lister and Jones, 2016, p.192).

This thesis also moves beyond narrow understandings of the police as a noun, to understand policing as a verb (Brodeur, 2010), exploring how numerous techniques of policing at night (such as CCTV surveillance and night-time radio systems) inform the way in which nightlife is managed, accessed and experienced in Greenshire.

<u>The night</u>

Much of the night-time literature has referred to the 'night-time economy' (Hobbs et al., 2003, Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, Winlow and Hall, 2006, O'Brien et al., 2008, Nicholls, 2018), with the night traditionally defined as after 21:00 hours and the evening economy between 18:00 -21:00 hours (Eldridge and Nofre, 2018). Shaw argues that we must move beyond the phrase 'night-time economy' to 'explore how non-economic and non-alcohol based practices intersect with the more visible features of the urban night' (Shaw, 2014, p.1). Focusing solely on the night-time *economy* or market ignores the numerous ways in which the night is utilised, from young people gathering in parks and streets to drink free from observation (Williams, 2008, Wilkinson, 2016, Wilkinson, 2018), to young women gathering to get ready, share stories and drink (Nicholls, 2018, Nicholls, 2019), to street pastors using the night to provide community support (Middleton and Yarwood, 2015) to name just a few. The night is best referred to as a 'contact zone' (Shaw, 2015), whereby multiple and complex interactions take place (ibid.). A wide array of actors regulate the night, from residents and

consumers, police officers, private security, entrepreneurs and public officials (Van Liempt et al., 2015). Most recently, London, along with Paris, Toulouse and Zurich, have followed in the footsteps of Amsterdam and have appointed a Night Czar (Eldridge and Nofre, 2018). In 2017, New York approved the creation of a Nightlife Advisory Board. Across the globe, the night also offers a space for political protests, such as the 'Occupy' movement, which attempts to disrupt the rhythm of cities at night to obtain social and economic justice (Shaw, 2015). 'Reclaim the Night' marches have been used to heighten the awareness of the continued sexual violence toward women at night (ibid.), whilst night-time safety schemes offer training on customer safety to those working at night (Drinkaware, 2020, Good Night Out Campaign, 2020).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the UK government turned their attention to the night as a means to transform cities into creative, consumer and cultural hubs (Biachini, 1995, Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, Eldridge and Nofre, 2018). The government's goal of achieving a relaxed and cosmopolitan atmosphere at night became associated with neoliberalism, which increasingly favoured the free market, competition and private forms of governance and regulation (Roberts, 2009, Hadfield, 2014, Shaw, 2015). The Licensing Act (2003) abolished opening and closing times for night-time premises (Loveday, 2005, Hadfield, 2007) and night-time researchers revealed the importance of the private police, particularly bouncers (Winlow et al., 2001, Hobbs et al., 2003, O'Brien et al., 2008, O'Brien, 2009) in regulating the night-time scene. Following this, public concerns grew regarding an increase in drunkenness, noise and anti-social behaviour (Measham and Brain, 2005, Measham, 2006, Hadfield, 2007). Working class individuals were demonized for their lack of sophistication at night (Haydock, 2009, Haydock, 2014), and concerns over the 'ladette' reveal how worries were informed by prejudices around both class and gender (Day et al., 2003, Day et al., 2004, Eldridge and Roberts, 2008, Nicholls, 2018). Licensing practices, drink and entry prices, entry requirements, 'members only' venues, online registration processes and the music played at night-time venues were mechanisms through which exclusion was enacted (Van Liempt et al., 2015). The exclusion of particular groups was predicated upon their class, gender, ethnicity and age (ibid.). Van Liempt et al., (2015) argue that strategies of securitization are not about a response to a pre-existing threat, but their active construction involving a broad and heterogeneous makeup of social actors (p. 413). There has also been an increase in the use of surveillance such as CCTV at night (Van Liempt et al., 2015), ID scanners (Palmer et al., 2013), and policing procedures such as searching on entry, zero

tolerance, breathalysing on entry, Pub watch, Best bar None and Banned from One, Banned from all (Police and Crime Committee, 2016).

The night is therefore political and shaped by notions of inclusion and exclusion. The ways in which the night is regulated are revealing of ideals of how the night should be and who the night should be for. This thesis moves away from narrow conceptions of the night-time economy to view the night as an arena through which issues of power, regulation, access, inclusion and racism can be explored. My conceptualisation of the night draws on Shaw's work positioning of it as a 'contact zone' (Shaw, 2015), and throughout the thesis I pay attention to the negotiations that occur between social actors and how subjects are constituted by their relations to each other at night. Eldridge and Nofre write:

> studying the night is not simply about researching clubbing, deviancy or subcultures…it also offers the opportunity to think through emerging forms of governance…the blurring or indeed stubborn distinctions between night and day and the shifting anxieties and pleasures through which the night is so often framed (Eldridge and Nofre, 2018, p. 3).

The terms 'night' and 'nightlife' will be used throughout the thesis to demonstrate a distinct move away from narrow conceptions of the 'night-time economy'. Studying the night outside of the specifics of the economy means that the numerous actors that shape the night, as well as the policies and practices which produce particular ideals of how the night should be, can be explored as part of the research. Doing this is important for thinking more broadly about how the night is lived, experienced, managed and understood (Eldridge and Nofre, 2018, p. 3), raising questions about dominant discourses which construct the night. Building on and utilising the key concepts and definitions that have been outlined above, the remainder of the chapter will now consider the literature on policing and race, race and nightlife and race and racialization in non-metropolitan contexts.

From 'bad apples' to institutional racism

This section traces the language of racism in policing contexts since the first investigation into police racism by Lord Scarman in 1981 (Scarman, 1981), before providing an up-to-date picture of the over-representation of Black and minority ethnic communities at different

stages in the criminal justice system (Shiner et al., 2018). Following the St Pauls riots in Bristol in 1980, where police raided a café where Black youths congregated (Long, 2016), Scarman (1981) launched the first investigation into police racism. Lord Scarman denied the existence of institutional racism in society, stating that racism could be traced to a number of 'bad apples':

> It was alleged…that Britain is an institutionally racist society. If by that it is meant that it is a society that knowingly, as a matter of policy, discriminates against Black people, I reject the allegation. If, however, the suggestion being made is that practices may be adopted by public bodies as well as by private individuals which are unwittingly discriminatory against Black people, then this is an allegation which deserves serious consideration, and where proved, swift remedy (Scarman, 1981 para 2.22:11).

Scarman drew attention to the loss of confidence in the police and police practice, and encouraged the police force to increase the recruitment of ethnic minority groups, improve police accountability, provide training in community relations and introduce disciplinary processes (Scarman, 1981). Despite Scarman's recommendations and the introduction of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) (1984), created to balance police powers and the rights of the public, there was little improvement in police-race relations. Prior to the Macpherson Inquiry into Stephen Lawrence's murder in 1993, Hall (1999) warned of continued prejudice and feelings of mistrust on behalf of Black communities. The Macpherson Inquiry (1999) found the Metropolitan Police Service institutionally racist, with institutional racism defined as follows:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people' (Macpherson, 1999:6.34).

This finding was not well received by the Metropolitan Police Force or by police forces nationally (Long, 2016, p. 44). Foster et al.'s (2005) study reveals how institutional racism was linked by police officers to individual behaviour, inducing anger and defensiveness, whilst Hall (1999) critiqued Macpherson for not drawing attention to individual racism, as

well as institutional, in the inquiry into Lawrence's murder. In 2000, the Race Relations Act (1965), which requires all public institutions to take action to promote race equality and imposes a duty on institutions to eliminate unlawful discrimination, was extended to include the police (Race Relations Amendment Act, 2000). Since, this Act has been repealed and replaced by the Equality Act (2010), which protects individuals from discrimination on the basis of nine protected characteristics: race, age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation.

<u>The police force in change? Police Diversity Agendas and the changing nature of racism</u>

More recently, some police forces have written Diversity Agendas, provide diversity training to officers and host recruitment campaigns which aim to diversify the workforce from the traditional white, male officer. Section 149 of the Equality Act (2010) also reveals that authorities, including the police, are duty bound to eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation and advance equality of opportunity between those who share a protected characteristic and those who do not. Loftus writes:

> There is, now, an active pursuit of a Diversity Agenda by external official inspecting bodies (see, e.g. HMIC 1995 ; 1999). Strict adherence to the new realities is important to career success — not only for the rank and file, but, increasingly, for senior officers. The category of ethnic origin has been recast as a prime administrative indicator in documenting the composition and patterning of the workforce, and there has been a renewed emphasis on recruiting those from previously excluded backgrounds into the police (Loftus, 2008, p. 758).

In the UK, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) scrutinise the progression of diversity in the police force and individual forces set their own targets for the recruitment of Black and minority ethnic police officers and staff (National Police Chiefs' Council, 2018). Many police researchers take these changes as evidence that police culture responds innovatively to change and argue that Reiner's (2010) negative dimensions of police culture (of which racism is one) are now in transition (Loftus, 2010b). These surface changes to the policing context have:

> Generated a discourse that orthodox characteristics of police culture no longer make any sense. The developments in policing have been interpreted as contributing to the

demise of an 'old' police culture and beginnings of 'new' cultures' (Loftus, 2010b, p. 16).

Most recently, Pearson and Rowe (2020) conducted a six year ethnography in two police forces in the UK and rebuked the idea that there is a coherent police culture. However, other researchers have evidenced that the 'old' dimensions of police culture, including the salience of discrimination and racism, continue to permeate the police force. Drawing upon an ethnography of 'Northshire' Police Force, Loftus (2007, 2010a) explored the effects of the changing political importance of cultural and gendered identities on the culture of the force. The formal acknowledgement of diversity was found in multiple policy documents, with diversity training made compulsory for all officers. A Task Group and divisional Diversity Panels with senior police officers, community organisations and academics were also installed. Loftus states 'the conscious establishment of the group demonstrates that police culture was considered problematic by senior officers *themselves*' (Loftus, 2008, p. 760). Northshire Police Force launched a Multicultural Police Network, Female Support Association and Lesbian and Gay Support Group to support officers in the force. There were also high profile recruitment campaigns and spatial arrangements meant diversity became celebrated in the police architecture, printed on coffee cups, mouse mats and posters (ibid.).

However, Loftus (2008) found that the reaction to these changes was split, with white male officers showing resistance to change, whilst women, ethnic minorities and gay and lesbian officers demonstrated opposition to persistent white, male heterosexual culture. Some police officers interpreted Black and minority ethnic individuals as using their ethnicity to their advantage, and problematised schemes of positive discrimination for marginalising the opportunities of white, male officers (ibid.). Loftus (2008) argues that this evidences a lack of understanding of the specific problems faced as a result of one's ethnicity, gender and sexuality. The narratives of resentment and discontent evidence the preservation of a hegemonic culture, with feelings of loss, envy and injustice shared by some police officers in the study (ibid.). Whilst there was a broad acceptance that overt discrimination was no longer acceptable in the police institution, this was due to the disciplinary line taken with police officers rather than a 'a genuine change in assumptions and understandings of the issues of discrimination' (Loftus, 2008, pp. 762-763). Discrimination, and racism, therefore continue to permeate the institution, however this now works in more subtle, implicit and covert ways

(Foster et al., 2005, Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, McLaughlin, 2007, Loftus, 2008). Loftus writes:

> What these officers are describing is an interior environment in which forms of discrimination are pervasive, yet subtle — a proposition that finds salience with recent works that have located the operation of 'stealth' or 'covert' racism within police organizations… For many, this new guise of discrimination reflected the entrenched dominance of white, heterosexist males. This composition, it was believed, continued to espouse intolerant views, but merely 'chose their audiences' when expressing them (Loftus, 2008, p. 770).

Officers learnt the importance of managing their daily narratives and became aware of what words were censored, developing white spaces which allowed them to resist the persistent diversity rhetoric (Loftus, 2008). Coded schemas are increasingly relied upon in broader society, transforming the ways in which racism is articulated (Miles and Small, 1999, cited in Loftus, 2008, p. 770). Loftus refers to the 'elusive nature of discrimination' and a 'prejudiced temperament' (Loftus, 2008, p. 770) in police institutions. Similarly, Holdaway and O'Neill's research on Black Police Associations (BPA) revealed that due to racism's covertness, Black officers felt unable to complain about the racism they felt, due to being unable to 'put their finger on it' (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, p. 98). There has therefore been a shift from 'overt racism to covert articulation' (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, p. 89) of racism in the police force. The lasting institutional memory of overt racism prior to the Macpherson Inquiry, and the presence this had in the memories shared by police officers, as well as the continued stereotypes drawn upon in questions posed to Black officers are some of the ways in which racism was articulated (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, pp. 98-101). The BPA also reported reluctance from senior officers to provide funding to the BPA, problematised Black staff being assigned to Black mentors and shared that there was a lack of action by white senior officers when Black staff complained (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, p. 101).

Police institutions still remain white, heterosexual and male spaces, despite an increase in Black and minority ethnic and female officers. Aspects of the organisation contribute to old ways of thinking and behaving, and Loftus argues that officers continue to remain in a unique role of enforcing the law in a liberal democratic society (Loftus, 2010b, p. 17). Finally, Loftus warns that whilst there have been changes in the policing context, through Diversity

Agendas and recruitment campaigns to diversify the force, researchers must not use these as evidence of the transformation of police culture (Loftus, 2010b, p. 16). She writes:

> I would question the extent to which police culture has changed in light of developments in policing… By emphasizing the novel aspects, I am concerned that they lose sight of the remarkable continuities and inertia within police values, assumptions and practices (Loftus, 2010b, p. 16).

The increase in the diversity rhetoric can be seen in numerous institutions, with Ahmed's (2007a) research exploring the effects of this in Higher Education settings. Ahmed critiques Diversity Agendas, arguing that they are detached from the histories of struggle for equality and also reify difference, with diversity depicted as something which exists in the bodies or cultures of others (2007a, p. 236). Diversity becomes a property; something 'they' have and, in turn, something 'we' can obtain (ibid.). Ahmed writes:

> diversity 'works' because it secures rather than threatens the ethos of the university, with its orientation towards education as a form of business. If this is the case, we need to ask what kind of 'work' diversity 'work' is doing (Ahmed, 2007a, p. 238).

The resistance to diversity documents within the institutional setting is itself a sign of inequality, with institutions redefining words in ways that block action (Ahmed, 2007a, p. 239). Diversity is defined in ways that reproduce rather than challenge social privileges (ibid.). In addition, Puwar (2004) argues that the increased presence of Black and minority ethnic individuals within institutions should not be taken as evidence that racism no longer exists. This is because the white body continues to be the somatic norm against which all other bodies are positioned in society (Mills, cited in Puwar, 2004, p. 33). A racial contract also exists which reserves spaces for first class citizens who are white (Mills, 1997).

The above research is indicative of the changing nature of discrimination and racism in police organisations, shifting from overt to more subtle, covert and implicit manifestations (Foster et al., 2005, Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, McLaughlin, 2007, Loftus, 2008). Some of this research focuses on the experiences and viewpoints of Black and minority ethnic officers themselves. My research seeks to address a gap in the literature which explores how the police (both public and private) understand race and govern racialized minorities within the

context of nightlife. My research goes further to think about the purpose of the diversity rhetoric in the police institution and explores how race is conceived within the broader focus on diversity and nine protected characteristics (The Equality Act, 2010). Through observations of the diversity training, and interviews with police officers, I also explore how they make sense of the diversity training and if and how it informs their policing practice at night.

Policing race and racialized communities – the current picture

Concerns regarding police racism and brutality have fuelled more recent developments. Most recently, the murder of George Floyd in the United States led to a series of global protests in which police racism was brought to the forefront (BBC News, 2020). Black Lives Matter campaigns reveal that concerns of police racism are worldwide, revealing continued police misconduct and raising questions about the continued social inequity faced by Black communities (Rickford, 2016). In the UK context, the London 2011 riots were linked to the lack of respect shown towards Black and minority ethnic groups by the police, as well as unemployment, cuts in services, the shooting of Mark Duggan and deaths in police custody (Lewis et al., 2011). Black and minority ethnic communities, particularly Black African Caribbean communities, continue to be interpreted as 'suspect populations' (Webster, 2007). *The Colour of Injustice* report by Shiner et al. (2018) draws upon police and court statistics to reveal racism at each layer of the criminal justice system in England and Wales. Black and minority ethnic groups continue to be overrepresented in stop and search rates, arrest and out of court disposals and in sentencing statistics. Black people were eight times more likely to be stopped and searched in comparison to their white counterparts in 2016/2017 and were more likely to be arrested as a result of stop and search than whites (Shiner et al., 2018). This differed for Asian people and those in the 'mixed' group, who were stopped and searched at more than twice the rate of white people (ibid.). In addition, Black people were less likely to be given out of court disposals and were therefore more likely to be prosecuted (ibid.). Shiner et al. (2018) argue that the policing of drugs is the current key driver behind ethnic disparities in the crime data, with Black people prosecuted for drug offences at more than eight times the rate of white people in 2017.

Long's (2016) research involved interviews with twenty research participants who identified as either Black or Black and white mixed-'race' and had experience of police contact. The participants had experiences of over-policing in 'black areas', which were marked as racially

othered spaces due to the race and class of residents in these areas (Long, 2016, pp. 156-157). Long's research participants argued that when crimes (such as drug taking) are carried out by white people, they are not constructed as a problem or ascribed to a particular racialized group (2016, p. 159). Black and mixed-'race' people felt they were treated differently by the police in comparison to their white counterparts (Long, 2016, Long, 2018). In the UK, Black male victims are less likely to report crime to the police due to racism (Yarrow, 2005) with Black and minority ethnic individuals reporting a lack of confidence and trust in the police (Sharp and Atherton, 2007).

Much of the contemporary research on policing and race draws upon crime statistics, quantitative analysis of survey data (Shiner et al., 2018) or interviews with Black and minority ethnic individuals on their experiences of policing (Long, 2018). My research adds to this literature by exploring the language and practices of the public and private police themselves. Through an ethnographic approach, the research will be attentive to the language of race in different policing contexts, and by different police actors, questioning what this indicates regarding the relationship between the police institution and race. My research also adds to the literature by exploring police understandings of race and racialized communities at a time when police racism and brutality has been brought to the global forefront through the Black Lives Matter movement and protests regarding George Floyd's murder.

Policing the Crisis and the racialized 'folk devil'

The way in which race is interpreted through a police lens of suspicion can be traced in the historical racialized folk devil (Cohen, 1972), which has shifted from the Black mugger in the early 1970s (Hall et al., 1978), to the Muslim terrorist following 9/11 (Mythen et al., 2009) and most recently the Black 'gang' member (Williams, 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016). *Policing the Crisis* (1978) reveals how fears surrounding race and racialized Others are informed by wider social fears and anxieties at a given time. At the time when the Black mugger was defined as problematic, the British public were experiencing a decline in the benefits of the 1960s following World War Two, which had led to rising living standards, full employment and the expansion of the welfare state (ibid.). The Handsworth mugging in 1972, where three ethnic minority boys mugged an old man for small change and keys, was used to direct attention away from wider social changes and onto individual, 'criminal' bodies (ibid.). Hall et al. write:

The image of the 'mugger' erupting out of the urban dark in a violent and wholly unexpected attack or penetrating right into apartment blocks become, in many ways, the precipitate for what were in fact much larger fears and anxieties about the racial issue in general (Hall et al., 1978, p. 21).

The discourse of Black criminality had effects, with police reportedly jumping on Black youths who retaliated and were arrested and tried. Pre-emptive policing took hold and Anti-Mugging Squads were set up, jumping the gap between what Young termed 'theoretical and empirical guilt in the interests of administrative efficiency' (Young, cited in Hall et al., 1978, p.41). There was a widespread anxiety about the supposed increase in social permissiveness and the courts were accused of being too lenient. Borstal sentences became introduced for child muggers who were sixteen years old and three-year prison sentences for muggers between seventeen and twenty-one. The media also solidified the notion that Black youth were problematic. By using conjunctural analysis, Hall et al. (1978) are attentive to the political, cultural, economic and social influences that pattern particular moments and give rise to racialized folk devils. *Policing the Crisis* (1978) is a pivotal text for demonstrating how anxieties surrounding race and racialized Others are used by the powerful to direct attention away from greater crises in society at a given time.

More recently, the events of 9/11 led to the creation of a new folk devil with 'the Muslim' defined as problematic (Mythen et al., 2009). The 7/7 bombings in London in 2005 further specified the Muslim folk devil as the 'alien within' (Mythen et al., 2009, p. 740). The news media reinforced the idea that second and third generation Muslims represented a terrorist problem and Muslim culture became essentialised and described as 'radical' and 'extreme'. The Muslim was problematised for not adhering to British values, with political discourse focusing on the importance of integrating all Muslims into a 'British way of life' (ibid.). This had a marked impact on the Muslim community, with stop and search rates of Asian citizens under anti-terrorism laws increasing in England and Wales from 744 in 2001 and 2002 to 2989 between 2002 and 2003 (ibid.). Asian communities also become subject to disproportionate police surveillance, criminal justice interventions, penal sanctions and harsher sentences. British Muslims faced racial harassment, abuse, graffiti, threats and physical violence (ibid.). The death of Jean Charles de Menezes, the Forest Gate raid and the suspected Old Trafford bomb plot are further evidence of the serious effects of being defined as a 'folk devil'.

More recently, the attention has shifted to the 'gang' in the UK (Alexander, 2000, Alexander, 2004, Smithson et al., 2013, Williams, 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016). The August 2011 riots were used as evidence of a 'gang' problem (Smithson et al., 2013) with the prime minister declaring an 'all out war on gangs and gang culture' (Cameron, cited in Smithson et al., 2013, p. 115). In the same way as the response to the Black mugger, the police readily accepted the gang threat and created police gang units such as Trident in London and Xcalibre in Manchester. Despite the development of gang databases across criminal justice and welfare agencies, there is no objective or reliable understanding of how many gangs or gang members exist in the UK (Williams and Clarke, 2016, p. 5). Williams and Clarke (2016) argue that the gang construct is a resource used to criminalise racialized groups, particularly Black and brown young men. 87% of individuals found on the Trident database were Black, Asian or minority ethnic at the time of the research (Williams and Clarke, 2016, p. 10). Following on from the acceptance of the 'gang' problem, Joint Enterprise was used to tackle 'gang' and 'knife' crime. This means that an individual can be sent to prison for being present at a crime or not stopping the crime if present (Williams and Clarke, 2016, p. 7). Those convicted under Joint Enterprise are serving longer tariffs, are more likely to consider themselves to be not guilty and are more likely to be in the process of appeal (ibid.). The proportion of Black/Black British people serving custodial sentences for Joint Enterprise offences is eleven times more than the proportion of the general population who are Black/Black British (37.2% compared to 3.3%) (ibid.). In interviewing prisoners who had been sentenced under Joint Enterprise, they revealed that linguistic cues had been used to dehumanise them in court, described as 'animals baying for blood' and a 'pack of wolves/animals' (Williams and Clarke, 2016, p. 17). Williams and Clarke write:

> the prosecution of serious violence through a 'gang' construct that appears unevidenced has the very real consequence of undermining justice and further rousing the question of procedural (un)fairness with BAME communities (Williams and Clarke, 2016, p. 20).

This section reveals how stereotypes impact the surveillance and criminalisation of Black and minority ethnic communities at night. Whilst some of the night-time literature reveals how fears of the 'binge drinker' (Measham and Brain, 2005, Haydock, 2009, Hubbard, 2011), who is distinctly white and working class, fuelled nightlife concerns in the early 2000's, this research will be attentive to how stereotypes work to construct racial and ethnic communities

in particular ways. The specific effects racial and ethnic stereotypes have on the creation, access, management and governance of nightlife in Greenshire will be uncovered. I will be attentive to if and how current constructs of the racialized Other as the 'gang' member (Williams, 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016) impact police perceptions of young Black men at night, exploring how racial and ethnic stereotypes inform the policing of nightlife not only 'on the ground', but also in more formal settings such as night-time economy meetings. The language of the police and what this reveals regarding their understandings of Black and minority ethnic individuals will be uncovered. Inspired by *Policing the Crisis* (1978), I situate police understandings of race and responses to racialized minorities within the broader cultural, political, economic and social climate at the time of the research. Paying attention to these broader contextual factors is necessary for situating the policing of racialized minorities at night amongst a much wider acknowledgement of the historical criminalisation of Black and minority ethnic groups.

Policing race at night: licensing decisions and the 696 form

Much of the night-time literature has painted a picture of the night as a place of transgression (Muggleton, 2000, Bennett, 2000, Hobbs et al., 2003). Many academics have critiqued this, stating that the night and nightlife is an area of social division, categorisation and exclusion (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, Talbot, 2007, Boogaarts, 2008, Measham and Hadfield, 2009, Van Liempt et al., 2015, Eldridge and Nofre, 2018). Race has been highlighted as a huge dividing line (Talbot, 2007, Measham and Hadfield, 2009, Kosnick, 2018) in the context of nightlife. Yet the way in which racial divisions inform night-time leisure events was relatively unexplored until the work of Talbot (2007), whose study was conducted in 'Southview' in the UK in the late 1990s. Talbot found that historical racial prejudices, linked predominantly to the influx of African-Caribbean incomers in the early 1950s, coupled with the structural transformation of nightlife in the late 1990s, resulted in the censoring of alternative (and racialized) nights and night-time venues (2009, p. 14). Since the work of Talbot, little research has been conducted within a UK context which explores how or if the policing of nightlife is informed by racial prejudice. A growing body of work has begun to reveal the impact of bouncers on the segregation and exclusion of racialized communities from nightlife in the US (Rigakos, 2008, May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014), in Berlin (Preiser, 2016) and in Denmark (Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017), yet to date, no published studies have focused on this in the UK. The ways in which gentrification produces night-time

spaces as places for white, affluent clientele has also been highlighted in New York (Hae, 2011) and Johannesburg (Oloukoï, 2018); again, the UK remains neglected in this body of research. My research seeks to directly address some of these omissions. The next four sections explore the literature on race and nightlife and are broken up into themes: police licensing decisions and the 696 form, gentrification and the production of white space, the role of door staff and explicit modes of policing race at night.

Talbot's (2007) study of 'Southview', an anonymised area in the UK was based upon an ethnography in the late 1990s consisting of semi-structured interviews, documents and ethnographic participant observation. Talbot interviewed board members of the Southview Challenge Company Limited (SCCL), members of the council, as well as the police, council officers, councillors, magistrates and members of the local community (Talbot, 2002, Chapter Two). Policy and statutory developments were analysed through tracing legal history, white papers and consultation documents. Talbot's observations consisted of paying attention to geographical changes regarding notices, changes in ownership or building work and social relationships. Talbot also visited venues to note the composition of the crowd, door and security policies and the layout and ambience of a venue (ibid.).

Talbot found that the increased regulation of the night under the New Labour government disproportionately impacted Black licensees and their clientele. The government had begun to focus its attention on issues of civility at night and Closure Notices for unlicensed premises, Alcohol Disorder Zones and 'on the spot' fines for disorderly behaviour were introduced (Talbot, 2002, Talbot, 2007). The Licensing Act (2003) was introduced which shifted the responsibility for licensing decisions from magistrates' courts to local authorities who work in partnership with the police to review licensing decisions against four licensing objectives (Hough et al., 2008). This Act had a detrimental impact on Black licensees' ability to retain their premises, as the Act stated that licensees had to be 'fit and proper' as well as business competent (Talbot, 2004). In 2017, the Licensing Act (2003) was reviewed by the House of Lords Select Committee and as a result there is no longer a requirement for the licensee to be 'fit and proper' (House of Lords Select Committee, 2017). However, the court can provide a suspension or forfeit to a licence if the licence holder is convicted of an offence (ibid.). Talbot's study draws attention to the perceptions of police licensing officers and the ways in which Black licensees were interpreted as failing to operate according to 'acceptable business practice' (Talbot, 2007, p. 30). This led to the closure of 'The Mango', an

established pub frequented by both West Indian clientele and the police in Southview (Talbot, 2002, p.165). SCCL funds were used to reopen 'The Mango' as the 'Starbar Ltd', however, this was quickly looted and burnt during the 1995 riot. Talbot (2007) found police licensing officers operated 'early warning systems' for licensees who were interpreted as co-operative and would therefore be told of police inspections before they occurred (ibid). This had a detrimental impact on Black licensees who were not interpreted as co-operative and therefore did not benefit from early warnings of police inspections.

Following the responsibility placed on the police to inform licensing decisions, the Metropolitan Police Force used the 696 form to evaluate the riskiness of live music events (Talbot, 2011). This form was underpinned by racial prejudices, asking the licence holder for details of the music style to be played, listing Bashment, RnB and Garage, musical forms that are Black or Black inspired, as well as details on the ethnicity of the target audience (ibid.). Talbot states:

> What is interesting with Form 696 is the way in which, for the first time, the connection in the MET's perception between disorder and 'Black cultural events' have been expressed on paper and rendered visible (Talbot, 2011, p. 89).

The 696 form was evidence of the explicit link made by the police between race and criminality or disorder within nightlife settings, and the form received extensive criticism for racial profiling (Nerssessian, 2017, Taylor, 2017). A chief inspector defended the use of the 696 form, stating that with certain genres of music there is statistically more likely to be disorder at events (Talbot, 2011). The 696 form was scrapped in November 2017 by the London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, who labelled the form racist (Gillet, 2017). Since, a small body of academic literature has revealed the continued criminalisation of Black inspired music such as drill and grime (Fatsis, 2019, Ilan, 2020). Following the absence of the 696 form, and the localised nature of licensing practices (Hadfield, 2007), this study seeks to uncover the factors which underpin police and local authority licensing decisions and the extent to which ideas of race inform these decisions in Greenshire. A critical analysis of licensing decisions is needed, as aside from the work of Talbot (which was conducted several years ago), research has focused on how discourses of morality and disgust impact the licensing of sexual entertainment premises (Hubbard and Colosi, 2015). Despite revised guidance, the government are yet to devote resources to an independent evaluation of the Licensing Act

(2003) and its applications (Hadfield, 2007) and this study contributes to this under researched area. Finally, the study will explore the relationship between the police and local authority licensing officers in forming licensing decisions, as well as their relationship with licence holders themselves.

<u>Gentrification and the reclaiming of the night as white, affluent space</u>

Much of the night-time literature reveals how second wave gentrification has led to the decline of alternative night-time spaces across the globe, disproportionately impacting Black and minority ethnic individuals who are more likely to attend these spaces. This is evidenced in the work of Hae (2011) in New York, Oloukoï (2018) in South Africa and Hankins et al. (2012) in Atlanta, US. Hae (2011) traces the journey of gentrification in New York, with nightlife actors taking advantage of cheap rents and derelict buildings in the 1970s. This led to the death of downtown in the 1980s and nightlife became 'uptownised'. In the 1980s and 1990s business owners worked with residents to close down parties associated with hip hop and reggae in an attempt to draw a more affluent crowd to the area. Hae writes:

> these processes compelled the nightlife scene to bowdlerise wilder parts of itself, the parts more related to zany, creative and experimental sub-cultures (often also associated with racial/ethnic minority communities) and to transform themselves into more gentrified establishments catering to upmarket *boulevardiers* (Hae, 2011, p. 3459).

Processes of gentrification led to the death of downtown in New York in the 1980s which disproportionately impacted Black and minority ethnic crowds. Excluding Black and minority ethnic crowds was depicted as the solution to residents' concerns and the process of gentrification went unquestioned. There was also an increase in the formal policing of nightlife as a Task Force was created which visited businesses without prior notice to conduct nightlife inspections (Hae, 2011, p. 3459). Oloukoï's (2018) research traces gentrification in Jeppestown, South Africa. Prior to gentrification, Jeppestown had formal and informal shops, grocery stores and hair salons which would have alternative uses as places of sociability at night. Residents from the area would come with foldable chairs to talk in the shops at night (ibid.). 'Take back the night' marches and Critical Mass events began to produce a 'strong

symbolic message' (Oloukoï, 2018, p. 36) about who the night was for in Jeppestown. As Eldridge and Nofre state:

> The discourses that circulate about the night, especially those that mobilise notions of threat or loss, reveal much about our desires and what we think cities at night should be (Eldridge and Nofre, 2018 p. 9).

The discourses that circulated around the night in both New York and Jeppestown reveal how ideals of the night are both racialized and classed. Through the process of gentrification, these city spaces were produced as a place for the needs of white, affluent consumers. Hankins et al. (2012) go further to explore how the fears of the white elite led to the discursive construction of the nightlife area in Atlanta as dangerous and out of control. This resulted in the eradication of nightlife in the East village, which was turned into a high-end retail area in the early 2000s. Hankins et al.'s (2012) study is based upon interviews with residents, business leaders, nightclub operators and government officials. The authors also examined magazine articles and newspaper comments as part of the research. The white elite offered African Americans residency in Atlanta in the 1940s in a bid to move them away from the central business district. Atlanta became commonly referred to as 'Black Mecca' whilst Buckhead remained an upper-class white area. In the 1990s, the East village, a six block area in Buckhead, developed into a party area and there was a noticeable increase in Black students and celebrity athletes drawn to the village. A rhetoric of danger and violence ensued, and there was an increase in reports of violence in the area by residents.

Following the killing of African American partygoers outside a nightclub in the early 2000s in Atlanta, an argument ensued between Buckhead elites, African Americans, the government and residents about the night-time scene. This resulted in some council members arguing that a change needed to be made in opening hours from 4am until 2am. This change failed as eight African American council members voted against the move in comparison to seven white council members. The influence of race on the increased fears surrounding nightlife was denied and noise, gridlock and loud music was cited as the basis of concerns. However, fears were profoundly racialized, with interviewees referring to 'Buckhood' and 'the later it got, the blacker it got' (Hankins et al., 2012, p. 290). There was an increase in security, rewards for conviction and a new night-time regime began targeting bars and clubs. In 2007, the city council supported the development of the area from a night-time space to a high-end

retail area. This research draws upon Pulido (cited in Hankins et al., 2012, p. 383) to reveal how racism is best understood as the ways in which white privilege is constructed and maintained within the context of nightlife. Hankins et al. write:

> White privilege at once facilitates the accrual of power to whites, while simultaneously delegitimizing race as a relevant or meaningful factor in shaping social outcomes. It is constructed and maintained through practices of othering, pathologizing, and rendering deviant non-whites (Hankins et al., 2012, p. 383).

In night-time spaces, white privilege also casts other racialized embodiments, practices and behaviours as deviant (Hankins et al., 2012, p. 383). Hankins et al. write:

> racialized spaces maintain hegemonic conceptualizations of whiteness by constructing the feared non-white space and reciprocal identity to which idealized white identity is juxtaposed (Hankins et al., 2012, p. 384).

My research will extend this literature to explore how constructions of night-time spaces (the night more broadly, as well as specific bars, venues and events) intertwine with ideas of race and notions of belonging. The extent to which whiteness informs the production of space and provides a rite of access at night will be explored as part of the study. This is of particular importance in the predominantly white context of Greenshire. Lastly, I will explore how racialized embodiments, practices and behaviours are perceived, understood and responded to by the police, door staff and venue managers at night. In doing this, I will be attentive to if and how white privilege operates across different realms, paying attention to police practices, policies, licensing decisions as well as discussions in night-time economy meetings and in interactions with ethnic minorities themselves.

Policing race 'on the ground': the role of door staff

Arguably, much of the literature on the policing of nightlife has focused on the work of bouncers (Hobbs et al., 2003, Rigakos, 2008, May and Chaplin, 2008, O'Brien, 2009, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017). Some of this work pays attention to race, however, this is mainly focused on social categorisation and exclusion at the nightclub door (Rigakos, 2008, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017). A small body of research pays attention to the way in

which race is produced both inside the nightclub and between night-time participants themselves (Valentine et al., 2010, Moloney and Hunt, 2012, May, 2014). This section outlines the research conducted on door staff, and the extent to which door staff play a role in producing nightlife as a space which is raced, classed and gendered.

Søgaard uses the concept of 'vernacular risk perception' (Goldstein, 2004, cited in Søgaard, 2017, p. 258) to reveal how bouncers' perceptions of risk guide sorting practices on the doors of nightclubs. Søgaard conducted observation alongside bouncers and took scratch notes which were later transformed into fieldnotes. A number of bouncers acted as key informants, with whom Søgaard trained in boxing, spent time in cafés and observed their nightly work and court proceedings. 54 interviews with security owners and head bouncers, as well as 7 interviews with venue managers also informed the research findings (ibid.). In Aarhus, bouncers assessed night-time participants based upon their phenotypical characteristics, leading to simplistic categorisations of 'Danes' or 'immigrants/foreigners' on the door of nightclubs (Søgaard, 2014, p. 46). This led to an essentialisation of race, with night-time participants described as 'Somalis' or 'Eastern Europeans', fuelling stereotypes such as 'Somalis don't buy anything' (Søgaard, 2014, p. 46). This reveals the way in which desirable custom is assessed along both raced and classed lines and is linked to consumption. This assessment is coupled with an awareness of the style of dress, attitude, behaviour and drunkenness of the night-time participant (Søgaard, 2017, p. 259). Søgaard (2014, 2017) found that ethnic minority men were more likely to be excluded from nightclubs in Aarhus. Bouncers were honest about their exclusion of minority ethnic men, citing official crime statistics, media reports of ethnic minority groups, biased previous encounters with ethnic minorities and the protection of the venue's safety as their reasons for exclusion. As bouncers were employed on a weekly basis, they demonstrated an increased awareness of the importance of keeping the night-time venue safe in securing their jobs (ibid.).

Rigakos's (2008) study of bouncers in Halifax, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal in Canada also revealed the importance of the nightclub queue for assessing night-time participants. One bouncer explained to Rigakos:

> the line is the story - their faces, colours, how they dress, the way they act, the way they carry themselves – this makes or breaks us. We know from these faces if it's going to work (Rigakos, 2008, p. 158).

This research focuses on consumption, security and risk within the context of the nightclub (Rigakos, 2008). Rigakos challenges the idea that nightclubs are places of transcendence, where the bonds of the day and policing magically disappear (2008, p. 5). In fact, risk and surveillance come to life in particular ways at night and this reveals the connections between risk and race, class and gender. Rigakos writes:

> Nightclubs attract populations based on whatever form of material, social or subcultural capital they are able to muster, inviting certain people in while vetting out dangerous populations. Those who are in circulate the unquenchable desire to be desired, to be included; those who are out actually spatially reinforce this desire, this exclusivity (Rigakos, 2008, p. 6).

Despite acknowledgement of the raced, classed and gendered forms of exclusion that nightclubs reproduce, Rigakos (2008) does not explore this in detail throughout the research. Minor references to race are made, with Black night-time participants observed being 'patted down' more than their white counterparts due to fears over gang violence (Rigakos, 2008, p. 122). However, the work of Rigakos (2008) and Søgaard (2014, 2017) is important for highlighting the role of bouncers in policing the nightclub door, and as a consequence, the makeup of the nightclub. In addition, the ways in which risk-thinking and race are mutually constitutive and need to be understood in their relationship to one another is uncovered as part of the research (Rigakos, 2008, Søgaard, 2014).

Bouncers also use 'informal attitude tests' (Hobbs et al., 2003, Søgaard, 2014) in their interactions with night-time participants. These tests were used more often in encounters with minority ethnic men in Aarhus, where some bouncers would use racist and offensive language to test the night-time participants' attitude (Søgaard, 2014, p. 260). Despite most interactions with ethnic minority men being peaceful, these did not alter bouncers' entrenched and prejudiced accounts of ethnic minority men as troublesome and disorderly. The exclusion of minority ethnic men plays a key role in their sense of feeling devalued, feared and different (Søgaard, 2017, p. 263) and research highlights ethnic minorities' diverse responses to these feelings. Some create alternative night-time spaces (Bogaarts, 2008), move in groups of the same race/ethnicity (May, 2014), dress differently (May and Chaplin, 2008,

Søgaard, 2014, May, 2014), avoid 'immigrant' haircuts and submit to authority to gain access (Søgaard, 2014).

The importance of bouncers in excluding Black and minority ethnic communities from nightlife has been highlighted in this section. The reasoning for this can be split into two themes according to Søgaard:

> bouncers regularly exclude ethnic or racial minorities, and this is done either because ethnic or racial minorities are seen as less desirable customers (Hadfield, 2008) or because they are seen as a threat to the ambience of more valued and affluent crowds (Measham and Hadfield, 2009) (Søgaard, 2014, p. 43).

The above quotation demonstrates the role of bouncers in producing nightlife as exclusionary or welcoming, influenced by the concept of risk which is informed by raced and classed subjectivities (Rigakos, 2008, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017). My study seeks to extend the academic literature by exploring the policing of nightlife beyond the work of door staff. The night is policed based upon a myriad of social actors, some state led (the public police and licensing officers), and some operating more independently (venue managers, door staff and street pastors). The ways in which these actors work together to produce a particular kind of nightlife will be explored throughout the research. When observing door staff, I will go beyond focusing on social sorting practices at the door and also pay attention to how the nightclub is policed from the inside.

Policing race 'on the ground': dress code policies, the cruising ban and the Pearl Card

The previous section outlines the role that door staff play in the policing of race at night. This section explores how dress codes (May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014, May 2018), cruising bans (May, 2014) and access lists (Søgaard, 2017) are used to regulate Black and minority ethnic individuals at night in the US and Denmark. May's research draws from an ethnographic approach which explores nightlife in a Deep South college town in the US referred to as 'Northeast' (May, 2014, May, 2018). Northeast is described as a predominantly white space at night, however, night-time venues had begun playing hip hop and an increase in Black attendees was noted. The use of dress code policies to police African American men on the doors of nightclubs is revealed as part of the research. Dress codes were informed by

the racial subjectivities of nightclub owners, who continued to make a link between blackness and criminality (May, 2014, May, 2018). Forms of clothing which were banned are distinctly Black/hip hop inspired, such as: athletic jerseys, baggy jeans, caps, oversized plain white t-shirts, sweatbands and 'wife beaters' (May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014). One nightclub made light of their racist dress codes, by stating 'no Mr T starter kits', on their dress code policy. Venue managers and door staff spoke of the dress codes objectively but applied these subjectively, reminding night-time participants that they had 'the right to refuse anyone' (May and Chaplin, 2008, p. 64). White night-time participants were observed gaining entry despite wearing some of the items banned on the dress code list, and dress codes were more frequently used against African American men attempting to attend night-time venues which were predominantly white. The idea of a singular Black identity is critiqued, as some Black individuals managed to 'crack the code' and dressed like middle class whites, wearing polo shirts, sandals and khaki pants which allowed them entry to the club (May and Chaplin, 2008). These African American men did not interpret dress codes as racist and legitimised their use for securing desirable clientele. Other African American men who wore hip hop attire and fitted the stereotype of a perceived criminal interpreted dress codes as entirely about their race and the racist actions of white nightclub owners (ibid.).

May (2014) also reveals how police practices explicitly target traditionally black behaviours, such as cruising. Following the shooting of William Ernest Moore, a cruising ban was created which meant that persons were unable to drive past the same traffic points within a no cruising zone more than three times an hour. Surveillance cameras were installed and a loitering ordinance was revised which allowed the police more power to disperse lingering crowds. This had a disproportionate impact on African Americans' use of the street as they were recognised for hanging around in large crowds and cruising for fun. Explicit means of policing 'non-Danes' were also reported by Søgaard (2017) who found one nightclub using 'the Pearl Card' to restrict the number of ethnic minority men. Ethnic minority men could gain access to the 'Pearl Card' by emailing the venue manager with their social security number, photo and evidence of their clean criminal record (Søgaard, 2017, p. 260). This research reveals the ways in which explicit and implicit forms of policing intertwine. The 'Pearl Card' was not used consistently and was instead called upon by door staff to help them maintain an informal quota system whereby ethnic minority men inside the nightclub were kept to no more than ten percent of the total nightclub participants (ibid.). Rigakos (2008) also found that dress codes, guest lists and cover charges were constitutive of space, and were

influenced by raced, classed and gendered prejudices in Canada (Rigakos, 2008, p. 163). 'BarWatch/Pubwatch' schemes (Rigakos, 2008, Chatterton and Hollands, 2002), whereby night-time radios are used predominantly by venue managers and door staff to police night-time venues have been critiqued for fuelling exclusion at night, with more recent literature highlighting the exclusionary effects of identification scanning (Palmer et al., 2013). Yet the specific ways in which race informs these processes has not been explored in the literature; a gap my own work will help to address. I will pay attention to if and how dress codes, forms of surveillance such as CCTV cameras and 'BarWatch' schemes, identification scanners and other forms of monitoring at night operate along the lines of both race and class. The ways in which ideals of whiteness inform these modes of policing will be uncovered, as has been highlighted in the work of May (2014), whilst at the same time, my research will uncover 'hierarchies of whiteness' that mean that simply 'being white' in itself does not guarantee access to the night. Lastly, the rationale provided by the police for the use of explicit monitoring and surveillance will also be explored.

Policing the private police: avoiding accusations of racism

This section explores techniques used by door staff and venue managers to avoid allegations of racism. I will then explore the increased professionalisation of the private police in the UK. Søgaard's (2014) research draws attention to the variety of reasons drawn upon by door staff to deny Black and minority ethnic men access to night-time venues in Aarhus, Denmark. Søgaard refers to the 'discursive de-ethnification' of door practices by door staff, with discourses of cosmopolitanism, colour-blind policing, private property rights and 'security reasons' drawn upon to avoid allegations of racism (2014, p. 48). The heightened use of cameras and video technology meant that the practices of door staff were increasingly visible to the public and legal authorities. This meant door staff became more reflexive regarding their explanations and actions (ibid.). In addition, the door staff in Søgaard's study were employed on a weekly basis and therefore demonstrated a heightened awareness over the importance of retaining their jobs (Søgaard, 2014, p. 45). Rigakos (2008) also found that venue managers made changes to their dress code policies to appear inclusive:

> some of the items on the list were included to prevent specific sub-cultural elements (read: black hip hop crowds) from entering. Some items were added so that there would not appear to be a double standard (Rigakos, 2008, p.168).

These studies reveal how door staff and venue managers are becoming increasingly aware of the importance to appear inclusive. In the UK, the professionalisation of private security has changed in recent years. In 2003, it became compulsory for door staff to hold a Security Industry Authority (SIA) licence which allows them to work on the door of any night-time venue. To obtain this licence, door staff have to evidence that they have a Level 2 Award for working as a Door Supervisor within the Private Security Industry (Security Industry Authority, 2020). The Security Industry Authority state that their aim 'is to improve public protection by reducing the risks from violence in the night-time economy' (2020, np). The Licensing Act (2003) has also placed increasing responsibility on the licence holder (Talbot, 2002, p. 234), and those who work on their behalf, such as door staff and bar staff, to retain their licence. Despite this, the discriminatory practices of door staff in the UK have been highlighted in the media, most famously following four Black women who were turned away from Dstrkt nightclub in Soho in 2015 after reporting that door staff told them they were 'too dark' and 'too fat' (Osborne, 2015). Since then, the media has revealed that door staff turn away large groups of male night-time participants due to the perceived threat to the venue (Amos, 2018). The professionalisation of private policing in the UK is a relatively new development and the impact this has on door staff and venue managers interactions with Black and ethnic minority night-time participants presents a gap in the literature that my own work will begin to address. This study also seeks to explore how the private police make sense of the increased professionalisation of their roles and whether their training and qualifications have focused on issues of race or diversity. I will pay attention to the language used by door staff and venue managers in their interviews to explore how this produces particular understandings of race and racialized minorities. I will also explore what discourses are drawn upon, if any, by those who have a responsibility for policing nightlife, to avoid allegations of discrimination at night.

Race and non-metropolitan contexts

The research on race and the night has taken place primarily in city centre contexts and the way in which racialized minorities are policed in non-metropolitan areas at night is an under-researched area. This section explores how understandings of race are made in non-metropolitan contexts. Traditionally, racism has been confined to a narrow understanding of discriminatory acts (Pulido, 2000). However, understandings of space and belonging are

informed by ideas of race and place. As Puwar (2004) states, Black and minority ethnic individuals in traditionally white spaces are interpreted as 'out of place'. This is problematic as it denies the existence of Black and minority ethnic individuals in non-metropolitan spaces in both the past and present (Jay, 1992, Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, Neal, 2002). In this section, I outline how the Black and minority ethic 'Other' is defined against an often invisible, white benchmark which is given its potency in predominantly white non-metropolitan contexts (such as the location of my own study). I draw upon the literature on racialization to reveal how this is a process which is informed by locality with racism manifesting differently based upon geographical area (Neal, 2002, Clarke and Garner, 2010).

Race is produced through the construction of space, and who can, and cannot, pass through that space at any given time (Puwar, 2004). Due to the whiteness of non-metropolitan spaces, they are often depicted as areas which do not have a 'race problem' (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997). This denial of racism is problematic as the attitudes of residents in non-metropolitan spaces impact Black and minority ethnic people who either reside in these spaces or visit them (ibid.). The Black and minority ethnic 'Other' is constantly redefined and reinforced in its difference and marginality from the 'white norm' (hooks, cited in Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, p. 199). Ahmed reveals how the white norm is often invisible to those who inhabit whiteness:

> whiteness is invisible and unmarked, as the absent centre against which others appear only as deviants, or points of deviation (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993). Whiteness is only invisible for those who inhabit it, or those who get so used to its inhabitance that they learn not to see it […] Spaces are orientated 'around' whiteness, insofar as whiteness is not seen. We do not face whiteness; it 'trails behind' bodies, as what is assumed to be given. The effect of this 'around whiteness' is the institutionalization of a certain 'likeness', which makes non-white bodies feel uncomfortable, exposed, visible, different, when they take up this space (Ahmed, 2007c, p. 157).

The ways in which whiteness is linked to non-metropolitan spaces can be seen in popular English television shows such as *Heartbeat, Emmerdale* and *Peak Practice,* as well as magazines such as *Country Living* (Neal, 2002). The assumed whiteness of these spaces is problematic as it denies the history of Black and minority ethnic groups in traditionally rural

spaces in the UK (Agyeman, 1995, Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, Neal, 2002). Agyeman writes:

> soldiers of North Africa used the Roman environment of the Borders. They were garrisoned on Hadrian's Wall. People from Asia were brought, often as whole villages, to Britain to work in the Yorkshire and Lancashire cotton mills. Many of our stately homes were financed, built and exotically landscaped through African Caribbean slavery… has the presence of these, and other people been routinely celebrated in visitor attraction and interpretation facilitations, or has it been quietly and unceremoniously swept under the carpet? (Agyeman, cited in Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, p. 202).

This invisible whiteness of non-metropolitan spaces impacts the ways in which Black and minority ethnic individuals are understood and responded to. This can take the form of hard exclusion (Samara, 2010), or more nuanced systems of belonging (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, Tyler, 2010). Tyler's (2010) study explores how white middle class residents imaginatively reproduce the idea of their place as a traditional village in the face of its suburbanisation (ibid.). A racialized discourse which was immovable and absolute depicted Asian residents as living in extended families and big houses and some villagers argued that their religion had become disturbing to the area due to increased visitors on Sundays (ibid.). White villagers become possessors of an 'invisible cultural normalcy' (Tyler, 2010, p. 400), with their perceptions of racialized cultural differences placed outside of their own middle-class white notions of respectability (ibid.). This invisible cultural normalcy is defined by living in nuclear families and not expressing religion in an ostentatious manner. Asians were described as 'keeping themselves to themselves', with village activities such as bowls, the debating society, the sewing club, flower guild or the Women's Institute not attended by Asians. Whilst Asians had the economic capital to live in the village, they lacked the cultural capital to participate in such events (Bourdieu, cited in Tyler, 2010, p. 397), and were seen as failing to live in respectable, desirable and acceptable ways in the village. Asians were depicted as better suited to the city centre, a space which was depicted as unneighbourly and therefore better suited to Asians. Tyler states:

> Asians who live in Leicester are people without a claim to white English 'village' traditions and so their rightful place is in the city, an Asian space apart, which

represents an un-neighbourly and untraditional drift towards Blackness (Tyler, 2010, p. 407).

The case studies of 'Farfield' and 'Westdown', two anonymous rural areas in the UK, evidence how understandings of race differ between urban and rural contexts but also between the rural areas themselves (Neal, 2002). Drawing on data from interviews with local policy-making networks, service providers and rural organisations, Neal found the dominance of whiteness, the small size of racialized communities, the colour-blind approaches to policy-making and the reliance on individual over organisational activity in raising issues of racism as the main markers of racism in both 'Farfield' and 'Westdown'. Anti-racism strategies were said to need to work alongside predominantly white organisations such as Women's Institutes and Young Farmers Clubs to have success in both rural areas. However, the attentiveness to race and racism differed by rural locale, whilst the local council in 'Westdown' had developed many structures for tackling racism since the early 1990s, the local council in 'Farfield' only became aware of the link between race and rurality as a consequence of Neal's research.

This section has revealed how understandings of race are made in distinct ways in non-metropolitan areas. There is a significant gap in the literature regarding how understandings of race and racialized minorities impacts their relationship with nightlife in non-metropolitan areas. As has been shown in previous sections, much of the night-time literature has explored the ways in which night-time cities are reproduced as white, affluent spaces, through processes of gentrification (Hae, 2011, Hankins et al., 2012, Oloukoï, 2018), or through the policing of nightlife (Talbot, 2007, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2014). My research therefore fills a gap in the literature by exploring how race is reproduced at night in a distinctly non-metropolitan area which is predominantly white. I will be attentive to the ways in which understandings of race and responses to Black and minority ethnic night-time participants take shape in Greenshire. I will also explore the locally contingent ways in which race and racialized minorities are understood, produced and responded to differently across geographical areas within Greenshire itself. Whilst this section has considered the privileging and normalisation of 'whiteness' in non-metropolitan spaces, it is also important to note that not all forms of whiteness are framed as privileged or unproblematic, as the next section will evidence.

Deconstructing whiteness and the racialization of Gypsy and Travellers[1]

This section draws from the literature on whiteness to evidence that the benefits of white privilege do not extend to all whites (Bhopal, 2018, Chapter Three). This section will initially deconstruct whiteness, by drawing upon Bhopal's (2018) examples of 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' whiteness. I will then move on to the racialization of Gypsy and Traveller groups as 'not white enough' (Bhopal, 2018, p. 29). There has been a growing recognition in the academic literature (Holloway, 2005, Goodman and Rowe, 2014, Myers, 2016, Bhopal, 2018) and through law, such as the Equality Act (2010), which recognises Gypsy and Travellers as a distinct ethnic group. Despite this, Gypsy and Traveller groups continue to experience discrimination in their access to education, health care and housing (Bhopal, 2011, Bhopal, 2018). In addition, the media and political representations of Gypsy and Traveller groups continue to fuel racist stereotypes (Garner, 2017). This section draws upon Simmel's concept of the stranger to argue that Gypsy and Travellers represent an 'exaggerated stranger' (Myers, 2016). As Gypsy and Travellers' relationship to whiteness continues to be ambiguous, the discrimination that this group faces is often not considered to be racist (Goodman and Rowe, 2014, Garner, 2017).

Clarke and Garner (2010) argue that the researcher needs to be careful not to interpret everything through the blanket lens of whiteness (Clarke and Garner, 2010). Researchers must deconstruct whiteness, and recognise the limits and parallels drawn between less privileged white actors and racialized minorities by being attentive to the complexities of race, ethnicity, class and gender (Clarke and Garner, 2010, p. 4). Bhopal refers to 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' forms of whiteness (Bhopal, 2018, pp. 29-30). Acceptable whiteness is defined by conforming to society's expectations, being a good citizen by paying taxes, with language, dress, education and taste used to distinguish one group from another. The ways in which unacceptable whiteness interlinks with class can be seen in the demonization of the chav (Hayward and Yar, 2006, Martin, 2009), 'new' migrants (Webster, 2008), white trash (Hartigan, 1997, Webster, 2008) and the gypsy (Bhopal, 2011). There is therefore a 'hierarchy of whiteness' (Webster, 2008, p. 293), with some whites seen as 'not

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[1] Like Bhopal (2011, p. 327), I recognise the problems with using an all-encompassing term to describe a diverse ethnic group. This term encompasses a variety of groups such as: Irish, English, Welsh and Scottish travellers, as well as Bargees, Showmen and women and New Age Travellers. Those from English Romany backgrounds are also included in this term. This mirrors a range of academic work which has also referred to 'Gypsy and Travellers' (James, 2007, Brown and Scullion, 2009, Bhopal, 2011, Garner, 2017, Bhopal, 2018).

quite white' (Wray, 2006). The racialization of Gypsy and Traveller groups can be traced back to the Renaissance period where a distinction was made between nomadic and sedentary lifestyles (Garner, 2017). Those living nomadic lifestyles began to be interpreted as pathological and laws were passed with discrimination towards Gypsy and Traveller groups traced as far back to the Egyptian Act (1530) which banned Gypsies from England and allowed authorities to confiscate their property if they refused to leave (ibid.).

The term 'Gypsy traveller' is a racialized term which impacts culturally diverse groups, as this term can be used to refer to English Romany Gypsies, Irish, Scottish and Welsh travellers, Bargees as well as travelling showmen and women (Garner, 2017, Bhopal, 2018). The amalgamation of groups under this catch all term is demonstrative of the ways in which its use represents a 'tick in the box' for the state (Garner, 2017). The idea that racism only impacts non-whites is therefore problematic (Holloway, 2005, Bhopal, 2018). Holloway (2005) argues that by studying whiteness researchers can explore the invisible white power in white dominated societies, as well as examine the social construction of whiteness as it articulates with class relations.

The relationship between class and whiteness is important as white working-class identities often suffer the effects of not being 'white enough'. This can be seen in the demonization of "white trash" in the US and the underclass and white working-class masculinities in the UK (Hartigan, 1997, Webster, 2008, Gillborn 2010). Gypsy and Travellers represent a form of non-acceptable whiteness, which means that they do not have the same privilege afforded to those from middle class white backgrounds (Bhopal, 2018). Stereotypes of Gypsy and Traveller as tax-avoiding, dirty, thieving and tribal continue to perpetuate the media, political discourse and public opinion (Garner, 2017, p. 14). The ambiguous racial status of Gypsy and Travellers is summarised in an interview with a Traveller:

> we are seen as white because we are not black, we are not seen in the same ways as
> black people and so when we experience racism, it's not understood as racism. But
> we are also not seen in the same ways as other whites. Those white people who are
> posh and maybe professionals would never see us like them and those ones who are
> more like us if you think – their backgrounds – the more working-class ones, they
> don't see us like them either. It's as if we're white but we're not really because we're
> not treated like we're white. Lots of people in society and in the world, don't

understand anything about our culture and what we stand for (Smith case study, Bhopal, 2018 p. 46).

Gypsy and Traveller groups are interpreted as not fully white because of their apparent non-nativeness. Whilst Gypsy and Travellers have been cited as having been in the UK for 1000 to 1500 years (Bhopal and Myers, 2008), in the public imagination, they are 'from elsewhere' (Bhopal, 2018). The Gypsy and Traveller is therefore more than the 'Other', they are 'the enemy within' (Halfacree, 1996) and represent Simmel's concept of the stranger (Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p. 49). The stranger is described as 'the man who comes today and stays tomorrow' (Simmel, cited in Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p. 49), as they are entitled to the same rights and level of protection afforded by society but are thought to come from somewhere physically separate. Their sense of connection to somewhere else, coupled with their apparent whiteness and culture which transgresses dominant society, appearing to live nomadically (despite many being settled), being predominantly self-employed and drawing upon a different skillset to dominant whites makes them an 'exaggerated stranger' (Bhopal and Myers, 2008).

Bauman (2015) argues that there are two strategies for responding to the stranger, firstly, assimilation, which means making the different similar by forbidding traditions except those that conform to the dominant order (Bauman, 2015). Secondly, anthropoemic strategies, which leads to the exclusion of the stranger from the orderly world (ibid.). My research will explore if and how these strategies are used to police the Gypsy and Traveller at night in Greenshire. In doing so, it will address an under-explored topic within research on nightlife, which has tended to assume 'whiteness' comes with privileges and has not considered the challenges that come with embodying 'unacceptable whiteness' in these spaces. More broadly, my research project will explore how whiteness is constructed and reproduced within the policing of nightlife. I will pay particular attention to the factors which influence the desirability of night-time participants to reveal the police's constructions of 'acceptable' and 'non-acceptable' whites. I will explore how those who embody 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' whiteness are policed 'on the ground', thus attending to a gap in the existing literature. The ways in which constructions of whiteness are influenced by class will also be revealed as part of the research. The next section extends upon Bauman's (2015) strategies to explore the policing of Gypsy and Traveller groups in the UK.

The policing of Gypsy and Travellers in the UK

Much of the literature on the policing of Gypsy and Travellers focuses on their movement, settlement and housing (Richardson, 2006, James, 2007, Mulcahy, 2011). The government also strengthened their powers in November 2019, making trespassing and stopping alongside or on a road a crime (Friends, Families and Travellers, 2019). Specific ways of policing Gypsy and Traveller groups were revealed in 2014, when Operation Liberal, a national police operation set up to tackle distraction burglary, released a document entitled 'Travellers and Traveller events' (The Traveller Movement, 2018). The Traveller Movement has also declared that Gypsy and Travellers are frequently denied access to restaurants, pubs and bars due to instruction from the public police (The Traveller Movement, 2018, p. 11). This section explores the academic literature on the policing of Gypsy and Traveller groups, which has so far predominantly focused on their movement and settlement. It argues that despite the apparent commitment to enhance diversity and reduce racism under the Equality Act (2010), the continued discriminatory policing of Gypsy and Travellers reveals how this group continues to suffer from 'the last acceptable form of racism' (Hutchison et al., 2018, p. 237).

James's (2007) research explores the management of New Travellers in the South West, drawing upon in-depth interviews and one focus group with New Travellers, as well as survey responses from 128 Gypsy and Travellers and 25 in-depth interviews with stakeholders including the police. Policing is conducted by multiple public and private agencies consisting of the public police, local authorities, benefit agencies, private security and bailiff companies to name just a few (James, 2007). Multiple policers work together to gain information in an attempt to remove them from a police force or local authority area. This results in increased monitoring and surveillance, threats, spatial exclusion, disruption, eviction and a lack of provision in regard to their settlement (ibid.). Bunding is used by the police to block spaces to prevent entry by ditch digging or dumping gravel at the entrances to land or lay-bys (James, 2007, p. 377). Disruption tactics are also used, with Gypsy and Travellers experiencing police raids for stolen goods and police helicopters for surveillance. Maguire argues that this is 'policing beyond normal limits, that is disproportionate to the harm caused' (Maguire, cited in James, 2007, p. 379). The Gypsy and Traveller response to their policing is diverse, with some conforming by trying to look normal, emphasising their cleanliness and organised nature of living, and by speaking about living legally, such as

having full insurance, an MOT and tax. Others use techniques of hiding and camouflaging, by parking in hidden spaces and camouflaging their vehicles. Some live on land illegally so that they can live according to their traveller lifestyle (ibid.). James argues that as Gypsy and Travellers' experience of policing is one of enforcement rather than community engagement, they try to live beyond the gaze:

> Gypsy and travellers tend to distrust formal agencies and the police in particular and are loathed to engage with them…when Gypsy and Travellers are on the move, either living nomadically or semi-nomadically, they would rather engage with their own governance from the 'bottom-up' by living beyond the gaze of formal agencies (James, 2007, p. 383).

Techniques of containment and displacement are used by the Garda Síochána police in Ireland, ensuring that travellers are kept 'in their place' and do not encroach on the territory of residents (Mulcahy, 2011). Despite the creation of a police Diversity Agenda in 2001, which was later adapted in 2009, as well as a Garda Racial and Intercultural Unit and Ethnic liaison officers, a 2007 report revealed that 52% of travellers, compared with 90% of 'Black African' and 93% of 'Chinese' respondents expressed satisfaction with the Garda police (Walker, 2007, cited in Mulcahy, 2011, p. 316). In Ireland, the enforcement and control of Gypsy and Travellers was judged through both a spatial and moral lens, with Gypsy and Travellers depicted as deceitful, disorderly and prone to criminal behaviour. This meant the police were preoccupied with vehicle tax and insurance as routine forms of harassment and their frequent presence at traveller camps was used as an opportunity to conduct investigations. Mulcahy writes:

> a logic of spatial regulation shapes the manner in which travellers are policed in decisive ways. This operates against a backdrop of moral disdain towards travellers which persistently constructs them as a criminogenic community which gives rise to over-policing and under-protection that characterises their involvement with the criminal justice system (Mulcahy, 2011, p. 321).

Richardson's (2006) research uses a different approach to Mulcahy (2011) and James's (2007), arguing that a controlling discourse works beyond one individual or organisation. Whilst the policing of Gypsy and Travellers can be explicit, through CCTV cameras which

are hidden on neighbouring properties, it is also implicit, rooted in society's gaze (Richardson, 2006). Networks of control are predicated upon the meta norm of house dwelling which leads to invisible strategies of normalisation and implicit surveillance through policing, processes, practices, enquiries and assessments by health professionals (ibid.). A controlling discourse can be seen in the media, who blame Gypsy and Travellers for council tax increases by issuing stories about how Gypsy and Travellers are costing us, as well as the language of the public and politicians, with the MP for Bracknell, Andrew MacKay referring to Gypsy and Travellers as 'scum' (Richardson, 2006, p. 93). This use of discriminatory language was not challenged which shows a wider acceptability towards talking about Gypsy and Travellers using discriminatory terms (ibid.). Richardson writes:

> the circuitous route of discourse as control… serves as an example of how the motive to 'other' reinforces the stereotype and that this reinforced image causes a moral panic and a need for further surveillance. This then produces more discriminatory discourse that reinterprets the Gypsy/Traveller stereotype; and on it goes (Richardson, 2006, p. 94).

The above literature reveals the ways in which Gypsy and Travellers continue to be 'Othered' through a spatial and moral lens which favours sedentary lifestyles (Garner, 2017). This Othering results in the increased policing of Gypsy and Travellers settlement and residency in both the UK and Ireland. However, the access that Gypsy and Travellers have to other establishments, such as pubs, bars and restaurants, has gone unexplored in the academic literature. The focus given to race in the night-time literature has focused primarily on Black and brown individuals and their segregation and exclusion from night-time settings (Talbot, 2007, May and Chaplin, 2008, Hae, 2011, Hankins et al., 2012, May, 2014, Oloukoï, 2018). The ways in which white Others, such as Gypsy and Travellers, are policed at night has not been given sufficient attention in the academic literature. In light of the recent report by the Traveller Movement (2018), which reveals that police officers, community members and service providers have shared that the police advise them to deny access to Gypsy and Travellers in pubs and bars, my research explores if and how this plays out in the policing of nightlife in Greenshire. The relationship between the public and private police in policing Gypsy and Traveller groups at night will be explored throughout the research, helping to address a key gap where whiteness tends to be assumed to bring access and privilege. In attending to these issues, this research will complicate notions of 'whiteness' and help to

reveal the nuances of how hierarchies of whiteness play out in nightlife spaces outside of metropolitan areas.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the literature around three main themes: race, policing and nightlife, and in doing this, has made a case for further examination of the numerous ways in which the policing of nightlife reinstalls and reproduces race. In situating the research project within the broader context of diversity in police institutions, my research will explore the impact this has for the ways in which race and racialized minorities are discussed, understood and policed at night. Whilst the literature has drawn attention to the night as a white, privileged space in city centre contexts, my research explores the governance of nightlife in a county context which is distinctly non-metropolitan. Much of the literature on policing and race, as well as race and nightlife, has focused predominantly on Black and brown communities, and has tended to overlook racialized white communities, such as Gypsy and Travellers. This study offers an original contribution to an emerging body of literature which raises broader questions about who the night is for and how the night should be. The ways in which the night is reproduced as white through the discriminatory practices of door staff and venue managers has come to fruition in more recent literature (May and Chaplin, 2008, Søgaard, 2014, May 2014, Søgaard, 2017), yet further research is required. My own research builds upon this literature by utilising a much wider definition of policing, exploring a range of social actors such as police officers, door staff, venue managers, street pastors, paramedics, taxi drivers, as well as the application of licensing laws and practices and processes which criss-cross a range of night-time actors. This is important in order to provide a more nuanced, holistic picture of the ways in which race is policed by numerous practices, bodies and institutions as processes of racialization become embedded within a wider social order in non-metropolitan nightlife space within the UK.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Introduction

The literature review evidences that there is an absence of contemporary empirical research in the UK which explores the policing of race within the context of nightlife. The research that has been conducted in the UK is outdated (Talbot, 2004), with more recent research focused primarily on city centre contexts outside of the UK (Hae, 2011, Hankins et al., 2012, Søgaard, 2014, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2017, Oloukoï, 2018). This study therefore seeks to fill a gap in the literature by exploring how race is produced through the governance of nightlife in a context which is distinctly non-metropolitan in nature. This chapter is broken up into three sections. Firstly, I outline the methodology, the methods and the analytical framework. Secondly, I describe how I navigated access to, and 'acceptance' from my participants, and outline the ethical dilemmas which were encountered during the fieldwork. Finally, I reflect upon what my white privilege afforded me in terms of the research and provide the rationale for focusing the study on those responsible for policing.

The approach

Ethnography

This study utilises an ethnographic approach, with ethnography understood as a methodology, or a 'style of thinking and doing, not a mere technique' (Gobo, 2008, p. 15). Ethnographic research has a long history, taking root in the US through sociologists at the University of Chicago (Manning, 2014). There have been too many police ethnographies to list, however the work of Banton (1964), Skolnick (1966), Wesley (1970), Van Maanen, (1973), Punch, (1979) and Holdaway (1983) have underpinned many of the concepts, themes and theories which have become central to the sociology of policing today (Bacon et al., 2020, p. 2). In addition, Hobb's et al.'s (2003) work on bouncers, and O'Brien's (2009) covert research as a female member of door staff, are perhaps the most well-known ethnographies in the policing of nightlife research. Manning defines ethnography as 'the close-up study of culture and how meaning is produced, distributed and understood' (2014, p. 518). However, culture is not necessarily visible, but is made visible through its representation (Van Maanen, cited in Manning, 2014, p. 523). The ethnographer needs to

immerse themselves in a period of fieldwork, learning the daily functionings, practices, rhythms and deviances of their research participants (McLaughlin, 2007).

Taking an ethnographic approach to the research allowed me to explore the situated experiences of my participants in their daily life, highlighting the relations in which their experiences are embedded (Billo and Mountz, 2016, p. 203). In particular, institutional ethnographies allow the researcher to critically examine how institutional actors are bound up in the production of dominant narratives and practices (Smith, 2003), revealing how the power to construct discourse is not always top down as institutional actors of differing power differentials shape discourses in numerous ways (Foucault, cited in O'Farrell, 2005, p. 75). Ethnographers therefore bring the backstage of policing to the front of the stage (Bacon et al., 2020, p.4). Herbert (2017, cited in Bacon et al., 2020, p.3) argues that for this reason, the role of ethnographers should be (re)orientated towards enhancing police governance, with the ethnographer acting on behalf of the public. Bacon et al. write:

> Ethnography is valued then, for its ability to expose and situate the inner-life of policing in its various guises and settings. One of the central themes within ethnographies is that policing is for the most part an exclusionary project directed towards suspect populations occupying the social, legal and economic margins (Bacon et al., 2020, p.3).

Conducting an ethnography allowed me to build rapport with my research participants, utilise snowball sampling (Atkinson and Flint, 2004) to gain access to other participants for observation and interview as well as observe a variety of different policing contexts. My fieldwork phase consisted of ten nights of observations with police officers, police licensing officers, door staff, venue managers, volunteering paramedics and street pastors. I also conducted thirty-six in-depth interviews with a range of research participants: police officers, licensing officers (both public police and those working for the local council), venue managers, door staff, street pastors and taxi drivers. I used textual discourse analysis to analyse Greenshire's Diversity Agenda. Finally, I reflected upon my observations and interviews by taking field notes (Thorpe and Holt, 2008) and recorded my feelings in a research diary (Burgess, 2006). Drawing upon a range of approaches allowed me to meet the following research objectives:

1. To examine how formal understandings of race, acquired via the police diversity training and agenda, impact the public police's understandings of race and the interaction between the public police and racialized minorities at night.

2. To critically assess the factors underpinning police licensing decisions and how/if these are informed by ideas of race.

3. To explore how ideas about race influence the public and private police response to racialized night-time participants 'on the ground'.

4. To examine how police understandings of race are made within a provincial context which is predominantly white and to discover how these are informed by the wider political, social and cultural context in which they are formed.

5. To critically assess the relationship between the public and private police in policing nightlife and the implications this has (if any) for policing racialized minorities at night.

The following sections outline each method in turn, providing the strengths of each approach in relation to the research objectives. The use of critical discourse analysis as the analytical framework which underpins my research findings is then explored in detail.

The methods

Observations: setting the scene

I conducted a total of ten nights of observation throughout the fieldwork. These were conducted alongside the public police, door staff, venue managers, street pastors and volunteering paramedics. Four nights were spent in Forsham, four in Penton and two were spent on licensing visits with police licensing officers in West Greenshire. One night was spent observing door staff at an 'urban' night at *Altitude.* My observations focused on interactions between the public and private police and night-time participants on the night-time high street, in the nightclub queue and on 'the door'. During my observation of the 'urban' night at *Altitude,* I also observed door staff governing the dance floor. I spent time with police officers during ride-alongs, on their 'refs' (a police term used to refer to their break), in their team meetings, in the office and in custody. My observations took place between the hours of 9pm and 6am, predominantly on Friday and Saturday nights.

I also observed three days of police diversity training and stop and search training. The diversity training was provided to new police recruits at the policing college and consisted primarily of presentations by diversity trainers, a gypsy liaison officer and attendance at a religious temple. During these observations I witnessed new recruits being informally tested by the 'Head of Diversity' prior to a 'diversity exam' and spent time with new recruits on the bus journey to the religious temple. The diversity trainer also invited me to observe the police stop and search training, describing this as 'arguably being more relevant to your research topic'. Following this, I spent a morning observing the new recruits on their stop and search training, with the findings informing the following chapter. These observations allowed me to explore how race and racialized minorities are framed in more formal policing contexts. Throughout these observations, I noted how much attention was given to race throughout the police training and how race and ethnic minorities were spoken of in less formal contexts (such as during the bus journey to the religious temple and during lunch and coffee breaks with new recruits and diversity trainers).

Finally, I also attended and observed two night-time economy meetings. One was a meeting led by senior police officers in Forsham and was attended by police licensing officers, venue managers, heads of door staff, bar staff, taxi drivers and street pastors. The second was a street pastor's meeting in Forsham which was also attended by a neighbourhood police officer. I used these meetings to introduce myself and my research and asked for any comments or questions on my research topic. At the end of these meetings, I exchanged contact details with individuals who volunteered to be interviewed and contacted them soon after to set up an interview. A snowball sampling technique (Atkinson and Flint, 2004) was then used whereby these individuals put me in touch with others with a responsibility for policing nightlife.

Conducting observations

Prior to conducting observations, I conducted one night of pilot observation in Penton which allowed me to reflect upon my strengths and weaknesses as an observer before the main observations took place (Guest et al., 2012, p.87). The police officer in charge of the teams I would be observing in Penton made me aware of night-time venues that they felt would be of interest to my research (due to the diversity of music played and the venue's popularity) and I began by observing these. I noted the social categories of people including the number of

men and women, white and ethnic minorities, young and old, that situated particular places and spaces. From the street, I noted what the physical layout of the venue encouraged and discouraged, in particular regarding how door staff, venue managers, police officers and night-time participants used space and how they communicated with one another, including in their body language and social distance. I also used this night as an opportunity to collect materials relevant to my study, such as leaflets or adverts for bars, pubs and clubs. Reflecting on this night of pilot observation made me aware that I needed to obtain a careful balance between taking notes during observation and writing up field notes afterwards.

During the first few nights of observation following the pilot observation, I focused on the big questions of 'who, what, when and how' (Balsinger and Lambelet, 2014, p. 162). Utilising Spradley's (1980, p. 76) approach, I noted:

- What the setting was like
- What I did
- How my participants acted
- What my participants said
- How I felt

I made a note of the night-time venues and events which stood out for my research participants, particularly those which were spoken about in terms of social divisions and racial and ethnic differences (both in the clientele attending and the music played). I also noted down important people to speak with in the future (Kawulich, 2005, Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011). After this, I gathered more specific information and used Mack et al.'s (cited in Guest et al., 2012, p. 92) guidelines to enable me to pay attention to specific areas of focus:

	Includes	Note
Appearance	Clothing, age, gender, physical appearance.	Anything that indicates membership to groups of interest. Social status, class, ethnicity, religion.
Verbal behaviour and interactions	Who speaks to who, for how long, who initiates conversation, interaction. What are the languages and dialects used, what is the tone of voice.	Gender, age, ethnicity, profession, dynamics of interaction.

Physical behaviour and features	What people do, who does what, who interacts with whom, who is not interacting.	How people use their bodies to communicate different emotions, what individual's behaviour indicates regarding feelings towards another, their social rank.
Personal space	How close people stand to one another, how quickly they move to and from each other, is there physical contact?	What people's preferences regarding personal space suggests.
Human traffic	How many people enter, leave, spend time at the observational site.	Where people enter and exit, how long they stay, who they are (ethnicity, age, gender), if they are alone or accompanied, number of people.
People who stand out	Identification of people who receive a lot of attention from others.	Their characteristics, what differentiates them, do people approach them or vice versa, are they strangers or are they known. These could be people to approach for interview or key informants.

I paid attention to the social categories of night-time participants, making a note of their perceived race, ethnicity, nationality, gender and age. I was attentive to how these, and other indicators of social difference, such as the choice of clothing, hairstyle, jewellery, leisure activities, language patterns and their place of residence (Schensul et al., 1999, p. 115), influenced their governance on the night-time high streets, in the nightclub queue and inside the venue of *Altitude*. I noted down the tactics used by the public and private police to vet night-time participants in these settings. I was also attentive to the style of music played at night-time venues and became aware of the existence of 'urban' nights (a term used by my research participants to refer to night-time events where traditionally Black styles of music are played, such as RnB, hip hop, grime and bashment). I explored how these night-time events, and the venues that hosted them, were spoken of and governed by the public and private police.

During observations, I used natural stopping points on the high street to observe nightclub queues. I mentally noted down whether night-time participants queued in groups or pairs, as well as their race, gender, body language, accent and tone of voice, the volume of speech and their dress (Spradley, 1980, p. 68). My observation of the 'urban' night at *Altitude* also afforded me more focused time to assess how these factors influenced the governance of

night-time participants in the queue, at 'the door' and inside the nightclub. Throughout the observations, I used quiet moments to jot notes down in a small pocket notebook and used these to generate more in-depth fieldnotes once I had returned home in the early hours of the morning (O'Brien, 2009).

The observations provided me with the opportunity to facilitate and develop relationships with my research participants, as whilst access to the force had been granted by senior police officers, I needed to build a rapport with rank and file officers and the private police (Moeran, 2009). Throughout the observations, I openly introduced myself and my research to my research participants, inspired by the work of Preiser, who reflects on the importance of honesty in her research on bouncers (2016, p. 68). Whilst some of my research participants shared their views of policing racialized minorities at night early on in the observations, I had to build rapport with others before they began to open up to me. During these conversations, I used probes or repeated what the participant was saying to keep them talking (Schensul et al., 1999, p. 122) and made mental notes (also known as 'scratch notes') of conversations (Thorpe and Holt, 2008). I was also attentive to the importance of nonverbal and verbal cues, communicating that I was interested in what my research participants were saying through my body language. These conversations focused on my research participants' past interactions with ethnic minorities, their views of 'urban' nights and their thoughts on diversity training and the SIA training for door staff. I reflected upon what these conversations meant to the context of the research, what was said and who said it and this reflection helped form my interview questions (see appendix B). I used these conversations to set up more formal semi-structured interviews with a range of individuals responsible for the policing of nightlife in Greenshire (see pages 63-65 for further details).

Field notes

I utilised different types of notes to record my data, from mental notes and jotted notes when I was in the field to full field notes as soon as I returned from the field (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 109). I limited taking notes during observations (Creswell, 2013), focusing on what I could see and hear. I made mental notes of who, what, why, where and when and used a notebook to take jotted notes at inconspicuous moments, recording little phrases, quotations or key words (ibid.). During key moments, I retired to the toilet, like Hadfield (2006), to take covert notes when snippets of conversation were fresh in my mind. I spoke into my phone about the

night's events on my way home, and these phone recordings were used to help write full field notes which were written promptly following the observations. These provided a concrete chronological log and running description of key events, people and conversations. I utilised Strauss' coding system, using quotation marks for exact recall, apostrophes for verbal material that is less certain and no marking when I could only recall the substance of the conversation but not what was said (Strauss, cited in Lofland et al., 2006, p. 113). Analytic hunches and ideas were noted in brackets.

As field notes 'depict *a* reading of the incident, but not *the* reading of the incident' and are 'in many regards, frustratingly vague' (Preiser, 2016, p. 70), I prioritised taking note of the context of interaction, the words used, the number of people, their race, gender and class and any indicators of social difference in my notes. I also refrained from trying to fill in the blanks if I could not remember everything and when I experienced recall I wrote what I had recalled in the current day's field notes with the items date, content and context (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 113).

Research diary

Due to the importance of reflexivity in the research process, I used a research diary to note my impressions and feelings. I recorded my opinions of people and emotional responses of being an observer and to the physical setting (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 114). As May states, 'what is central is not just understanding the effects *of* the researcher, but the effects *on* the researcher, as well as those researched' (2008, pp. 75-76). Rather than try to be an objective researcher, something which I feel is not possible (see section titled 'white privilege and researcher positionality' for further details), I embraced my thoughts and noted these in my diary. Reflective practice also uncovered analytical leads and allowed critical reflection (Lofland et al., 2006, Maharaj, 2016), with feelings of anxiety or disquiet revealing how the worldview of those being studied was very different to my own, something which I reflect upon later in this chapter.

Interviews

Thirty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted with a mixture of police officers, police licensing officers, door staff, venue managers, street pastors and a local authority licensing

officer. These were approximately an hour in length and were recorded on a Dictaphone with non-verbal cues noted on paper. One police officer asked not to be recorded and I concentrated on their stories, words used and their body language during the interview, with this recorded in my notebook immediately afterwards. I initially held pilot interviews with two officers to gauge how they responded to the interview questions and whether they fully understood the nature of my research. Reflecting on these I noted that the interviews flowed smoothly but I needed to provide more context around the use of the 696 form as this was only used by the Metropolitan Police Force to inform police licensing decisions and therefore my research participants were unaware of its use. I also changed some of the questions to make the wording clearer. The interviews were based on five loose themes: the participant's background, their training, my research, incidents/interaction with ethnic minorities and their thoughts for the future (see appendix B for my interview schedule). Following the pilot interviews, I conducted twenty-one interviews with police officers (some of which occurred prior to the observations) and thirteen interviews with a combination of venue managers, door staff, street pastors and bar staff. Due to the nature of police work, sampling officers for interview was something which I did not have control over, and the interviews were arranged by police sergeants or inspectors. Interviews with police officers took place in an office in the police station usually before police officers started their shift, whilst interviews with door staff, venue managers and street pastors took place in bars, cafes or their homes in the early evening before they had begun their night shift.

Throughout the fieldwork, a diversity trainer put me in touch with Umair, the head of a group used to mediate police complaints made by ethnic minorities in Greenshire. Umair explained that night-time workers, such as those working in fast food shops, and taxi drivers, receive racial abuse at night. I spent an evening with Umair, who introduced me to fast food workers and taxi drivers in the hope of setting up interviews with them. One taxi driver agreed to an interview, with many others declining to take part in the research. I noted the following in my research diary:

> *Tonight I went out with Umair. He introduced me to a number of fast food workers in the hope that they'd give me a short interview on their experiences of racism, however none wanted to give an interview. He said that they may affiliate the research with the police and do not want to draw attention to the racial abuse he knows they experience. He said others struggle with the language barrier.*

I believe that I had trouble setting up interviews with night-time workers for a number of reasons. Firstly, Umair's affiliation with the police, and my own research topic, which was introduced as 'looking into the policing of ethnic minorities at night', meant that those approached for an interview attributed my research to the police force. Due to the negative police-race relations outlined in the previous chapter, I believe this may have prevented these individuals wanting to give an interview. Secondly, white researchers (Chadderton, 2012, Long, 2016) have outlined the difficulty they had in accessing and asking ethnic minorities about their experiences of racism. I believe my own racialization as white, and someone who speaks fluent English, also factored into this. Finally, Umair shared that many Black and minority ethnic individuals do not want to bring attention to the racism they experience. Whilst I found it difficult to set up interviews with night-time workers regarding their experiences of racism at night, I believe that this is a finding in itself, and that this is indicative of the continued work needed to improve race relations between the police force and ethnic minorities in Greenshire.

With the methods outlined in turn, the next section details how critical discourse analysis was used to analyse the data and inform the research findings.

Critical discourse analysis as an analytical framework

The literature review outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the study and approaches race as a discursive construct (Hall, 1997a, Hall 1997b, Pitcher, 2014). This study is therefore concerned with how race, and racialized minorities, come into existence through collective language and practice. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the analytical framework which guides this study, as it allows the researcher to explore collective language, value systems and practice. CDA is defined as follows:

> Discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 2015, p. 466).

The research does not claim objectivity, as the use of CDA, which is inspired by neo-Marxism and Foucault, approaches institutions as serving the interests of certain powerful groups and imposing their power on certain individuals (Mayr, 2015, p. 756). The literature review has detailed the numerous ways in which racialized minorities continue to be over-policed and under-protected (Long, 2018), as well as the racial disparities that are present in the UK criminal justice system today (Lammy Review, 2017, Shiner at al., 2018). This study takes this as its starting point and acknowledges that racism continues to permeate policing contexts. By drawing upon CDA, I pay attention to how discourse maintains power, dominance and inequality between the police (both public and private) and racialized minorities (van Dijk, 2015, p. 468) and the impact this has on the governance of nightlife.

Discourse is not only 'text and talk', but can also be seen in behaviour, interaction, values, thoughts, beliefs and speech (Locke, 2004, p. 7, Gee, 2014, p. 4). Paltridge writes:

> The ways we make visible and recognisable who we are and what we are doing always involves more than just language. It involves acting, interacting and thinking in certain ways. It also involves valuing and talking (or reading and writing) in appropriate ways with appropriate 'props' at appropriate times and in appropriate places (Paltridge, 2006, p. 9).

By utilising CDA as the analytical framework, I draw attention to the value systems of my research participants, paying attention to not only their words, but their actions, interactions and thought processes. I also conducted textual discourse analysis of Greenshire Police Force's Diversity Agenda (more details can be found in the following section and the findings outlined in the next chapter). Traditionally, ethnographers have attempted to navigate and gain access to the 'backstage' (Goffman, 1990), as if the 'backstage' holds some 'reality' or 'truth' that other settings do not. This study takes a different approach, by exploring the value systems, thought processes, actions and words of my research participants. In doing this, I uncover the ways in which the governance of racialized minorities takes place in a range of traditionally 'frontstage' and 'backstage' contexts, from 'the door', the dance floor, to night-time economy meetings, licensing practices, in conversation in the police break room and through police diversity documentation (to name a few).

Some academic textbooks approach analysis in a linear, neat fashion, sorting data into themes, coding, narrowing down themes, coding again and so on (Bazeley, 2013, Chapter Six, Davies, 2018, Harding, 2019, Chapter Eight). My approach to analysis was much more of a back and forth between 'the field' and the analysis of field notes, transcripts and my research diary. Analysis was conducted manually, as this keeps the researcher 'close to the material, rather than producing a potentially more fractured analysis using software' (Nicholls, 2015, p. 78). Following interviews, I transcribed these in full verbatim, including pauses, stammers, hesitation markers (erms and ahs) and laughter (Schröter and Taylor, 2018). At points in the fieldwork, I carefully read through the transcripts, as well as my field notes and research diary. I began by applying some basic elements of critical discourse analysis to my transcripts, looking at instances of pronoun use in generating a collective of 'us' and 'them', emphasis given to words through tone, volume or repetition and silences, pauses and hesitations (Wiggens, 2017, pp. 122-125). I also paid attention to the level of detail or vagueness given in details of an event or a person and the use of reported speech in my research participants' recollections (ibid.).

As the fieldwork continued, I began to transcribe more interviews, reading these interview transcripts and making analytical notes in the margins. I applied the more basic elements of critical discourse analysis highlighted above, and became aware of the tentativeness shown by some of my research participants in their discussions of race and racialized minorities. I highlighted moments of hesitation or caution which were communicated through my research participants' speech and body language. I was also attentive to instances where social action and impression formation (Goffman, 1990) stood out as important, particularly where my research participants made semantic moves to present themselves/the collective group in a positive light, sometimes shortly followed by negative talk of racialized minorities (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 117). Wiggens defines social actions as follows:

> things we do in talk and interaction all the time: make requests, ask questions, flirt, discuss the weather, complain, praise someone, make promises and so on. We are never 'just talking'; there is always something else going on. Sometimes these social actions are referred to as the 'functions of talk' (Wiggens, 2017, p. 121).

This allowed me to pick up on 'discursive devices', or ways of talking that were recognisable across different contexts and which helped perform social actions for my research

participants. Augoustinos (2007) found that speakers justify, rationalise, blame and construct particular identities for themselves in their discussions of ethnic minorities. Inspired by the approach of Augoustinos, I paid specific attention to recurrences and pervasive patterns of talk about race and racialized minorities across the transcripts, field notes and those reflected upon in my research diary. I also paid attention to rules of speaking, such as turn taking, interruptions, refusing to speak, curtailing speech (particularly in my analysis of the interactions which occurred in the diversity training room), as well as what facial, bodily and eye gaze evoked (Wiggens, 2017, p. 134). In doing this I thought about whose perspective, whose voices, whose beliefs and feelings were privileged.

After reading and re-reading the transcripts, fieldnotes and my research diary, I used more in-depth techniques of CDA in my analysis. I drew specifically upon the work of van Dijk (1993a) and began exploring the different mental models that arose in the data. Mental models refer to general opinions and attitudes, as well as ideological systems which organise attitudes (ibid.). The exploration of mental models in my data allowed me to pay attention to the rules of language and shared social scripts between my research participants, with these often shared by both the public and private police. van Dijk argues that these reveal the ''institutional embeddings' of social representations of people as group members' (1993a, p. 99), and I became aware of when instances arose which were attached to pre-existing institutionalized mental models (for example, young Black men from London being interpreted by the police as 'gang' members). The importance of police stories also became apparent (this has also been revealed in the police literature – see Holdaway, 1983, McLaughlin and Murji, 1998) and I highlighted all police stories of ethnic minority groups or individuals. I paid particular attention to repeat stories shared by more than one of my research participants, as these indicated an importance in the construction of a collective identity for the police and racialized minorities. In using CDA as the analytical framework that guides the study, this thesis uncovers how discrimination, prejudice and racism continue to permeate policing contexts within a particular political, social and cultural time when overt racism is met with hostility (Foster et al., 2005, Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, McLaughlin, 2007, Loftus, 2008, Loftus, 2010a).

The next section outlines how textual discourse analysis was used to analyse Greenshire Police Force's Diversity Agenda.

Textual discourse analysis

Textual discourse analysis was also used to analyse Greenshire's Diversity Agenda. This allowed me to explore how race and racialized minorities were constructed in more formal policing contexts and the institutional rules which prescribe and discourage certain ways of presenting race and racialized minorities (Hall, 1997a, p. 45). Doing this allowed me to be attentive to the relationship between the ways in which race and racialized minorities are spoken of in formal policing contexts and the everyday language of race in Greenshire Police Force. Initially, I thought about what the discourse vocalised and paid attention to what the language gave importance to and what it concealed. I was attentive to how the text was structured, what words were used and not used and if and how oppositions were created (Wood and Kroger, 2000). Inspired by Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 37), I also paid critical attention to the use of images, thinking about who/what is placed in the foreground and in focus, whether certain features were made to stand out and the size of images used. In paying attention to images, I thought critically about whether these set up structural oppositions and what the images gave importance to and what they might conceal.

The next section outlines issues of access and 'acceptance' in the research process, revealing that this was not a straightforward relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Gaining access and 'acceptance'

As outlined in Chapter Two, there is limited literature which explores race and nightlife in contexts outside of city centres. In being attentive to this gap in the literature, I decided to focus my observations in Forsham and Penton. Whilst these sites are non-metropolitan in context, they each have well established night-time high streets, as outlined in more detail in Chapter One. Having conducted research on the police before, I drew upon a gatekeeper who could help me navigate access to Greenshire Police Force. This was not a straightforward process and whilst a detective chief inspector permitted me access to conduct the research, I had to convince the assistant chief constable that my research was legitimate and worthwhile. As Eldridge highlights, having access to one gatekeeper does not mean having access to all, with the researcher often feeling like they are being passed from one person to the next (Eldridge, 2013, p. 481). I spoke with the assistant chief constable on the telephone about my research, explaining what I wanted to do, why I felt my research was important and what I

would provide the force with in return. In doing this I reinforced the notion that my research would aid with better town centre management and drinking practices, sometimes buying into the debates about the 'problematic' nature of alcohol (Eldridge, 2013, p. 484). An extract from my research diary is telling of how one of the phone calls with the assistant chief constable made me feel:

There seemed to be a certain nervousness about my research with the assistant chief constable urging me that I tell her as soon as possible if anything was uncovered that I was unhappy with. In one breath, I was explaining how my research would help them understand what goes on at street level from an outsider's point of view, whilst in another I began feeling like I was duping them into some sort of exposé.

(Diary notes, August 2017)

The nervousness surrounding the research on the part of the assistant chief constable was understandable due to the sensitive nature of the research topic. I had to carefully frame why I felt the research was important and how it would help the force for the assistant chief constable to grant me access. Once access was granted, this did not necessarily mean acceptance, and I had to continually negotiate both throughout my research. For example, I had to navigate access to different teams for observations, attending formal meetings with a number of inspectors where I presented my research. I also had to work on becoming accepted by rank and file officers who referred to me as the 'spy' and made jokes about me secretly working for 'PSD' (an acronym which stands for the Professional Standards Department. The Professional Standards Department is an internal public police department that deals with complaints against officers and staff). Access was therefore a process of 'continuing negotiation and explanation' (Rowe, 2007, p. 28). I decided to explain who I was, how I was collecting data and how it would be pseudonymised to every participant I met (Preiser, 2016). This helped me build a trust between myself and my participants and gain more valuable in-depth insights from my research participants.

Drawing on Oakley, who argues that 'there can be no intimacy without reciprocity' (cited in May, 1993, p. 49), I agreed to provide the assistant chief constable and my research participants with my findings at the end of the research process. In this sense, the relationship between the gatekeeper and the researched is not fixed and researchers may be expected to

provide something back to the gatekeeper (Eldridge, 2013, p. 481). Feedback was provided to the assistant chief constable and my research participants via a summary report. In accordance with University ethics procedures and the subject-specific guidelines provided for research such as mine, I protected my participants, the force and organisations that took part in the research process by pseudonymising any names, places and organisations in the transcription process. Promising anonymity and confidentiality also helped me lower levels of (dis)trust in my research participants (Celestina, 2018), something which requires careful negotiation in research with the public police (Reiner, 2000b, Loftus, 2007).

The next section outlines some of the ethical considerations which were considered prior to entering the field, and some of the ethical situations that arose during the fieldwork.

Ethical considerations

The participant observer

In reflecting on how participative I would be when conducting my research, I took Preiser's (2016) approach, who described herself as an overt but discreet participant observer when conducting her research on bouncers in Germany. I explained who I was, how I would be collecting the data and how it would be pseudonymised to every participant I met. At times I found myself moving between what Spradley terms the passive and moderate participant observer, being present but not participating whilst holding a balance between being an insider and outsider (1980, p. 58). I therefore shifted along the continuum of participation throughout my fieldwork, feeling more or less of an insider or outsider at different points during the research process. I reflected upon this shifting continuum after a night of observations:

> *At the start of fieldwork I was offered cups of tea and coffee and was shown around*
> *the station as if I was a visitor. I was usually always accompanied by a police officer.*
> *As the fieldwork went on, I was left to move around the building myself, visiting other*
> *teams as I saw fit. I began making the teas on rotation with other police constables*
> *and the reception staff begun to call me by my first name.*

> *(Diary notes, August 2018)*

Having conducted research on the police before[2], I felt a sense of familiarity with the police institution which enabled me to move with relative ease in police spaces. This meant that I knew the rhythm and routines of the police force, from being familiar with police uniform and how this is indicative of rank, to police language and acronyms, to knowledge of how police training is written and conducted.

<u>Pilot interviews</u>

In order to ensure my research participants understood the nature of the research project and the interview questions, I held two pilot interviews with police officers. Whilst the research is of a sensitive nature, I asked questions carefully, allowing my research participants time to share their points of view. In doing this, I became aware that I needed to give context to some of the questions asked (such as those drawing on media stories and the 696 form). Interviews with police officers were held in a private office in the police station as they fitted conveniently around their work, however, I also had informal conversations about my research in the break room and conducted unstructured exploratory interviews throughout my observations. Interviews with door staff and venue managers took place in cafes and bars during the day or early evening, usually before some of these participants started their shift (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I interviewed street pastors in their homes. I checked participant comfort levels throughout the interview, asking my research participants if they needed a break and providing this where needed.

I provided my research participants with an information sheet prior to the interview which explained my research and gave my contact details for future reference (see appendix A). I also gave my respondents the ability to withdraw from the research up to September 2018. This date was chosen to protect the research project, as giving my research participants an unlimited amount of time to withdraw could have had a detrimental impact on the study if they chose to withdraw at a point in the process after data had been analysed and findings written up. Consent was received via a form which was attached to the information sheet. All respondents printed and signed their name to confirm their consent. I explained these forms

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[2] For my dissertation for my MA in Criminology, I conducted an ethnography which explored how police understandings of gender informed the governance of young women within the context of nightlife. This consisted of observations of the public police and interviews with the public police and door staff.

prior to the interview and asked my participants if they had any further questions about the research. I obtained my participants' approval to record their interviews on a Dictaphone, however, when one officer did not agree to being recorded I made notes of the key words, phrases and stories that they shared in their interview. I explained that interviews which were recorded on the Dictaphone would be transcribed soon after and the MP3 files disposed of and destroyed. Field notes were kept in a locked filing cabinet on the university premises until they were transcribed, which happened as soon as possible following the field notes being taken and then all paper files were destroyed.

Risks to the researcher

Researchers who conduct their research on law enforcers have been warned that they will be faced with ethical considerations as to whether they should blow the metaphorical whistle (Norris, 1993, Westmarland, 2001, Winlow et al., 2001). Academics have responded differently to this, with Holdaway reflecting upon his disclosures as part of the public spiritedness of academic research (Holdaway, cited in Westmarland, 2001), whilst others decided their future access to the field and their career were not worth risking (Reiner, cited in Westmarland, 2001). I detested some of the violent interactions that I witnessed during the fieldwork, however, observing these was integral in gaining the trust of the research community (see: Winlow et al., 2001, p. 537, who share similar sentiments in their reflections of observing door staff). In a similar vein, I witnessed interactions, violence, disorder and not only listened in but was a part of conversations which made me feel uncomfortable.

During observations, I chose not to use research equipment when I was in 'the field'. Doing this allowed me to 'fit in' and build trust and rapport with my research participants. I relied upon good inter-personal skills in staying alert and picking up social cues to potential dangers, holding my head high and walking with confidence even in risky situations (Paterson et al., 1999, p. 263). I studied the area I was observing before I arrived and made myself aware of potential places of safety, trusting my researcher's instinct in knowing when to take myself out of a situation (Paterson et al., 1999, p. 266). I provided a relative with a sealed envelope which contained the details of the person I was interviewing, where I was meeting them and the time I was expected to arrive and leave. This envelope was to be opened should I have not returned home following a night of observations (Sociological Research Association, no date).

<u>Unanticipated risks</u>

There were times during the fieldwork that l had to reinforce my role as a researcher and remind my research participants that I was conducting a study as a student at the University of Westminster. This was particularly apt in some instances when flirtatious and inappropriate comments were made by my research participants. A snippet from my research diary reveals:

> *I interviewed Toby and Kenny today. Toby asked how old I was and stated that I was the 'perfect age' for him. He and Kenny then asked me whether I have a boyfriend and I said yes. They asked how serious our relationship was and whether I considered myself 'locked down'.*

> *(Diary notes, March 2018)*

I anticipated that flirtatious comments may be made, due to the hyper masculine nature of both police and door culture (Reiner, 2000a, Hobbs et al., 2003), and the number of female researchers who have shared similar experiences when conducting research in comparable territories (Stanko, 1998, O'Brien, 2009, Trikha, 2012). However, ethnographic researchers cannot anticipate all risks and must respond to issues as they arise (Rowe, 2007). During one night of observation, a female police officer informed me that Brad, an inspector at Forsham, was planning to ask me out on a date. Luckily, my observations were alongside another team that night and I was coming to the end of my fieldwork which meant that I did not see Brad again. The potential repercussions of declining Brad's advances, a senior police officer with control over my access to rank and file officers for interview and observation, could have had a considerable impact on the research study. This incident reveals the potential challenges and negotiations that face female researchers in policing contexts and remind us of the gendered and heterosexualised power structures which continue to inform these institutions (Heidensohn, 1992, Walklate, 2000, Brown, 2007, Loftus, 2008, Loftus, 2010a).

In addition, the physical dangers of governing nightlife became apparent during one night of observation alongside a police licensing officer. I was observing police licensing visits when a fight broke out between two night-time participants on a nearby street. The police licensing officer quickly ran off to break up the fight and I stayed talking with a member of door staff

at the entrance to a nightclub. After some time, the member of door staff became worried about the police licensing officer and ran off to check on him, leaving me standing at the door of the night-time venue. My field notes reveal how this incident quickly developed:

> *Tonight, Gerry left me and went to check on Scott, who had left us to break up a fight. Gerry was concerned about Scott's safety and ran to check on him. At this point, I couldn't see where either Gerry or Scott had gone. Night-time participants then quickly interpreted me as a member of the door team and approached me to let them into the night-time venue. I explained I couldn't do this as I wasn't door staff and some began threatening me, swearing and demanding access to the bar. I was the only person standing at the door of the venue, and couldn't see any staff I could call upon for help…*

> *(Diary notes, February 2018)*

Whilst no harm occurred in this incident, the violent realities of conducting fieldwork alongside police officers and door staff at night quickly came to fruition (see Winlow et al., 2001 and O'Brien et al., 2008 for similar reflections). I was lucky that Gerry returned only minutes later, however, had he not, the repercussions of denying access to heavily intoxicated night-time participants could have become more serious.

The next section reflects upon my white privilege and what this afforded me in terms of the research. I then outline my rationale for focusing on polic*ing* and consider the risks this poses in privileging the viewpoints of my white, predominantly male research participants.

Reflections

White privilege and researcher positionality

Traditional scholarship has worked from a place of white ignorance (Mills, 2007), reproducing racist assumptions through what Sullivan and Tuana call 'epistemologies of ignorance' (cited in Long, 2016, p. 65). Whiteness is the normative position against which all others are defined, and therefore researchers can be committed to being anti-racist and eliminating racism, whilst reproducing it by subscribing to 'epistemologies of ignorance'

(ibid.). In this section, I address the issues that I, as a white researcher, am socialised to ignore (Twine and Warren, 2001) and pay attention to the benefits that whiteness afforded me in terms of the research. van Dijk writes:

> As (White) scholars, we are involved and even more responsible than others because we have the instruments to study and criticise… racism is, indeed, *our problem,* in the sense that we are part of the problem (van Dijk, 1987, p. 15).

I believe that my whiteness afforded me access to the police institution and enabled me to conduct research on the sensitive topic of race and policing. Police officers have actively dodged being observed by young, Black male researchers (Cram, 2018) and my racialization as white acted as a form of 'methodological capital' (Gallager, cited in Gunaratnam, 2003, p. 83), allowing me to build rapport, cooperation and trust with my research participants. Reflecting upon one of the initial meetings I had with Bill, the Detective Chief Inspector in charge of one of the teams that were observed during the fieldwork, I noted the following in my research diary:

> *In being identified as white, and in particular someone who had worked for the police before, I was made to feel that somehow I knew the struggles that police officers had to go through in dealing with Black and minority ethnic communities. Bill explained that I knew the type of 'accusations' that got thrown their way from the Black community, surely I'd produced some analytical work on this 'problem' before.*

> *(Diary notes, 27th October 2017)*

In this meeting, my whiteness allowed me to build rapport with a senior officer (who is also white) in gaining access to his team for night-time observations and interviews. Throughout the fieldwork, I had to stay quiet during times where my whiteness meant that I was interpellated (Leonardo, 2009) as sharing the same viewpoints on Black and minority ethnic groups and racism. In addition, towards the end of the fieldwork phase, Paul, a police sergeant, also shared that he believed my whiteness had allowed me to gain access to the police force. Paul shared that he did not believe I would have gained access to the force to conduct my research if I was 'Black or Asian' (*Paul's words).* I believe that my racialized identity as 'white' therefore afforded me access to conduct research on the sensitive topic of

race in an institution which has been highlighted as notoriously hard to reach (Reiner, 2000a, Rowe, 2007).

However, identities are multifaceted and although my whiteness allowed me to build a rapport with some of my research participants, I believe my identity as a young, female student conducting a PhD on race and policing meant that I was 'tested' by some of my research participants. Souhami states that the ethnographic researcher may go through 'initiations' or 'member tests', defined as:

> Instances in which the outsider status of the research is brought into focus, and their relationships with the field are overtly or implicitly challenged… They are particularly revealing moments in research, as it is here that the disjunction between cultural worlds becomes visible. For the ethnographer, the culture of the researched organisation become particularly clear. For participants, the researcher's response is an important source of information about them (Souhami, 2020, p. 208).

At the end of the fieldwork, I reflected in my research diary about what I perceived were 'tests' throughout the observations and interviews. My research diary reads:

> *I found the fieldwork much more difficult and anxiety provoking than I had envisioned. At the beginning, I found that my whiteness produced a taken-for-granted sense of familiarity with some of my research participants – allowing me access to door staff, the police and venue managers for observations and interviews on race and policing nightlife. However, whilst access was initially granted, I felt some of my research participants then began testing me so that they knew how much to share with me and how much to trust me. They asked me how I voted in the European referendum and asked me what I thought about a university declining the 'free speech' of Milo Yiannopolous (a racist, far-right wing commentator). During these conversations, racist, homophobic and sexist viewpoints were shared. I was highly aware of maintaining access to my research participants and I found it incredibly painful not to challenge the problematic views of those that I studied in order to be able to continue to conduct the research.*

> *(Diary notes, 22nd October 2018)*

Whilst my whiteness produced a sense of familiarity with some of my research participants and allowed initial access to the force, my role as an academic and a researcher meant that I had to navigate what I interpreted as 'tests' throughout the fieldwork process. In noting a strong sense of scepticism amongst rank and file officers in particular, I decided to stay in the police station for longer periods of time, attend staff meetings and spend more time with officers on their 'refs' (lunch breaks). I also utilised the time between interviews by talking to my research participants about matters unrelated to the research to build their trust. In thinking about how spaces are raced (Chadderton, 2012), my white privilege afforded me the access to these backstage spaces which were constructed around the norms of whiteness, something which Black and minority ethnic researchers have found it hard to permeate. In addition, my white privilege also meant that I was able to 'blend in' with the whiteness of the night-time spaces that I observed. Throughout the fieldwork I was able to attend spaces which are white, such as night-time high streets, night-time economy meetings, police stations, the police diversity training and the homes of some of my research participants without appearing or feeling 'out of place' (Puwar, 2004). My whiteness, as well as my working class background, acted as forms of social and cultural capital throughout the fieldwork, allowing me to access spaces and build rapport with participants to conduct research on race, policing and nightlife.

Nayak writes that racial positioning and identity are performed and negotiated in fieldwork (Nayak, cited in Chadderton, 2012, p. 16). My whiteness meant that I was able to conduct interviews, and involve myself in informal conversations on race with hard to reach participants like the police, as well as door staff and venue managers. I performed whiteness in these conversations and interviews through bodily gestures such as nodding, smiling and asking questions (Gunaratnam, 2003). I nodded in places where I did not agree with what was being shared, asked participants to speak more about prejudiced viewpoints that I found uncomfortable to hear, laughed at stories that I did not find funny and heard stereotypes of ethnic minority groups which I did not challenge. This meant that I ended up feeling complicit in the prejudiced viewpoints that were shared, as well as the discriminatory practices that were observed in the policing of nightlife. Ahmed (2004) states that it is not enough for the researcher to reflect upon their privilege and how they felt complicit in the oppression of others. Not challenging the viewpoints and discriminatory practices observed throughout the fieldwork was extremely difficult and this was something that I had to carry with me in order to benefit from the continued access to my research participants.

There was one notable point during the fieldwork when the complicity slipped and I challenged the racist views of a police sergeant. During a night of observation, I was in an office shared by police sergeants, when Phil began sharing racist ideas about young, Black men. I noted the following in my research diary:

> *Tonight, at about 2am, Phil started a conversation about how Black people are inherently more criminal and deviant. He declared that 'they can't be helped' (Phil's words). I challenged Phil on this, saying that his beliefs were deeply problematic. He stood up from his chair, raised his voice and said that I had no idea what it is like to be a police officer and that he is not a racist. Gary, another sergeant, noticed the tension in the room and intervened, saying he'd take me to the high street for some more observations.*

> *(Diary notes, March 2018)*

In attending observations the following weekend, Gary apologised for Phil's words, stating that there are still some old officers in the job with extremely problematic views. Hearing the racist viewpoints of some of my research participants, and observing problematic policing practices (such as no no-ing, which is explained in more detail in Chapter Seven), and not challenging these was part of the process of gaining the trust of the research community and continued access to a diverse range of night-time policers who took part in the study.

In this section I have reflected on my whiteness, the privilege this has afforded me in terms of my research and the tensions that I felt as a white researcher who was sometimes assumed to hold the same viewpoints of racialized minorities as my research participants. The next section explores my rationale for focusing on policing.

The rationale for focusing on policing

The research seeks to explore the language and practices of those responsible for policing, and not those who are policed at night. It might be asked why I, as a researcher, have not privileged the voices of ethnic minorities in uncovering their experience of policing at night. I might also be challenged for re-centring the viewpoints of a predominantly white, heterosexual and male institution, such as the police force, and those in roles which continue

to be overrepresented by white, British males (such as door staff). In this section, I outline the importance of focusing on those responsible for policing, revealing the insights that an ethnography of the police can provide for uncovering how discourses of race operate. This thesis provides an important contribution to what McLaughlin terms a 'critical police studies' (2007, p. xi), much needed at a time when research has been infiltrated by the consultancy market and pursues policy agendas (Loader and Sparks, 2010). Additionally, the current socio-political and cultural context in which racism continues to manifest at every level of the criminal justice system (and many other facets of society), as outlined in the literature review, means that an exploration of how the police make sense of, and police racialized communities is much needed. An exploration of the ways in which race and ethnicity impact the access, experiences and governance of night-time participants importantly adds to a small body of literature which has begun to explore this topic in the US and Denmark (May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017).

The changing nature of police studies has been noted by many researchers (McLaughlin, 2007, Loftus, 2007, Loader and Sparks, 2010), with researchers now expected to make theoretical connections whilst also producing findings which meet the needs of policy-makers. Bacon et al., write:

> Today, the appeal that policing ought to be studied in its broadest contextual manner has never been so relevant. Societies are experiencing a series of economic, cultural, political and technological disturbances that are reshaping patterns of citizenship, social disadvantage, the dynamics of crime, inclusion and exclusion in communities (Bacon et al., 2020, p. 6).

The expansion of polic*ing* (Brodeur, 2010) has also meant that researchers are increasingly aware of the plurality of methods and actors through which this exists (Crawford, 2005, Crawford and Lister, 2014, Bacon et al., 2020). This thesis therefore contributes to a critical police studies which uncovers how the polic*ing* of race and racialized minorities takes place within a particular social-cultural, economic and political moment where the existence of racism in society is frequently denied (Augoustinos, 2007, Goodman and Rowe, 2014, Tate, 2016), whilst racial inequality and racist practices and understandings remain commonplace (Williams, 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016, Shiner et al., 2018, The Traveller Movement, 2018).

Whilst this thesis is not a cultural studies text, it has been influenced by the approach of cultural studies theorists. In Hall et al.'s (1978) seminal work, *Policing the Crisis,* the use of conjunctural analysis allows the researchers to pay attention to the political, cultural, economic and social influences that pattern particular moments and give rise to racialized folk devils. Hall writes:

> If you'd just taken race as a Black issue, you'd have seen the impact of law and order policies on local communities but you'd never have seen the degree to which the race and crime issue was a prism for a much larger social crisis. You wouldn't have looked at the larger picture. You'd have written a Black text, but you wouldn't have written a cultural studies text because you wouldn't have seen this articulation up to the politicians, into the institutional judiciary, down to the popular mood of the people, into the politics, as well as into the community, into Black poverty and into discrimination (Hall, cited in Bramall and Pitcher, 2012, p. 91).

Police understandings of race and racialized minorities are therefore not treated as existing separately from the broader social, cultural, political and economic climate where racialized minorities are treated as inferior or deviant. Similarly, the research does not attempt to draw comparisons between the public and private police, but rather uncover the shared language of race and value systems of the public and private police in governing nightlife. Whilst the research is based upon an ethnography in a distinctly provincial and predominantly white setting, this does not mean that the research approach and findings are not transferable to many other police forces in the UK and beyond. This thesis provides an important contribution to the way in which research on polici*ng* and sensitive topics such as race could be conducted in the future. The research prioritises the importance of academic criticality, resisting the influence of the consultancy market and public policy agendas which can often hinder the critical lens of academic research (Loader and Sparks, 2010). Police research should always begin by thinking critically about who the police provide protection for and who police power is used against (Loader, 2020, np). The police researcher should prioritise the experiences of racialized minorities, who continue to feel unheard, over-policed and under-protected (Long, 2018, Baggs, 2020). The most recent police killing of George Floyd in the US and the associated Black Lives Matter protests throughout the UK are a potent

reminder of the centrality of racism to the policing context in the UK and beyond (Loader, 2020).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the ethnographic approach, research methods and analytical framework which underpin the study. The use of critical discourse analysis has allowed me to uncover the ways in which race informs police understandings of who nightlife is for and how nightlife should be. This research therefore draws attention to how racialized individuals are Othered at night, in a socio-political context which denies racism (Goodman and Rowe, 2014, Tate, 2016, Tate and Bagguley, 2017) and a contemporary policing context where diversity discourses are commonplace (NPCC, 2018). This research therefore provides new insights into how race informs the ways in which nightlife is policed, constructed, accessed and experienced in Greenshire. This research will therefore contribute to knowledge, inform future research and provide recommendations for the police service as well as other organisations and individuals who took part in the research. The forthcoming four chapters discuss the principal findings of the study whilst the final chapter explores how this research advances the existing academic literature.

Chapter 4. Policing diversity: the police diversity training room and the Diversity Agenda

Introduction

Set against a backdrop where the rhetoric of diversity increasingly permeates institutional settings (Ahmed, 2007a, Ahmed 2007b, Loftus, 2008, Murji, 2013), this chapter draws from observations of police recruits' diversity training and discourse analysis of Greenshire's Diversity Agenda. This chapter examines the diversity training and Diversity Agenda by exploring how they function and what they 'do'. In relation to objective 1, the ways in which the topics of race, racialized minorities and racism are constructed in the training room and through the Diversity Agenda are explored. This chapter argues that racism is placed in the past and denied in the present in the diversity training, with diversity trainers concerned with presenting the force as moral, tolerant and good. I explore how police stories and conversations in the diversity training room teach new recruits that past incidents of police racism are not up for discussion. I then reflect upon observations of the new recruits' stop and search training and uncover how the reputation of Greenshire Police Force is prioritised in discussions of the disproportionate stop and search rate of Black and minority ethnic individuals. I uncover how new recruits are taught to be aware of the reputation of the force in stopping and searching ethnic minorities, whilst also being informed of police operations which target predominantly young Black men dealing drugs in Greenshire. Finally, I finish by exploring some police officers' frustration, and resentment, towards the diversity training and argue that these emotions are evidence of a disorientation (Puwar, 2004) of a hegemonic police culture which is characteristically white (as well as male, heterosexual and not overtly religious).

Police diversity training in Greenshire

This section will provide a background regarding the creation of diversity training in Greenshire Police Force. There has been a marked move from training on race discrimination towards diversity training in Greenshire. This move reflects a change in the current political, social and cultural climate which focuses on diversity and not race. Until recently, training on race discrimination was provided to new recruits under the Race Relations Amendment Act

(2000) which made the police duty bound to work towards the elimination of discrimination and to promote good race relations. Under this Act, Chief officers were made liable for acts of race discrimination by police officers (Race Relations Amendment Act, 2000, c. 34). In 2010, the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) was repealed by the Equality Act (2010). This changed the focus of the training in Greenshire Police Force from one which focused on race to one which focuses on diversity, underpinned by the nine protected characteristics outlined by the Equality Act (2010): age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage or civil partnership, pregnancy or maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation (The Equality Act, 2010, section 4). The diversity training is part of the initial training of new recruits, with serving police officers trained on diversity related matters primarily through e-learning packages. Face to face 'diversity training' is offered to all officers on an infrequent basis. The focus of this chapter is on observations of the diversity training provided to new police recruits at the police training college, as well as discourse analysis of Greenshire's Diversity Agenda.

The chapter also explores how discourses of race and racism are framed within the wider rhetoric of diversity. This chapter draws from the following sites to question what purposes, and whose, the diversity training and agenda serves:

- **The diversity training.** New recruits are given a week of diversity training as part of their initial police training. The diversity training takes place primarily in a lecture hall, with diversity trainers presenting short lectures followed by question and answer sessions. During this week, the new recruits also visit a religious temple and are given a PowerPoint presentation on the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller (GRT) community by a gypsy liaison officer (GLO).
- **Stop and search training.** New recruits are given training on stop and search during their initial training phase. This covered the practicalities of conducting a stop and search, defining reasonable grounds for suspicion and what police officers are required to say by law when stopping and searching an individual. Diversity trainers asked if I would like to attend this training as they believed it was relevant to the research topic of race and policing.
- **The Diversity Agenda**. The Diversity Agenda is a public facing formal document made available on Greenshire Police Force's website. This document was written by

diversity managers and senior police officers and is made up of both text and visual images.

- **Interviews**. I conducted semi-structured interviews with police officers of differing ranks and years of service throughout my fieldwork. Police officers' discussions of diversity in interviews will be used to explore how diversity was constructed and understood in the formal interview context. I also draw upon these interviews to explore police officers' attitudes towards diversity training.

- **Informal conversations**. I had numerous conversations with the Diversity Lead, diversity trainers and police officers regarding the topics of diversity and race throughout my fieldwork. I draw upon these conversations to explore how diversity and race were spoken about during informal conversations both in and outside of the training room (during breaks, travelling to the religious temple as well as in the 'diversity office').

In this chapter, my findings are grouped into themes which arose during some, or all, of the above.

<u>Anonymity key</u>

In protecting the identity of the police force, when conducting analysis of Greenshire's Diversity Agenda, some of the words or sentences have been changed. Whilst these have changed, the meaning and context of the word or sentence remains as close as possible to that contained in the Diversity Agenda. Where these have been changed, I have colour coded these sentences in grey.

<u>Shifting diversity discourses</u>

The following two sections make some initial points regarding the shifting diversity discourses present in the Diversity Agenda and the police diversity training. These contexts will be engaged with in greater depth within the remainder of the chapter.

1. <u>The training room</u>

'Diversity' is a term that is used to refer to a number of often seemingly unrelatable topics, and throughout the observations and interviews there appeared to be no clear meaning as to

what this term meant. Many of the police officers that I interviewed could not define diversity during their interviews, and when I asked them in interview if they could tell me what they understood by the term 'diversity', they initially responded with 'ahs and uhms', nervous laughter, and sometimes silence. Following observations of the diversity training, I reflected upon the murkiness of the diversity term in my research diary:

> *Diversity seems to mean all manner of things – from protecting current staff, to being able to know some of the key terms of other languages, to questioning your actions and behaviours when dealing with a 'diverse' member of the public, to ensuring that incidents like Stephen Lawrence didn't happen again.*

> (*Diary notes, January 2018*)

On the first day of diversity training, the diversity trainer started the training by initially asking new recruits how they would define diversity. Numerous answers followed, and were written on a white board by the trainer. These were: variety, political correctness, difference, religion, nationality. The trainer introduced the term 'diversity' by referring to the dance group 'Diversity', who won Britain's Got Talent in 2009 (Pinnington, 2018). The new recruits began laughing at the diversity trainer's suggestion that the dance group could be linked to the term 'diversity', which appeared to have more serious connotations for the new recruits. The diversity trainer responded to their laughter in a firm tone of voice, arguing that the group had importantly raised awareness that it is 'okay to be different and everyone comes in all sorts of shapes and sizes'. In the opening session to the diversity training, the term diversity was also used to refer to immigrants, new mothers in the police force and to a more open-minded culture more generally.

2. The Diversity Agenda

In comparison, the Diversity Agenda constructs diversity more in terms of new 'diverse' police recruits. The agenda repeatedly uses the terms 'workforce', 'employees' and 'skills'. These terms evidence how one of the main aims of the agenda is to encourage 'diverse' individuals to apply for police officer posts, with this monitored nationally by HMICFRS (NPCC, 2018). In being attentive to the conventions of the text (Paltridge, 2006, p. 85), the agenda uses subheadings, most of which frame diversity as describing potential police

employees. Furthermore, the front page of the agenda is taken up primarily by an image of police officers, rather than members of the public, revealing that the focus is on the internal organisation rather than the communities that they police. There are moments in the agenda when the framing of diversity shifts from police recruits to external communities, seen in the use of terms such as 'communities', 'public' and 'local people', however, these come towards the end of the document. Some of the pictures contained within the agenda also depict a mixture of officers and members of the public who are depicted as visually representative of diversity. Despite this, the overwhelming focus of the agenda is on the police institution itself, with the main aim centred around the increased diversification of Greenshire's police force.

Diversity is therefore an umbrella term which takes on different meanings based upon the speaker and the context in which the term is drawn upon. The nervousness surrounding race was present in the training room and the term 'diversity' was used to describe a number of wide ranging and often unrelated matters. The Diversity Agenda constructs diversity much more in terms of the internal diversity of the organisation, through encouraging job applications from those with visible protected characteristics (most predominantly, race). Improving police relations with visibly diverse communities (race, religion and nationality) in Greenshire is also represented through text and images, with these placed at the end of the Agenda. The next section explores how the diversity training and Diversity Agenda was constructed, and by whom.

Whose perspective? Whose voices?

Until recently, the diversity training included presentations from guest speakers, with some conducted by representatives from local Black community groups. Due to cuts in police funding, cuts had been made to external speakers for the diversity training. In a notable conversation with a Diversity Lead, they described diversity as a 'luxury' in a policing context, stating that cuts in police funding led to cuts in external speakers for the diversity training. Following this conversation, I noted the following in my research diary:

> Aman shared that he used to work for the police force in a similar role a few years
> ago, but this role was cut when there was a government cut to police funding. His new
> role had recently been created after the force had experienced a drop in what he

described as the 'diversity rankings'. He said that diversity is still seen as a 'luxury' in the force, and that when cuts to funding are made, diversity roles are often the first to go.

<p align="right">*(Diary notes, January 2018)*</p>

Aman argues that diversity related matters do not feel like a priority in the public policing context. Police funds are reserved for 'real policing', described as prioritising action (Reiner, 2010), and this results in cuts to diversity support staff as ethnic minority external speakers and support groups who had previously informed police training. The force focus on diversity is often indicative of a top-down pressure from the government for the police to engage with the topic of diversity, often narrowly defined as the diversification of the police force (as seen in the recent *Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2018-2025* written by the National Police Chiefs Council). This means that diversity roles appear in line with government requirements and not due to the need for a necessary engagement with the experiences and voices of marginalised communities themselves and their experiences of policing (Ahmed, 2007a).

This resulted in the diversity training being written and led by predominantly white, male, ex-police officers. The Diversity Agenda is also written by a mixture of diversity trainers and senior police officers who are also predominantly white, male, ex-police officers. There are a small number of individuals in diversity related roles who are seen as representative of diversity because of their sexuality, race or religion who have also helped write the Diversity Agenda and training. Some of these individuals have also served as police officers. The presence of the white male, both in constructing and leading the diversity training and in the writing of the Diversity Agenda, is demonstrative of how the white male remains the somatic norm (Mills, 1997) in police institutions. This has key consequences for the way in which diversity and race are constructed both in the diversity training and through the Diversity Agenda. Frankenberg writes:

> the material and discursive dimensions of whiteness are always, in practice, interconnected. Discursive repertoires may reinforce, contradict, conceal, explain, or 'explain away' the materiality or the history of a given situation (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 2).

The following section pays attention to one of these consequences, exploring how 'us' and 'them' distinctions are set up both in the diversity training and through the Diversity Agenda which mark the police and ethnic minority individuals as distinctly different groups.

<u>The creation of the in-group and out-group</u>

This section draws attention to the use of pronouns (Wiggens, 2017, p. 122) which set up structural oppositions (van Dijk, 1993a) between the police as the 'in-group', and those with protected characteristics constructed as the 'out-group'(Augoustinos, 2007). This was a theme which ran throughout the diversity training, the Diversity Agenda and in interviews and informal conversations with officers.

The word 'our' was used repeatedly in both the training and Diversity Agenda and the following language was repeated through the speech of Diversity Leads and trainers, as well as in the written text of the Diversity Agenda:

- 'Our values'
- 'Our people'
- 'Our organisation'
- 'Our beliefs'

The repeated use of 'our' constructs the police as the in-group (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129), characterised by individuals who share a particular way of thinking. During the training, the diversity trainer applied the term 'diversity' to individuals who were constructed as fundamentally different from police officers. In the opening session, the diversity trainer explained that 'diversity' refers to

individuals with their own communities, their own beliefs and their own ways of life.

(Diversity Trainer, January 2018)

The trainer also reminded the new police recruits that

> There are people coming to this land on boats who are individuals with their own communities. We can't know everything about them, but we can be PC.

> (Diversity Trainer, January 2018)

In the quotation above, immigrants are constructed as outsiders with their 'own communities'. Here, the dominant in-groups' community remains the silent and invisible benchmark against which others are measured. This is representative of what Corby describes as 'the (white) point in space from which we tend to identify difference' (Corby, cited in Puwar, 2004, p. 117). Here, the construction of the out-group is informed not only by ideas of race, ethnicity and culture, but also nationality, with 'diverse' individuals depicted as coming from outside of the United Kingdom. The dominant in-group are constructed as the group with the power to welcome immigrants, with the word 'individuals' used by the trainer to remind police officers of the need for respectful engagement with, and treatment of, immigrants. In this incident, the trainer changed the meaning of 'PC', (an acronym used to refer to 'political correctness') to 'professionally competent', and explained that police officers need to be welcoming and respectful to 'diverse' individuals. The new recruits were continually reminded that they needed to be 'professionally competent', however, the reasons for these reminders were concealed in the diversity training room. Many new recruits interpreted these reminders as an insult to their own personal disposition, a theme which is explored in the final section of this chapter.

The 'out-group' were also described in positive ways, and diversity trainers shared envy for the lifestyles of religious communities in Greenshire. During the fieldwork, the diversity trainer shared the envy he felt for his religious colleagues way of life:

> In a lot of ways, I envy Jas because when you're a Sikh, you go to the Gurdwara and that's your family. Anyone in there, anyone who attends, they're your family. I go there just for a cup of tea sometimes.

> (Diversity Trainer, January 2018)

The diversity trainer interprets Jas as different from himself due to his religion, with this difference depicted positively through declarations of envy. The reference to the religious

temple and the community spirit that is perceived to be found inside are used as ways of constructing an inherent difference between his white British way of life compared to his Sikh colleague's way of life. Here, religious minorities are depicted as a 'mystical Other' (Hall, 1997b) and are representative of what hooks describes as the 'spice' that can liven up white culture (1992, p. 21).

Inferiorisation and the 'out-group'

Techniques of inferiorisation were also used throughout the diversity training and Diversity Agenda which reinforced notions of difference between the out-group and the in-group. Blum defines inferiorisation as:

> Disrespectful and demeaning attitudes or actions, which may or may not be based on a logical or a detailed belief system… cases of 'paternalistic concern', not based on hatred, for a group based on beliefs that they are inherently inferior or that one's own group is inherently superior (Blum, 2002, np).

In the Diversity Agenda, those with protected characteristics are inferiorised through the repeated use of the terms 'vulnerable' and 'ours'. Using the possessive noun 'ours' establishes an explicit contrast between 'us' (the in-group) and 'them' (the out-group). Ethnic minorities are often referred to in the press by using the term 'ours', which is revealing of the ways in which they are seen to 'belong to Britain' in a nationalist sense (van Dijk, 2000, p. 44). By referring to these individuals as 'vulnerable' and 'ours', these words construct the 'out-group' as less powerful than their police counterparts and the assistance of police officers is deemed necessary for them (van Dijk, 1993a). These individuals are also constructed as in need of police assistance in job applications and selection processes. The agenda outlines that the force will:

- Provide support in job applications
- Help individuals who demonstrate ability
- Identify managers from under-represented groups[3]

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[3] In accordance with the anonymity key outlined on page 85, these sentences have been altered to protect the anonymity of Greenshire Police Force. Whilst these have been altered, the meaning and context of the sentences remains as close as possible to that contained in the Diversity Agenda.

Meaning is implied through the use of presuppositions which 'may be signalled in many ways in a discourse and represent the knowledge speech participants must share in order for a specific sentence to be meaningful' (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 110). In the sentences above, meanings are made through the use of presuppositions without the writer explicitly stating them. In analysing these more closely, it could be argued that they work to construct those with protected characteristics as in need of support with job applications. By offering help to diverse individuals, the police force constructs itself as the powerful dominant in-group who can offer help to potential recruits from under-represented groups. In detailing that the force will 'identify managers from diverse groups', this suggests that leadership is based on the terms and conditions of the powerful group.

These presuppositions are revealing of the existence of police targets for Black and minority ethnic (BAME) recruitment (NPCC, 2018) which continue to be unmet. The reasons behind the increased focus on the recruitment of BAME police officers are concealed in the agenda, as is practical information on the support provided for BAME individuals in making applications to the force. This is indicative of the subtle negative corporate attitude towards minority hiring and management which was reflected more overtly in interviews and informal conversations with police officers. Craig shares:

> Yeah you are very much told, you get told about everybody else's cultural identity, race, beliefs and whatever else, and it's like yeah fair enough, its fine, it's educational but at the same time it does seem very much like a white cultural identity is kind of washed into the background… obviously there would be other times where they will promote people in the job based on their ethnicity. It's like I know certain organisations will look at ethnicity, look at ethnic background to join them because it's seen as positive discrimination.

> (Craig, Police Officer, April 2018)

Craig reveals how the attention given to race, beliefs and cultural identity which are markedly different from his own, and the white racial norm of the police force more broadly, are understood as a threat to his and the organisation's white cultural identity (Singh, 2014). The promotion of individuals with an ethnic identity other than white British, is perceived as a threat to the promotion of white British candidates. The presence of BAME individuals as

equals to the normative white, often male, police officer results in dissonance and disorientation (Puwar, 2004, DiAngelo, 2018, Calme, 2020). Puwar writes:

> the Black body represents a dissonance, a jarring of framing that confuses and disorientates. It is a menacing presence that disturbs and interrupts a certain white, usually male, sense of public institutional place (Puwar, 2004, p. 42).

Techniques of inferiorisation also informed the diversity training. Diversity trainers made new recruits aware that those with protected characteristics were constructed as potential victims of harassment under the Equality Act (2010). The Equality Act states that officers must record a crime as 'harassment' where a person has received 'unwanted conduct due to a protected characteristic' (The Equality Act, 2010, Chapter Two, part 26). During the training, emphasis was placed on the importance of recording these crimes correctly on police databases and not on apprehending offenders for these crimes.

In relation to objective 1, the past two sections uncover how diversity discourses reinforce notions of difference between the in-group (the police force) and the out-group (individuals with protected characteristic/s – of which race is one). The use of structural oppositions and inferiorization (van Dijk, 1993a) are revealing of the way in which those with protected characteristics are depicted, interpreted and are understood as distinctly different from the (often invisible) white (Morris, 2016, Joseph-Salisbury, 2019), British, not-overtly religious, cultural backdrop of the police force. In the next section, I outline how positive self-representation (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129) serves to construct the police force as an institution that 'takes diversity seriously', whilst a negative attitude towards ethnic minority recruitment and diversity remains commonplace amongst police officers. This is explored in more detail in the last section of the chapter.

Positive self-representation and the 'in-group'

In this section I argue that diversity discourses are a form of positive self-representation in Greenshire (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129), a theme which runs throughout both the diversity training and Diversity Agenda. I take these two contexts in turn, to explore how positive self-representation functions in each setting:

The Diversity Agenda

Paltridge states, 'texts are never ideology free nor objective. Nor can they be separated from the social realities and processes they contribute to maintain' (Paltridge, 2006, p.45). The language used throughout the Diversity Agenda constructs Greenshire Police Force's identity in a positive light. Some of the terms which are used repeatedly throughout the Diversity Agenda are: 'value' 'celebrate' 'develop' 'progress'. These terms construct the police force as an organisation that is progressive and welcoming of difference. The agenda also explicitly states that the police force are performing 'excellently on diversity related issues' but does not demonstrate how. How the police force is engaged with diversity matters or where and how they offer advice to potential employees is not stated in the Diversity Agenda. The reasons behind the national police engagement with diversity are also concealed and high profile cases of police racism, sexism and homophobia are not given explicit attention. Details of the work the police force are doing to better relations with those from 'diverse communities' in Greenshire also remain absent from the agenda. This means that the historical discrimination towards 'diverse' members of the public, as well as the historical exclusion of 'diverse' individuals as police employees are silenced in the Diversity Agenda. The current reality of police-race relations in Greenshire is also concealed, as the force continues to underrecruit BAME individuals (who made up less than 2% of the force in comparison to approximately 7% of the total population of Greenshire at the time of the fieldwork). In addition, Greenshire Police Force continues to stop and search Black individuals at a higher rate than their white counterparts. At the time of the fieldwork, Black individuals were up to 12 times more likely to be stopped and searched in comparison to their white counterparts in Greenshire. This is higher than the average for all of the home counties, with Black individuals 8 times more likely to be stopped and searched in the home counties at the time of the fieldwork[4].

Machin and Mayr encourage the researcher to think critically about the use of visual imagery in texts, arguing that what is in focus, in the foreground, size, salience and colour work together to create notions of importance (Machin and Mayr, 2012, pp. 54-56).

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[4] This figure has been worked out as the average stop and search rate for Black individuals across the home counties. The home counties included were: Berskhire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.

The Diversity Agenda contains numerous staged images of smiling police officers with members of the public or police staff who are visually representative of diversity due to their race or religion. The images are large in size, sometimes taking up more space on the page than written text, demonstrating the importance of visual imagery in constructing the organisation in a positive light. The visual images contained throughout are arguably unrealistic portrayals of the nature of policing, with police officers standing smiling or laughing in conversation with members of the public in the street. These images differ from the usual day-to-day tasks of the police officers that I observed during the fieldwork, which consisted primarily of dealing with paperwork, attending emergency calls, driving, breaking up fights and stopping members of the public to ask questions.

The training room

In being attentive to how conversation and discussion was organised in the diversity training room, the diversity trainer used a perspective-display sequence (Rapley, 2007, p. 78), asking for the new recruits' perspective in response to questions. The trainer would then give their perspective to either legitimise or problematise the new recruits' responses. Heritage (cited in Rapley, 2007, p.75) calls this the 'social institution of interaction' and argues that how speakers interact reveals how understandings of topics are locally and collaboratively produced. Applying the perspective-display sequence to conversations in the training room, I recall the diversity trainer asking the room of new recruits what words they associated with the word diversity. One new recruit raised their hand and said 'prejudice'. The diversity trainer showed unease by pausing, and then responded that they would change the new recruits answer to 'background' before writing this on the whiteboard. As Rapley argues, 'sequences produce specific courses of action where, given a first action, certain actions are rendered as the preferred text' (Rapley, 2007, p. 82). Writing the word 'background' instead of 'prejudice' on the whiteboard was a symbolic way of demonstrating to the new recruits that whilst the force will discuss diversity, this was only when the term was framed through a positive rhetoric whereby any current or past critiques of policing were overridden. Changing the word 'prejudice' to 'background' also sets up right and wrong distinctions of what will be discussed in the diversity training room and the new recruit learns that 'prejudice' is something which is not up for discussion. Discussions of diversity in the training room therefore promoted the positive actions and words of the police force and de-emphasised the association between policing and prejudice. Augoustinos writes 'prejudice denials may attend

not only to strategic positive self-presentation but also to protecting the in-group as a whole' (Augoustinos, 2007 p. 129). The next section outlines how the focus on positive self-representation in the training room resulted in a discourse which placed racism in the past.

The historicisation of racism

This section explores how racism is placed in the past through the use of diversity discourses drawn upon in the training room, and is therefore denied in the present. Throughout the training, the discourse of diversity meant that only a handful of explicit references to race were made. The diversity trainer explained to the new recruits in training that the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) had been repealed and replaced by the Equality Act (2010):

> The thing about the Race Relations Amendment Act was how a lot of it was to do with being Black because of Stephen Lawrence, but it should have actually involved all races. The Equality Act is better because it's applicable to everyone.

> (Diversity Trainer, January 2018)

This shift was interpreted as positive by the diversity trainer who argued that the Equality Act (2010) was more inclusive for those with one of the nine protected characteristics. Through informal conversations with those in diversity roles, I found out that the 'Diversity Team' used to be called 'the Race and Diversity Team' and 'Diversity Trainers' were 'Race and Diversity Trainers', however, following the Equality Act (2010) the force shifted their focus from race to diversity. A move towards diversity means that there is limited explicit attention given to race in the diversity training room with race constructed as a topic which is not up for discussion. Post-race sensibilities were also drawn upon to place racism in the past and construct 'race' as a topic that no longer matters (Tate, 2016, p. 69). The following snippet from my research diary demonstrates how stories were used by the diversity trainer to reinforce the notion that racism no longer exists:

> *The trainer told a story of a conference they attended where a Black man was presenting with the surname 'Mc' something, clearly a Scottish name. Rolling their eyes, the trainer explained to the new recruits that 'the man went on about how this*

was his slave name and started talking about the slave trade to everyone in the conference'. The trainer stated to the new recruits 'I thought, don't go over this stuff, that was 200 years ago', he killed the conference.

(Diary notes, January 2018)

The significance of police stories in informing new recruits has been documented in the literature (Ericson et al., 1987, Chan, 1996, Charman, 2017). Chan argues that the transmission of police culture is not by a process of socialisation, but is through

> a collection of stories and aphorisms which instruct officers how to see the world and act in it. Stories prepare officers for police work by providing a 'vehicle for analogous thinking', creating a 'vocabulary of precedents' and create a way of seeing and being through the narratives and the silences that surround the stories (Chan, 1996, p. 114).

The trainer's story of the Black male at the conference guides and fixes how the topic of racism is heard by new recruits, with information provided through the trainers words, as well as their gestures (Rapley, 2007, p. 82). In analysing the trainer's story of the Black male at the conference, the trainer constructs racism as a topic which no longer needs to be discussed or referred to because it no longer exists in the present (by narrowly attributing racism to the slave trade). However, whilst racism is placed in the past, it is also referred to as a topic which some ethnic minority individuals unnecessarily make reference to. The diversity trainer shares that the Black male 'went on about' his connection to the slave trade, whilst visibly rolling his eyes, demonstrating little sympathy for the Black male's connection to the slave trade. Talk of race and racism is constructed as problematic and unnecessary by the trainer, who explains to the new recruits that the Black male 'killed the conference'. DiAngelo shares, 'whites invoke the power to choose when, how, and to what extent racism is addressed or challenged' (2019, p. 103). In this story, the white diversity trainer chooses to disregard the Black male's history in favour of privileging the comfort of the white individuals at the conference. The white objection to the existence of racism in the present is caught up in constructing oneself as good and moral (DiAngelo, 2019, p. 96). By denying racism in the present, the diversity trainer constructs himself, but also the police institution and society more generally as good, moral and tolerant. To acknowledge racism then would be of detriment to the reputation of individuals and the police institution.

A post-race discourse (Nayak, 2006, Tate, 2016) was also used by trainers and officers throughout the diversity training. A post-race discourse draws upon sensibilities that racism does not exist and that 'race' no longer matters (Tate, 2016). In informal conversations with Diversity Leads, they shared that the younger generation, who made up almost all new police recruits, were not racist and therefore the diversity training did not need to specifically focus on racism. A colour-blind rhetoric (Blum, 2009, Bonilla-Silva, 2010) was drawn upon by Diversity Leads who believed that the younger generation did not 'see' race and this meant that racism was not a problem. During an informal conversation, one diversity trainer shared:

> The younger generation get it you know, my son was speaking about one of his football mates the other day, describing him as a whippet, he was Black, but my son didn't see it because he is educated. He doesn't see colour.

> (Diversity Trainer, January 2018)

The depiction of race as something which is no longer seen is constructed in a positive light, as if not seeing race meant that you were not racist. Pitcher writes:

> The suggestion is that race is something we can overcome, get around or see beyond. We can, it is thought, get to the point where it is not something we care about, or even notice. 'I don't see race, I just see another person', someone might say; or 'It makes no difference if you're Black or white, or red or blue or green'… They are attempts to *pretend* something that deep down we all know is not the case. Race doesn't disappear. We can fool ourselves that it's not there, but we all know that it is (Pitcher, 2014, p. 1).

In addition, a 'common-sense racism' (Benwell, 2012, p. 365) was drawn upon to attach racism to older generations. Benwell describes this as 'constructed by the attribution of racism to an 'other', *older generation,* who are simultaneously exonerated by the fact of being a product of their historical (and racist) conditions' (2012, p. 366). In a meeting with a Diversity Lead, he argued that younger generations had a better understanding of diversity due to being raised in an increasingly liberal culture:

Young officers see the world like this (holds his hands out wide) and older officers see the world like this (moves his hands close together), young kids get diversity and equality from a young age. There's a culture shift, it's a culture thing.

(Diversity Lead, November 2017)

The argument that younger generations did not see race and 'got' diversity allowed the Diversity Leads to place racism firmly in the past. Nevertheless, the new recruits and younger officers' understandings of race and racism were not necessarily any more in-depth than their older counterparts. I recall an incident at the religious temple where one young new recruit asked a volunteer if there had been any links between those who attend the temple and extremism, calling upon racialized stereotypes of the racialized Other as a terrorist (Mythen et al., 2009). In addition, both younger and older officers drew upon racist stereotypes of young Black males as gang members and drug dealers and young Somali men as sexual offenders throughout both observations and interviews. Despite these examples, diversity leads, diversity trainers and senior police officers went to great lengths to place racism in the past in numerous policing contexts. By placing racism in the past, the moral reputation of the force and the individuals that work for the force is preserved. The effect is that racism is denied in the present, indicative of the power of the white racial frame which positions whites as superior (Bonilla Silva, cited in Calme, 2020, p.139). Here, white diversity leads, diversity trainers and senior police officers choose when and if racism exists, as well as how racism is discussed in the training room. In the next section, I uncover how stories and discussions shared in the diversity training set up right and wrong ways of talking about race and racism for new recruits.

Teaching new recruits that racism is not up for discussion

During the training, new recruits raised past incidents of police racism, such as the Brixton riots, the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the shooting of Mark Duggan as topics for discussion. The policing literature reveals how new recruits experience 'organisational socialisation' which 'refers to the processes by which organisational members either accept or learn different behaviours and attitudes which are necessary in order to participate as a member of the organisation' (Van Maanen, cited in Charman, 2017, p. 92). Through organisational socialisation, new recruits make adjustments to attitudes, values, beliefs, and

sometimes their identity, to become part of the police institution (Charman, 2017, p. 92). During the diversity training, diversity trainers taught new recruits that past incidents of police racism are not up for discussion. I recall two new recruits raising the death of Stephen Lawrence and the Macpherson Inquiry in two different training sessions, with the trainer responding quickly to argue that the death of Stephen Lawrence had led to an increased focus on race and a disregard for the other eight protected characteristics outlined in the Equality Act (2010). The death of Stephen Lawrence and the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) were constructed in a negative light for creating what diversity trainers and officers depicted as an 'unnecessary preoccupation with race'. Sacks argues that researchers must 'come to terms with how it is that the thing comes off… look to see how it is that persons go about producing what they do produce' (cited in Rapley, 2007, p. 73). It is particularly revealing that these incidents of police racism were raised by the new recruits themselves and not the diversity trainers. These incidents created what was perceived to be a defensiveness, and sometimes, anger, in trainers. This was demonstrated in both their body language (through crossing their legs, standing with their hands clasped behind their backs or standing with their hands on their hips) but also in their speech (with trainers describing there had been, until recently, an 'over-focus' on race). In other instances, such as the more recent shooting of Mark Duggan, these discussions were actively dodged and silenced (further details are provided below). I argue that this defensiveness is a way of showing both resentment and caution regarding the topic of race (Rapley, 2007, p. 75), particularly towards young Black men. In these instances, new recruits were taught the importance of managing their daily narratives as a police officer (Loftus, 2008), with the trainers producing police racism as a topic which was non-discussable in formal policing contexts. This does not mean that incidents of police racism were not discussed in the training room, as the below observation demonstrates.

The ways in which discussions in the training room taught the new recruits distinctions of what was, and was not, up for discussion in the training was never more evident than in a conversation between new recruits and the trainer during the stop and search training. My research diary reads:

> *A new recruit asked the trainer whether he thought officers had done the right thing shooting Mark Duggan. The trainer became visibly nervous, his body shifted away from the new recruit and back to the PowerPoint, where he raised another point for discussion. The new recruit persisted in asking the trainer for his views and after*

some 'ahs' and 'erms', the trainer responded by saying that he thought officers
probably did go in a bit quicker than they should have. The trainer kept looking at me
and I did not take notes to try and make him feel more comfortable in sharing his
thoughts. He then said that firearm officers do have to make such a quick decision
and this is why they do not wear body worn videos. The new recruit then said with
utmost confidence (to the trainer and the classroom) that he thought officers had done
the right thing shooting Duggan. Another new recruit then said 'well the officers
didn't get done for it anyway did they?' and the original new recruit confirmed they
hadn't. The trainer looked at me and quickly changed the topic.

(Diary notes, January 2018)

In attending to this discussion critically, Cameron argues that the researcher needs to pay attention to pragmatics, defined as 'the field of enquiry that deals with how language can be used to do things and mean things in real-world situations' (Cameron, 2001, p. 68). It is important to note that language is more than words, with meanings also conveyed in gestures, tone, turn-taking and so on (Rapley, 2007, p. 76). The trainer's body language and their attempts to avoid the question and change the topic show an unease in discussing matters which show the police force in a negative light. Hesitation markers, depicted in the 'ahs' and 'erms' that followed the new recruit's question (Wiggens, 2017, p. 116), produce incidents which have raised questions of police racism, as non-discussable in the training room. Attempts to avoid discussing the shooting of Mark Duggan reveal how police trainers (who are usually ex-police officers) are increasingly aware of the contestable nature of their own actions and words, particularly concerning racism and Black individuals.

The diversity trainer showed an increased awareness of my presence, demonstrating the importance of impression management (Goffman, 1990) and the significance of discussions of race and racism for producing oneself, and the institution, as moral, good and tolerant. In this incident, the diversity trainer manages to avoid explicitly discussing the shooting of Duggan, and thus avoid any detrimental impact to themselves and the police institution. At the same time, implications, defined as 'meanings which are not literally there in talk and text' (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 109) allow the trainer to demonstrate sympathy for firearms officers. The diversity trainer does this by emphasising the pressure firearms officers are under to make a quick decision and argues that this is why they are not filmed using body

worn videos. By doing this, the diversity trainer defends the actions of the in-group from charges of racism or prejudice (Augoustinos, 2007). The persistence of the new recruit in demonstrating that the police were indeed 'right' to shoot Duggan, alongside a diversity trainer who actively tries to avoid this topic, is revealing of how ways of talking are part of a broader police culture which is learnt. As Sacks notes:

> In every moment of talk, people are experiencing and producing their cultures, their roles, their personalities… (Y)ou and I live lives of talk, experience the social world as motivated talkers and listeners, as tongued creatures of social order, each with our own bursts of pleasure and pain, each with our proud differences of personal style (Sacks, cited in Rapley, 2007, p. xi).

This episode of talk teaches the new recruits about the contestable nature of police actions and words, specifically with regards to race and the policing of young Black males. This learnt culture of hesitation, and sometimes fear, could be seen in some interviews and conversations with new recruits. Prior to interviewing Lee, a young new recruit who had recently joined Nathan's team, Nathan explained that Lee was very nervous. My research diary reads:

> *Nathan explained that Lee had come into his office prior to my interview and asked Nathan what he should say. Nathan said that he had told Lee just to be honest and that he needn't worry as he hasn't got anything to hide. Throughout the interview, Lee was visibly nervous, shifting in his seat, cracking his knuckles and stumbling over words. When I asked him what he understood by race, it was as if those who had already been interviewed had warned him of this interview question and he'd looked up an acceptable dictionary definition.*

> *(Diary notes, April 2018)*

This example demonstrates the significance of diversity training in teaching new recruits that ethnic minority communities, and the topic of race, are incredibly sensitive topics in formal policing contexts. Lee reveals an increased awareness to 'say the right thing' and convey a positive image of himself and the police force during his interview. Whites have been found to use social distancing strategies to avoid discussions of racism due to worries of causing

offence and an uncertainty around whether it is socially acceptable to discuss racism (Case and Hemmings, 2005). This coupled with the importance of police culture in creating a strong sense of rank and file (Rowe, 2006, Reiner, 2010), with lower ranking officers wanting to impress those in higher ranking positions, impacts Lee's concerns prior to his interview. The importance of impressing his sergeant, coupled with his recent diversity training which problematised discussions of race and racism, meant that Lee demonstrated an increased awareness of what should and should not be said regarding race, something which may not have existed so strongly prior to his training. The next section explores how the denial of racism was upheld through the language of diversity trainers who referred to the 'prejudice' and 'unconscious bias' of individuals.

Prejudice and unconscious bias as individual traits

Diversity trainers used the terms 'prejudice' and 'unconscious bias' to refer to racist language throughout the training. At the beginning of the diversity training, the trainer told the new recruits 'you must leave your prejudices at the door'. The new recruits were reminded that 'their prejudices would not be tolerated at work' and were asked by the diversity trainer whether they use the terms 'chinky' to refer to Chinese individuals and 'pikey' to refer to Gypsy and Travellers. Matthew, a new police recruit, reflects on this in his interview:

> One of the things I took away from it was one of the trainers said 'has anyone asked if the family would like to go for a 'Chinky'?', as in like a Chinese, and I hadn't even thought about it, like when you think about it, yeah that is a derogatory term but you don't mean it as derogatory, you just mean it as yeah I want some fast food and that sort of got me in a way of thinking, yeah, erm, a lot of terms I might not be frequent with… but I can learn this isn't obviously the right thing to say and you can be taught about it rather than just being given the stick every time you say something wrong. I think a lot of things are just about learning it, I don't think anyone who joins the job now has those sort of views any more.

> (Matthew, Police Officer, February 2018)

Here, racist slurs are repositioned as prejudice (Goodman and Rowe, 2014), used by the trainer to remind new recruits that these terms will not be tolerated at work. The new recruits

also complete a diversity exam at the end of their training, with one question asking new recruits to reflect on where their 'individual prejudices come from'. Prejudice is therefore narrowly constructed as an individual characteristic and often only a question of language. By defining racism so narrowly, structural and hegemonic forms of racism which contribute to inequalities were overlooked in the diversity training (Pulido, 2000). My research diary reveals:

> *The diversity trainers felt proud to tell me and the new recruits that the problems of police racism were firmly in the past. This meant that very little attention was given to race in the diversity training. Yet during a tea break the diversity trainer introduced me to a sergeant who was working specifically on targeting organised crime groups (OCGs) involved in drug dealing. The sergeant told me these OCGs were predominantly Black lads from the city, who were involved in 'cuckooing', taking over the homes of vulnerable people in Greenshire as a base for drug dealing.*

> (*Diary notes, January 2018*)

This quotation demonstrates how institutional police practices, such as police operations geared towards the investigations and arrest of predominantly young Black men, are not interpreted as racist. The diversity discourse which permeated the training room denied racism but honoured the existence of individual prejudice, problematised only if prejudices were brought to work. Puwar states:

> by defining racism so narrowly, racial inequalities that cannot be attributed directly to a hostile, discriminatory act are not acknowledged as such, but are perhaps evidence of individual deficiencies or choices (Puwar, 2004, p. 13).

This means that the discriminatory and racist practices of the police force, such as the disproportionate rate at which Black and minority ethnic individuals are stopped and searched in Greenshire, were unproblematised in the training (see below). Trainers legitimised the over-policing of Black and minority ethnic individuals due to their apparent links with drug dealing and gang membership. In addition, I recall meetings with senior police officers who explained how far the police force had come in their police-race relations, whilst the whiteboards behind them displayed images only of young Black males wanted for

drug dealing. By replacing the term racism with the term prejudice, and then defining this as an individual trait, the continued domination of the police force in criminalising Black individuals went unquestioned. van Dijk critiques this narrow construction of racism:

> whereas racism is often reduced to racist ideology, it is here understood as a complex societal system of ethnically or "racially" based domination and its resulting inequality (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 145).

van Dijk argues that the system of racism consists of a social and cognitive subsystem. The social subsystem is constituted by social practices and discrimination at the local level. The social subsystem would therefore include relationships of power abuse by dominant groups, organisations and institutions. The cognitive subsystem is described as the mental basis of discriminatory practices which consist of biased models of ethnic events and interactions. In this sense, the cognitive subsystem would include socially shared mental representations of 'us' about 'them' (van Dijk, 1993b, p. 146). A white racial frame exists which means that whites fail to acknowledge that part of society is based upon a racist ideology which continues to position Black people as lazy, savage and dirty (Bonilla-Silva, cited in Calme, 2020, p. 139). Calme writes:

> This frame is unconscious to whites, who avoid acknowledging their racial filters in order to protect their self-identity as good, moral people (Calme, 2020, p. 139).

As such, the concept of white privilege needs to be applied to any analysis on racism, as this differs from the act or individual and looks at the privileges and benefits accrued to white people by virtue of their whiteness (Pulido, 2000, p.13).

'Cover your arse': new recruits and stop and search training

This chapter has so far demonstrated how the topic of racism was silenced in the diversity training, with racism placed in the past, and silenced through non-discussions of incidents where police actions have been questioned on accounts of racism. Through observations, diversity trainers invited me to observe the stop and search training provided to new recruits. This section will uncover how race was given more explicit focus in the stop and search training and the impact this had in the construction of new recruits' understandings of race

and Black and minority ethnic individuals. This training also took place at the police training college, over the course of a day, and was held in small classrooms with approximately fifteen new recruits.

At the time of the fieldwork, Black individuals were twelve times more likely to be stopped and searched in Greenshire, with the most recent figures for England and Wales revealing that Black individuals were eight times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts in 2016/2017 (Shiner et al., 2018). Data covering the same time period reveals that Asian individuals, and those in the 'mixed group', are more than twice as likely to be stopped and searched as their white counterparts in England and Wales (ibid.). The increase in police accountability has been detailed in the literature, with this taking place through a tripartite system of the Home Office, Local Police Authority and the Chief Constable (Mawby and Wright, 2005). The policing of the police takes place through the increase in social citizenship and complaints (Walker, 2001), HMICRFS inspections (Rowe, 2020), the Independent Police and Crime Commissioner (Caless and Owens, 2016), third-sector organisations such as StopWatch, as well as the increase in internal police investigations supported by Professional Standards Departments (PSD) to name just a few. Police trainers showed an increased awareness of the accountability of the police and this set the precedent for much of the focus of the stop and search training. Stop and search training was initially introduced by the trainer as 'cover your arse training'. Van Maanen has cited the pervasiveness of the motto of 'cover your arse' in policing contexts, with officers keen to protect themselves against misconduct (cited in Chan, 1996, p. 121).

During the training, the new recruits were told that BAME individuals are subject to increased stop and search procedures in comparison to their white counterparts in Greenshire. The specific statistics were not provided to new recruits, and the trainer focused their introduction on the impact that disproportionate stop and search figures continue to have on the reputation of the police force. The trainer explained to new recruits:

> Unfortunately we continue to stop and search ethnic minorities too much and this has a huge impact on our reputation as a police force. Later today I will be introducing you to 'GO WISELY', which will make you aware of the number of things that you must ensure you say before you stop and search anyone here in Greenshire.

Here, the trainer's concern about the disproportionate use of stop and search is about the positive self-representation of the police force (Augoustinos, 2007), rather than the impact on ethnic minorities who have historically been subjected to higher rates of stop and search (Bowling et al., 2011, p. 617). During the training, the trainer reinforced the importance of 'GO WISELY', a mnemonic used to make the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984) guidelines for stop and search easily memorable for new recruits (see: National Policing improvement Agency, 2011, p. 27). The trainer reinforced the importance of adhering to 'GO WISELY' principles particularly in relation to stopping and searching Black individuals. They reassured new recruits that as long as these principles had been followed, new recruits should feel confident in their actions.

At the time of the research, Greenshire Police Force, and other police forces in the UK, were conducting an operation focused on apprehending drug dealers who were described as working in gangs and travelling from London to Greenshire to deal drugs. Police officers stated that these drug dealers are young, male and predominantly Black. The attachment of deviance and criminality to young Black men from London is a theme which runs throughout the thesis and the impact this has on the governance of nightlife is explored further in the following two chapters. Within the stop and search training specifically, the trainer explained to new recruits that they had a responsibility to stop and search drug dealers who are coming from London to deal drugs in Greenshire. The trainer explained that these drug dealers 'happen to be Black', drawing upon techniques of discursive deracialization (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) to downplay the race of the drug dealer in favour of their criminal activity. The trainer described young Black men from London as 'working in gangs', sharing stereotypes of young, Black male drug dealers (Williams, 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016), something which pervaded the narratives of police officers throughout the fieldwork.

At the same time as being made aware of the accountability of their actions regarding stop and search, as well as the importance of the police force's reputation, which was impacted by the disproportionate stop and search rates on BAME individuals, new recruits were also made responsible for stopping and searching predominantly young Black men who were wanted for dealing drugs in Greenshire. This led to some police officers stating that they will think more before stopping a Black or minority ethnic individual in Greenshire. During interviews and

informal conversations, some police officers explained that they were more likely to draw upon a list of reasons for stopping and searching a BAME individual in comparison to their white counterparts. The caution police officers felt about stopping and searching a Black person is summarised by Matthew:

> I think they, Black people, are treated with a lot more caution nowadays. Erm, not so much because they're persecuted badly but because officers are worried about the consequences of how their actions can be seen. Erm…I've seen officers, possibly not stop check Black people or anyone of a different race just because they are worried about how they would be treated, for example they're worried about whether they'll be called a racist.

<div align="right">(Matthew, Police Officer, February 2018)</div>

Matthew explains how the increased caution regarding stop and search procedures for BAME individuals is due to officers' concerns over their presentation of the self (Goffman, 1990), as someone who is moral, good and most importantly, not racist. Here, positive self-representation of the self is prioritised, with Matthew showing little regard for ethnic minorities, particularly Black individuals, who continue to be subject to higher rates of stop and search in Greenshire and in the UK. Matthew does this by stating 'not so much because they're persecuted badly'. However, whilst some police officers described an increased reflexivity in stopping and searching BAME individuals, this consideration did not impact the disproportionate stop and search rate in Greenshire. This is evidence of a 'soft antiracism', which concentrates more on an individual's intention than the harm or exclusion suffered by BAME individuals as a result of their race (Blommaert and Versheuren, 1998, p. 173). It evidences that police officers' concern over racism is actually a concern over their own individual character, and sometimes that of the police force, rather than the impact that discriminatory police practices, which continue to draw upon racist stereotypes, have on ethnic minority individuals.

<u>'It's like being beaten over the head with a stick': disorientating white hegemonic police culture</u>

This section explores police officers' attitudes towards diversity training and argues that these are indicative of a hegemonic white police culture which is felt to be under threat. Chan's research reveals how new recruits often feel disappointed after leaving the police training, and see little use for the 'warm and fuzzy stuff' they have learnt (Chan, 2003, p. 145). In Greenshire, police officers felt that the diversity training had little applicability to their day to day activities as police officers, with some responding to an interview question about when they used their diversity training by stating that they did not. Some new recruits found the diversity training irrelevant and patronising and argued that the training had not taught them anything new. A snippet from Amber's interview, a new police recruit who had recently begun working at Penton police station following her training, demonstrates how the diversity training was heard and understood by some police officers:

> Interviewer: How did the diversity training go? What sort of things did you do?
>
> Amber: hmmmm (says in a downbeat tone), we went to a religious temple, erm, I think, I don't know what else we did…I almost find it insulting though.
>
> Interviewer: mhm, why?
>
> Amber: because I think you're telling us how to be with people in a way, it's almost like you're trying to give us some common sense… from what I remember it was quite patronising just to be you know, 'be nice to everybody, treat everybody equally'. We're like well actually we're police officers, that's how we've got the job, we probably are going to treat everybody equally and you don't have to tell me that.
>
> (Amber, Police Officer, March 2018)

This snippet reveals how diversity training was interpreted as a 'telling off' for the mistakes of previous police officers, or as a way of labelling officers racist, sexist and homophobic. The training is constructed by Amber as only useful to those who had no 'common sense' (which excludes police officers) and depicted as only necessary for those with prejudiced

views. A snippet from Pete's interview also reveals a low tolerance level for diversity training:

> Interviewer: Could you tell me a bit about what happened in the diversity training?
>
> Pete: My mate is gay, he's an officer and he was getting a bit annoyed that we were overtraining ourselves. This is not my view. He said we were training ourselves to look at them as vulnerable and he said 'I'm not vulnerable' and I said 'I know you're not mate'.
>
> Interviewer: You speak about overtraining yourselves, do you think the training is over the top then?
>
> Pete: I think so yeah, I think, we've had an input, we've got it you know, we know about it but they keep… it's like a stick, if you've beaten someone with a stick over the head eventually you'll just get numb to it and go 'really?', whereas at the beginning you're learning a lot, you go 'well that's fantastic, I've done it, thank you'…but then they keep drip feeding you.
>
> (Pete, Police Officer, March 2018)

Here, Pete shows an awareness of impression management (Goffman, cited in Embrick and Henricks, 2015, p. 167), making me aware that the belief that the police were overtraining themselves was 'not his view'. In an attempt to legitimise his own argument, Pete frames his beliefs from his gay friend's point of view. When pressed, Pete likens diversity training to a stick that officers are being beaten with. Some police officers argued that those with protected characteristics exaggerated these, both as members of the public who used their protected characteristic/s to get a better service but also as police officers who used their protected characteristic/s to secure promotions. The belief that individuals with protected characteristics 'play upon them' reinforces the idea that those who are different from the somatic norm (Puwar, 2004, p. 8) are problematic. Puwar writes:

> Some bodies are deemed as having the right to belong, while others are marked out as trespassers, who are, in accordance with how both spaces and bodies are imagined

(politically, historically and conceptually), circumscribed as being 'out of place'. Not being the somatic norm, they are 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004, p. 8).

The diversity training disorientated (Puwar, 2004, p. 42) the police institution as a space which has not traditionally had to give attention to those with protected characteristics (as members of the public and also as potential employees). This led to frustration and resentment in some police officers, who interpreted these individuals as getting a 'better deal' by virtue of their protected characteristics. Some police officers also shared frustrations that the police diversity training was too timely and that the police force was 'over-training' itself regarding the topic of diversity. I argue that these emotions are indicative of the preservation of a white, male, heterosexual and not overtly religious hegemonic police culture which feels under threat by the very presence of diversity discourses in the police institution.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has used discourse analysis to analyse Greenshire's Diversity Agenda and the diversity training provided for new police recruits. In doing this, I evidence how diversity discourses are constructed differently in the Diversity Agenda and training. The agenda privileges the internal diversity of the institution and the police recruitment of those with visible protected characteristics, whilst 'diversity' is an umbrella term in the training room which is used to refer to a number of often unrelated topics. Still, some similarities between the two settings remain. The use of pronouns creates an in-group (police) and an outgroup (those with protected characteristics) with techniques of inferiorisation drawn upon to construct the out-group as vulnerable and in need of police assistance. I uncover how the positive self-representation of the force is prioritised in the Diversity Agenda, with images shared of police officers smiling with members of the public who are visibly diverse due to their race, ethnicity or religion. The agenda also outlines that the force is doing more to support those with protected characteristics, but it does not state how or outline how the force supports those from underrepresented groups in job applications. In the training room, past incidents of police racism are silenced by the diversity trainer in an attempt to create and reinstall a positive image of the force.

In relation to objective 1, this chapter explores how race, racialized minorities and racism are constructed in these policing contexts. In privileging the positive self-representation of the

police force, racism is placed in the past and denied in the present. To acknowledge the existence of racism would be to dent the reputation of the force and the officers working for the force. I explore how the stories of diversity trainers reveal a concern for presenting themselves and the force, as tolerant, moral and not racist. The way in which racism is narrowly defined in terms of language (racial slurs) or historical moments in time (the slave trade) is also uncovered. I outline how the terms 'prejudice' and 'unconscious bias' serve to reframe racism within the individual officer and construct the police institution as a place where racism, discrimination and prejudice does not exist. I reveal how racism is constructed differently in the stop and search training, with new recruits taught about the implications that disproportionate stop and search has on the reputation of the police force. At the same time, new recruits are encouraged to stop and search suspects for a police operation which targets young, Black, male drug dealers. Finally, I uncover how some police officers felt frustrated and resentful towards the force's focus on diversity. I argue that these feelings are the result of disorientating (Puwar, 2004, p. 42) a white (as well as male, heterosexual and not overtly religious) hegemonic police culture which has not had to, until recently, give consideration to those with protected characteristics as members of the public or police officers themselves. The belief that individuals exaggerate their difference in order to obtain a better service or secure job promotions reinforces the idea that those with protected characteristics are problematic to the somatic norm of the police institution (Puwar, 2004).

Chapter 5. Policing race through licensing practices

Introduction

Having explored how the police diversity training and agenda constructs race and racialized minorities, this chapter examines the factors which underpin police and local authority licensing decisions and how these are shaped by ideas of race. Whilst there has been increasing importance placed on the eradication of discrimination by law (Equality Act, 2010), this chapter explores how licensing decisions are made by police and local authority licensing officers in Greenshire. Informed by the Licensing Act (2003), police licensing officers review licensing decisions under four licensing objectives (Hough et al., 2004). In relation to objective 2, this chapter interrogates the application of the four licensing objectives and reveals how licensing decisions, particularly through the response to Temporary Event Notices (TENs), continue to be shaped by racialized ideas of who the night is for and how the night should be. This chapter reveals how an increased awareness surrounds night-time events which are anticipated to gather large Black crowds from London. The chapter also outlines how night-time events with an assumed Gypsy and Traveller clientele are responded to more punitively by local authority licensing officers who seek to contain (Mulcahy, 2012) Gypsy and Travellers in 'traveller pubs' situated in rural Greenshire. I uncover how an increased responsibility placed on licence holders results in risk-averse behaviour, with licence holders telephoning their police licensing officer/team regarding night-time events which differ from the norm. I argue that in doing this, police licensing officers, local authority licensing officers and licence holders work together to maintain nightlife as a safe space for white local night-time participants.

Licensing in England and Wales

The Licensing Act (2003) was introduced in England and Wales in November 2005 and aimed to reduce the problems associated with drinking and disorder by abolishing set opening and closing times for night-time venues (Hough et al., 2004, p. i). Opening hours become set locally through individual licences and licence holders could apply for a TEN to extend their opening hours or to change the activities permitted by their licence (Home Office, 2018). Following the abolition of fixed closing times, media headlines warned of the potential for twenty-four-hour drinking (ibid.). Most extensions to opening hours have been short and there is some evidence to show that levels of drinking have fallen slightly. The responsibility

for licensing decisions shifted from magistrates' courts to local authorities who were to work in partnership with the police, reviewing licensing decisions under the four licensing objectives (Hough et al., 2004). This move was made to encourage partnership working between local authorities, the police and others. The new licensing law also simplified licensing, replacing six types of licence that previously existed with one single premises licence which covered alcohol provision, regular entertainment and refreshments at night (ibid.). Licences were to be granted unless local authorities and the police had objections based on the four licensing objectives (Hough et al., 2004, p.1), to:

- Prevent crime and disorder
- Promote public safety
- Prevent public nuisance
- Protection of children from harm

The introduction of TENs meant that licence holders could apply for an extension to their opening hours or a change to the activities permitted by their premises licence (UK Government, n.d.). Those who want to host one-off licensable events at an unlicensed premises can also apply for a TEN. TENs are reviewed by the council, the police and environmental health against the four licensing objectives (ibid.). If there is an objection, the council's licensing committee will hold a hearing where they will either approve, add conditions or reject the notice (UK Government, n.d.).

Despite the noticeable shift in the ways in which licensing decisions are made, the government has yet to devote resources to an independent evaluation of the Licensing Act (2003) (Hadfield, 2007). As previously outlined in Chapter Two, recent news stories have drawn attention to the racial prejudice which has informed licensing decisions for night-time venues in London (Harrison, 2017, Ellis-Petersen, 2017). In November 2017, the London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, banned the 696 form, which was used by the Metropolitan police to inform licensing decisions. This form asked licence holders for details of the anticipated ethnicity of the audience and the type of music which would be played, listing forms of music which are traditionally Black or Black inspired (Talbot, 2011, p. 88). Other media stories have drawn attention to the racial prejudice behind the closure of the Fridge Bar in Brixton in 2014, closed by licensing officers following unsubstantiated claims that the bar generated

high levels of crime and disorder (Peyer, 2016). Licensing officers have also stated that bashment (a traditionally Black style of music) is linked to heightened levels of disorder, with the Dice bar in Croydon banned from playing bashment in 2016 (Nagesh, 2016).

However, the ways in which licensing decisions are informed by ideas of race has not been explored in the academic literature since the work of Talbot (2004), whose research is based upon an ethnography conducted in the late 1990s. Since, research on licensing has drawn attention to gendered discourses of morality and disgust in relation to sexual entertainment venues (SEVs) (Hubbard and Colosi, 2015), with more recent research drawing attention to the criminalisation of drill and grime (Fatsis, 2019, Illan, 2020), albeit outside of the context of licensing. Talbot's (2004) work draws attention to the associations made by police licensing officers between Black culture and criminality. Police licensing officers were more likely to interpret white licensees as co-operative and white licensees benefitted from 'early warning systems' whereby they were informed of police inspections prior to them taking place (Talbot, 2004, p. 896). Black licensees were more likely to be interpreted as not operating according to 'good business practice', resulting in the closure of The Mango, a pub with an established West Indian clientele (Talbot, 2006, p. 164). Until recently, specific attention had not been given to how police understandings of racialized minorities and racialized night-time events inform their responses to TENs[5]. This chapter draws upon the following methods to reveal how the racial subjectivities of police licensing officers, local authority licensing officers and licence holders impact licensing practices in Greenshire:

- **Interviews.** I conducted semi-structured interviews with police licensing officers and a local authority licensing officer throughout my fieldwork. I draw upon these interviews to reveal the reasons cited by licensing officers for their licensing decisions. I use these interviews to explore how young Black males from London and Gypsy and Traveller individuals are constructed as problematic night-time participants. I use licensing officers' understandings of these racialized groups to explore the ways in which these racial prejudices informed licensing practices in both explicit and less explicit ways.

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[5] A version of this chapter has been published in the Entertainment and Sports Law Journal. See: Wicks, N. (2019). The production and governance of race in licensing decisions: the initial findings of an ethnographic researcher exploring race at night in 'Greenshire'. *Entertainment and Sports Law Journal,* 17 (1), 8.

- **Informal conversations.** In building a rapport with licensing officers, I spent some time in traditional backstage contexts (Goffman, 1990), such as in the car when travelling from one night-time venue to another, in coffee breaks during their shift and in the office prior to their shift starting. I reflect on the conversations I had in these settings to explore how licensing officers drew upon stereotypes of racialized communities which informed licensing practices.

- **Observations.** I conducted observations alongside police licensing officers throughout my fieldwork. This involved attending night-time venues to ensure they were operating according to their licence. During these observations, I benefited from observing conversations between licensing officers and venue managers. I use these observations to explore how police licensing officers place increasing responsibility on venue managers to self-police their venue. I reveal how police licensing officers share racist 'gang' lists with licence holders which were used to regulate access to night-time venues in Greenshire.

- **Night-time economy meetings.** I observed two night-time economy meetings during the fieldwork. These were attended by police officers, licensing officers, licence holders, venue managers, bar staff, taxi drivers, street pastors and others. I reflect upon how my research topic was responded to in these meetings and think about what these responses mean for the way in which race and racialized individuals are understood.

In Greenshire, police licensing decisions are made locally and the force is divided into three licensing areas. Each area has a licensing team or individual who oversees licensing decisions. I conducted interviews and observations with police licensing officers in South Greenshire and West Greenshire, however the police licensing officer at North Greenshire did not give me access to interview or observe them. The findings of this chapter are therefore based upon the observations and interviews with police licensing officers in South Greenshire and West Greenshire. An interview with a local authority licensing officer in West Greenshire has also informed this chapter.

Police power in licensing decisions

Police licensing officers emphasised how licensing decisions are informed by several organisations. A licensing application is submitted online and the police, as well as environmental health, trading standards, the fire brigade, social services, planning and the NHS, have twenty-eight days to review the application. Within these twenty-eight days, representations can be made by any of these parties, who are able to request extra licensing conditions or object to the premises licence. Police licensing officers explained that if representations are made, then there will be a hearing where the council provides the final decision on the premises licence (UK Government, 2018). Despite the presentation of a multi-agency approach to licensing decisions, it became apparent throughout the fieldwork that the police often had the most power in response to requests for both a premises licence and TENs. Scott shared:

> Under the Licensing Act, if anyone applies for a licence, you apply to the council and they legally have to notify all responsible authorities, so the police, fire service, NHS, etc. There are 28 days for all responsible authorities to submit what we call representations. If there are zero representations against that licence, then it will be granted. Officially. <u>Unofficially, the police have the largest say on that</u>: it tends to be that we dictate a lot of how licensing will look.

> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

Some venue managers shared frustration at the power of the police in licensing decisions, arguing that this stifled their opening hours and the types of nights they wanted to host at their venues. Rebecca, the venue manager at *Monarchy*, explains:

> I'll submit a TEN, the police, they will be like 'nope, nope, you can't stay open that late', they'll say they can't police that late, but the council will be like 'go ahead, do it, keep people in the night-time economy'. There is a <u>massive</u> conflict. I've worked here a long time, I don't want to have a non-relationship with licensing, but the councillors will tell me to appeal. When it comes to that, I'd probably burn my bridges with the police so is it worth it?

Following an informal conversation with Andy, the venue manager at *Air and Breathe*, he shared that he had experienced conflict with police licensing teams regarding his plans to open a strip club in Greenshire. I noted the following in my research diary:

> *Andy described the police as 'ring-fencing' him with regards to his plans to open a strip club. He said he would appeal this, but that he knew a lot of other venue managers who didn't appeal. He described them as playing by the rules a little more.*

> *(Diary notes, March 2018)*

The quotations above demonstrate the power of police licensing officers in response to licensing applications. Rebecca reveals how police licensing officers are most likely to raise representations against TENs due to concerns that extra police officers would be needed to police late night opening hours. Later in the interview, Rebecca shared frustration that police licensing officers made representations based upon the limited availability of police officers late into the night, arguing that very rarely did she see police officers policing the high street at any point in the night. Andy also notes the power of police licensing officers' viewpoints with regards to SEVs, reflecting the findings of Hubbard and Colosi's (2015) study which demonstrated how discourses of morality and disgust inform the licensing of SEVs.

Rebecca and Andy reveal how the viewpoints and decisions of police licensing officers are often unchallenged, with Rebecca not wanting to appeal their representations for fear of 'burning bridges' with the police whilst Andy describes venue managers as 'playing by the rules'. Therefore whilst licensing decisions are presented as being made through a multi-agency approach, police licensing officers have the most power in informing licensing decisions. Throughout the fieldwork, I was not made aware of any licensing applications where representations were made by the police (both for new venues and extensions to the opening hours of existing venues) which were then appealed by the local council. Whilst the night-time literature has highlighted the increased policing of the night by door staff (Hobbs 2005, O'Brien, 2009), street pastors (Middleton and Yarwood, 2015) and venue managers (Palmer et al., 2013, Søgaard, 2017, Kosnick, 2018), police licensing officers therefore hold a large amount of power over night-time events and venues that are granted a licence. The

power of the police in informing licensing decisions resulted in the segregation, and increased governance of, racialized night-time events and participants who were interpreted by police licensing officers as deviant and potentially criminal, a theme which will be explored later in the chapter. The next section outlines how police licensing officers emphasise the objectivity of their licensing decisions, citing their decisions in alignment with the four licensing objectives as outlined by the Licensing Act (2003).

Objectivity in licensing decisions

Police licensing officers stated that only the licensing objectives, and not their own individual opinions, informed their licensing decisions. Licensing decisions were presented as neutral and objective. The following snippets are demonstrative of this:

> We might make representations against a licence but that is all based on the licensing objectives and <u>nothing else</u>. It's all to do with public safety and crime and disorder and obviously the other two objectives as well.
>
> (Gregory, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

> There are four licensing objectives, <u>so you can only make representations</u> for review or make any comment on the licence under four categories. They are: (1) prevention of crime and disorder, which obviously, we take primacy on, (2) prevention of children from harm, (3) public nuisance and (4) public safety. I can't just say for example, I don't like that person, therefore I don't think they should have a licence, or I don't think they should be going until 4 in the morning because it does not fit with the natural surroundings. It has to fit into one of those four categories and you would have to evidence that obviously.
>
> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

> There are four licensing objectives: (1) crime and disorder, (2) public safety, (3) public nuisance and (4) protecting children from harm. They're the only four things that matter, <u>nothing else</u> as far as licensing decisions are concerned.

The above quotations demonstrate how police licensing officers marked a difference between the licensing decisions they made, which were rooted firmly in response to the licensing objectives, and their own individual opinions. To appear not prejudiced then, individuals present their licensing decisions as 'reasonable, rational and thoughtfully arrived at' (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127). Most police licensing officers frequently cited only two of the four licensing objectives as informing their decisions: the prevention of crime and disorder and the protection of public safety, with some police licensing officers struggling to remember the other two licensing objectives. Throughout the chapter, I reveal how these two licensing objectives were interpreted in ways which protected nightlife as a space for white locals whilst segregating and marginalising Black night-time participants and excluding Gypsy and Traveller individuals. I argue that the actions and decisions of licensing officers serve to protect nightlife as a space reserved for white locals in Greenshire.

In the above interview snippets from William and Gregory, they argue that 'nothing else' apart from the licensing objectives inform their licensing decisions. Prejudice and racism therefore continue to be understood as deeply rooted within the individual (Billig, 1991, Billig, 2012, DiAngelo, 2018, Calme, 2020). For the licensing officers I spoke with and interviewed, discrimination and racism could only impact licensing decisions if they allowed their individual prejudices to inform decisions, which by law, they could not. Prejudice and racism are also conceived of as explicit and tangible concepts, which would be easy to identify for police licensing officers. Scott shares:

> I can say hand on heart that I've never seen what I would deem racism in this organisation…I have never seen or heard anything that I would deem racist.

(Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

> I think as a force we're not too ropey if you know what I mean, I'm just worried you won't get enough juicy information.

(William, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

120

Scott reveals how racism is understood as something explicit which could be easily identified through his senses, as something he sees or hears. William describes licensing in Greenshire as 'not too ropey' and attributes racism to information which is 'juicy' and easy to identify. By drawing upon the licensing law as the basis for licensing decisions, and drawing upon narrow conceptions of racism as something explicit and tangible, licensing officers construct their decisions as legitimate, fair and just. The next section problematises this by revealing how licensing decisions are localised in Greenshire, informed by the licensing officer's own subjectivities and the police area in which they are operating. I argue that licensing officers' concerns regarding the displacement of large Black crowds from West Greenshire result in the segregation of 'urban' nights to South Greenshire.

Localised licensing practices and the segregation of 'urban nights'

Throughout the fieldwork I became aware that licensing arrangements are set locally, informed by the subjectivities of a small number of individuals in each police licensing area. Rebecca reveals how she had a much harder time trying to host 'urban' nights in West Greenshire compared to *Altitude* which was situated in South Greenshire. Rebecca shares:

> *Altitude* can pretty much do whatever they want, they can stay open until 6 o'clock in the morning, they put on whoever they want and they do and half the people they put on I think 'gosh I wish we could have them here'. I think licensing would say no to me, and others, it's policed quite tightly here I think. I do feel that we're policed completely differently here, because even, when I went to the police station recently for a meeting, I said to Rita 'but South Greenshire can do this..' and she said 'don't talk to me about South Greenshire, that's not my problem', so what they do at *Altitude* is not what I can do, I can't do that, I can't do that.

> (Rebecca, Venue Manager at *Monarchy*, April 2018)

Whilst the academic literature outlines how the contemporary police force prefers to present itself as a profession (Green and Gates, 2014, Tilley and Laycock, 2014, Fleming, 2014), informed by 'top-down' regulatory frameworks supported by the College of Policing

(Holdaway, 2017), police licensing decisions remain extremely localised in Greenshire. West Greenshire has experienced a recent rise in Black students residing in the area to attend the university campus and police licensing officers in West Greenshire were keen to displace large crowds of Black night-time participants to other night-time venues across the county. Throughout the fieldwork, I became aware of an informal quota system on Black night-time participants (Søgaard, 2017, p. 259), with licensing officers in West Greenshire problematising large Black crowds of students who had recently moved to the area from London. Visions of Black individuals arriving en masse from London and the student campuses led to licensing decisions which sought to segregate Black crowds to 'urban' nights which were intensively governed at a small number of nightclubs located geographically apart from West Greenshire. Puwar (2004) argues that the perception of the numbers of ethnic minorities are amplified through the white gaze as they create feelings of threat and terror. Puwar writes:

> The dread of being displaced from an identity that has placed the white subject as being central to the world propels one to be constantly vigilant as to the activities of the figures that make it uncomfortable to hold on to this position (Puwar, 2004, p. 49).

The night was effectively reserved for white locals, with licensing officers conducting investigations into TENs for night-time events which differed from the norm. These investigations appeared more frequent in West Greenshire than South Greenshire. The door team at *Altitude*, a nightclub situated in South Greenshire, were in close contact with police officers and were depicted by the police licensing team in South Greenshire as professional and reliable. The nightclub also benefited from a licence which enabled them to open until 6am on a weekday. The existing licensing arrangements, coupled with the co-operative relationship that the door team had with the police, meant that *Altitude* hosted 'urban' nights on a weekly basis. Jason, the licence holder at *Altitude,* did not submit a TEN prior to hosting 'urban' nights due to his existing licensing arrangements and did not experience the same investigations as Rebecca. Jason shares how he works with police licensing teams, both inside and outside of Greenshire, to govern 'urban' nights and Black performers:

> We've got a fantastic relationship with licensing and the authorities, we had an email last week from another county about Sneakbo, they've emailed us and basically said 'we've heard you've had Sneakbo here, did you have any problems?' I have known it

before, in certain places, especially in the city, there are certain artists which if you book them you need to speak to the police, they would severely object to it and maybe cancel the event because they're worried about gangs turning up.

(Jason, Venue Manager at *Altitude*, April 2018)

The co-operation between licence holders and licensing officers both inside and outside of Greenshire positively impacted licence holders' ability to host 'urban' nights. This reveals that the governance of the Black night-time participant (usually young, Black men) transcends the context of Greenshire, with police and local authority licensing officers working with licence holders from different areas of the UK to police nights with Black performers. Recollections of past one-off events where young Black artists played and disorder broke out became reattached to a pre-existing 'gang' label, shared by licence holders with police licensing teams to govern future night-time events with an anticipated Black crowd. Recent research by Williams (2015) and Williams and Clarke (2016) has critiqued the way in which the 'gang' label continues to be disproportionately applied to young Black men in public policing contexts. Williams and Clarke state:

the problematic application of the 'gang' discourse… is reliant upon a common-sense, racialized and stereotypical discourse that links BAME men with an involvement with gangs, drugs and violence (Williams and Clarke, 2016, p. 16).

I was not given access to observe or interview the police licensing team in North Greenshire however, Joel, a member of door staff at various nightclubs in North Greenshire, shared that *Eclectic* had stopped hosting 'urban' nights. Joel states:

Urban nights are where we have the problem, most of the clubs have those nights, they used to have them once a week when students were here studying but now they've changed it to once in a month. I work at *Eclectic* and they try to avoid that night. They don't do that night anymore because they had lots of incidents in the past and the university was not happy and decided not to do that type of night again.

(Joel, Door Staff at *Eclectic* and *Outlaws*, April 2018)

This evidences that the apprehensiveness surrounding 'urban' nights not only permeates the mindsets and practices of police licensing officers, but can also be seen in those responsible for managing the university. Racism therefore operates in numerous and complex ways, through a range of social actors. Here, the institutional whiteness of the university (Tate and Bagguley, 2017, p. 290) can be seen in the way in which *Eclectic* is preserved as a racialized white space, despite the growing Black student population. The next section reveals how low-profile investigations are conducted by police licensing officers in response to TENs for nights with Black performers.

Policing race through TENs: (1) 'urban' nights

This section explores how police licensing officers make decisions in response to TENs in Greenshire. TENs are usually submitted by licence holders if they want to operate outside of the terms set by their individual licences. This means that licence holders will submit TENs to make an extension to their licensing hours for singular night-time events (particularly where artists are playing). Despite the 696 form being scrapped in November 2017 by the London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, for being racist (BBC News 2017, Nerssessian, 2017), the police licensing officers in my study used low-profile ways of obtaining information on the racialized nature of the event that had been applied for through a TEN. At the time of the fieldwork, an operation was on-going in the force that I observed which targeted drug dealing in Greenshire. Drug dealers were described as working in 'gangs', living in London and travelling to Greenshire to deal drugs. My research participants shared concerns that 'gang' activity was beginning to infiltrate Greenshire's nightlife. Both Kenny and Scott had noted the increase in young Black males from London travelling to Greenshire at night:

> There are people from different areas of the city coming down, you wouldn't get your big time gangster from the city coming down, but you'd get your little foot soldiers who want to make their name, they want to know that they're boss or whoever it is, that they've done something, you know what I mean, so they can come down, cause a bit of trouble, go again…

> (Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March, 2018)

South city nominals are travelling to Greenshire for their business for want of a better word, funnily enough it's something that's becoming reviewed… we need to help venues to self-police, they have so many runners, I wouldn't know the percentage but it would be a higher percentage that are predominantly Black or minority ethnic.

(Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

Scott and Kenny share that 'gang' members are predominantly Black men from London. Much of the academic literature has highlighted how young Black men continue to be interpreted through a white racial frame (Feagin, 2013) which marks them as 'gang' members and weapon carriers (Smithson et al., 2013, Williams 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016, Fatsis, 2019). This section reveals how these stereotypes informed increased police investigations into TENs for 'urban' nights, which young Black individuals are more likely to attend. Throughout the fieldwork, I became aware that an increased awareness surrounded 'urban' nights, a term used to stand in for 'Black' nights, where venues would play traditionally Black music such as grime, bashment, drill and hip hop and where an increased Black audience would attend. The increased awareness surrounding 'urban' nights and Black performers from London impacted police licensing officers' responses to TENs. Unlike the 696 form, which asked for the explicit details of the ethnicity of the audience and the type of music that will be played (O'Connor, 2017), the licensing officers in my study used more informal, low-profile ways to obtain similar information from licence holders.

Rebecca, the venue manager at *Monarchy*, shared that despite not using the 696 form in Greenshire (a form she was familiar with having worked in London before), she felt that the police response to TEN applications indicated their apprehensiveness around 'urban' nights, particularly those with Black performers. She states:

It feels like, and you would only understand this if you'd ever worked with that form, it feels like I'm policed for my student event via that form, so if I submit a TEN because we have to shut at 2 o'clock during the week, 2 o'clock is too early, so the minimum we want to go to is 3. I have to submit a TEN, for me it is a student night… people are coming from the university, some of the students can DJ and that's how they make money. If there's no headline act then the TEN is alright, if the hook is it is fancy dress or it's a t-shirt party then it is fine. If the hook is there is an artist

performing, I almost anticipate a private number calling, I almost anticipate it. It's just a different form of entertainment, so if I'm giving away free doughnuts they don't care, if I've got Loxy performing it's 'ooooh, and who is he coming with? Why? Bla, bla, bla'.

(Rebecca, Venue Manager at *Monarchy*, April 2018)

Rebecca drew upon a colour-blind rhetoric of race (Blum, 2009, Bonilla-Silva, 2010), preferring to refer to 'urban' nights as 'student' nights. In doing this, Rebecca discursively deracializes (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) the Black night-time participants, de-emphasising the night-time participants' race and reinforcing their identity as students from the university. Rebecca describes feeling policed for 'urban' nights through TEN application/s. She argues that the main concern for police licensing officers surrounds Black performers, as they are interpreted in terms of their potential entourage (and large Black following). Whilst explicit forms of policing racialized night-time events like the 696 form did not exist in Greenshire, police licensing officers would telephone Rebecca in order to obtain extra information on performers and their potential entourage. Gregory, a police licensing officer, reveals how licensing officers also use the internet to investigate promoters from London who were interpreted as having a high potential of drawing 'gang' activity to Greenshire at night:

Anyone can put in for a temporary event notice, however, if we get a promoter down from the city, and Google is brilliant, best policing tool known to man, they might bring a certain type of attendee, that might be armed with weapons or bring a certain gang type of following, then we'll consider what do we feel is appropriate to police that. Those nights run on until 5 in the morning, there is no transport back and there are vulnerable youngsters out. If the manager is not doing enough, then we will put in representations to make sure the local authority decide more conditions are put in place. It is up to them, not us, so if the local authority feels it's necessary based on the evidence we give and common sense, they'll put more conditions on.

(Gregory, Police Licensing Officer, February, 2018)

Here, Gregory downplays the power of police licensing officers by stating that the local authority has the final decision regarding TENs. Yet, Gregory also states that the police will

'put in representations to make sure the local authority decide more conditions are put in place'. Gregory speaks of providing local authorities with police 'evidence' and 'common sense', which is said to help the local authority when reviewing a TEN application. In appearing not prejudiced, one must present their views as reasonable, rational and thoughtfully arrived at (Billig, cited in Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127). Augoustinos argues that 'an effective way of doing this is to present one's views as reflecting the external world rather than one's internal (and therefore potentially racist) psychology' (Augoustinos, 2007, p.127). However, police information continues to be informed by police stereotypes which draw upon notions of the Black criminality of urban areas (Gilroy, 1982) and the literature review uncovers how Black individuals are over-represented in the criminal justice system in England and Wales (Shiner et al., 2018). In reviewing TEN applications for 'urban' nights, particularly those with Black performers, the police draw on institutionalised mental models (van Dijk, 1993a) of the young, Black (often male) drug dealer, weapon carrier and 'gang' member, using past incidents of disorder at 'urban' nights to govern the response to TENs for future 'urban' nights. These institutionalised mental models are informed by whiteness, described by Ahmed as the 'institutionalization of a certain likeness' (2007c, p. 157). As night-time events gather an increased number of Black night-time participants who differ from the white, local night-time participant as the norm, this creates fear and apprehension in the police. In reviewing representations for a TEN, the local authority is provided with police information, which continues to be informed by ideas of Black criminality and deviance.

The race of the promoters and artists from London is often not mentioned by police officers, who defended the extra research on these individuals against a 'gang' threat. When asking Daniel if he could define the race of performers or artists from London, he stated:

> Look, they're in a gang or have a 'gang' following and we need to deal with that threat. Yeah, they happen to be Black but it ain't that that is important is it. What are we meant to do, let these guys come down here and deal? Take over the homes of locals?

> (Daniel, Police Officer, July 2018)

Techniques of discursive deracialization (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) are used by Daniel, who states that 'gang' members 'happen to be Black but it ain't that that is important is it'.

Discursive deracialization is where racial explanations are omitted or de-emphasised, whilst the negative views of young Black men continue to be shared and discrimination continues (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133). Daniel builds the positive self-representation (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129) of the police force by sharing his concerns about the protection of local resident's homes, whilst Gregory does this by sharing his worries regarding 'vulnerable youngsters'. As a space which is understood to be traditionally white, Black individuals are visible in Greenshire because they differ from the norm. Race is produced through ideas of who can and cannot pass through space at any given time, and when Black bodies start taking up space in traditionally white spaces, this creates visibility, threat and terror (Puwar, 2004, p. 49). Amplification techniques (Puwar, 2004) are seen in Daniel's concerns that Black individuals will 'take over the homes of locals', with Daniel imagining Black individuals arriving from London in Greenshire en masse. Here, Blackness is produced as belonging to spaces outside of Greenshire (the neighbouring city of London), with Greenshire reserved for youngsters and residents whose whiteness means that they are 'in place'. The next section uncovers how local authority and police licensing officers' responses to TENs for events with an assumed Gypsy and Traveller audience work to keep this group confined to 'traveller pubs' in rural areas.

Policing race through TENs: (2) Gypsy and Travellers

Whilst the academic literature draws attention to racism towards Gypsy and Traveller groups (Richardson 2006, James, 2007, Bhopal, 2011, Garner, 2017), this has primarily been within the context of housing, settlement and education. More recently, the Traveller Movement (2018) has revealed that police officers advise venue managers to refuse access to Gypsy and Travellers in restaurants, pubs and bars in the UK. My research participants frequently problematised Gypsy and Traveller groups, arguing that they usually got into fights, ignored authority and that the males in these groups frequently sexually harassed young women at night. These stereotypes had an impact on the racialization of space at night, with town and police licensing officers working to contain Gypsy and Traveller groups in rural pubs and not the main high streets in Greenshire. Jessica, a licensing officer who works for the local council in West Greenshire, shares:

> Jessica: I think for us, our biggest issue and we have refused applications, especially
> Temporary Event Notices or have asked for harsher conditions, but that is for the

traveller community which is our biggest issue. There is one in the town centre, which is known and we keep an eye on, at least you know they're there, but there have been a few out of area ones which have had extensions to their hours refused because we know it is likely to have a high traveller group going in.

Interviewer: why is that then?

Jessica: it can be from fights, refusal to pay, it is hostile, they can go quite hostile, especially if you get a group of them together, it just turns into the pub being overrun.

(Jessica, Local Authority Licensing Officer, May 2018)

Pulido argues that white privilege plays out in the ways in which space and place become racialized (cited in Hankins et al., 2012). Throughout the fieldwork, racial discourses materialised which constructed particular night-time venues as 'traveller pubs'. Techniques of containment are used by police and local authority licensing officers, described as 'ensuring that Travellers did not encroach on the territory of local residents, or otherwise come to the attention of the police' (Mulcahy, 2012, p. 317). The racialization of space impacted the decisions of town and police licensing officers, who considered their response to TENs in light of keeping Gypsy and Traveller groups in pubs which were known for their Gypsy and Traveller clientele. Jessica states that her concern is keeping Gypsy and Traveller groups in pubs where they can be 'kept an eye on'. This meant that TEN applications from night-time venues which were considered by licensing officers as having a potential for attracting a Gypsy and Traveller clientele, were either refused or had increased conditions placed on their licence. Consequently, Gypsy and Travellers were not able to navigate Greenshire's nightlife in the same ways as the mainstream night-time participant with this exclusion upheld in the practices of CCTV operators, door staff and venue managers (for more details, please see Chapter Eight).

However, unlike the denial of prejudice in the over-policing of 'urban' nights, racism towards Gypsy and Traveller groups was recognised by some police officers in my study. Ricky explained that racism towards Gypsy and Traveller individuals could be found in the radio systems used by venue managers and door staff to keep Gypsy and Travellers out of night-

time venues in the main high streets, as well as within the viewpoints of local authority licensing officers and the public. Ricky explains:

> Ricky: I think the big problem here in Greenshire is racism towards travellers, we see it here, they'll call up on the radio saying 'there is a load of travellers, don't let them in'. I think it's a big issue, we go online and every time a traveller incursion is reported you get comments from the public which are overtly racist. The people who work here at the council, they treat travellers differently.

> Interviewer: why do you think that is?

> Ricky: they don't see being a traveller as a racial thing, these days… we get pubs calling up saying 'there are a load of travellers down here' and you'll get down there and it's like well actually, are they travellers or not? They are domesticated, domicile gypsies.
>
> (Ricky, Police Officer, May 2018)

In addition, Scott describes door staff and venue managers as having 'reservations' about Gypsy and Traveller individuals:

> I would say, from my experience, not from a police perspective, but from a pub and club perspective, the travelling community is still the one community that there's some reservations about. The travelling community, they like to fight, I have a number of door staff refuse to reject members of the travelling community for fear of it kicking off.
>
> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February, 2018)

The above quotations demonstrate how discrimination towards Gypsy and Traveller groups at night was recognised by some police officers. Both Scott and Ricky identify the discriminatory viewpoints of venue managers, door staff, local authority licensing officers and the general public. In addition, Ricky argues that the concerns of venue managers are unsubstantiated, stating that during his visits to night-time venues he witnesses

'domesticated' behaviour from Gypsy and Travellers. During a licensing visit with Scott, he legitimised the discrimination towards Gypsy and Traveller groups in the policing of night-time venues. Scott states:

> There is discrimination towards travellers and we can't deny it you know. The pubs and clubs, yeah they turn them away, but the thing is, we can't really hold them to account for it. They are a private premises and travellers are a nightmare when they get into a club or pub. It is a fact.

> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

Like Ricky and Scott, many police officers recognised the racism and discrimination towards Gypsy and Travellers at night in Greenshire. Police officers shared this in interviews and during informal conversations. Police officers sought to 'other the racist' (Benwell, 2012) and problematised the actions and viewpoints of licensing officers who work for the council, venue managers and door staff. Benwell writes:

> A prevalent strategy for the performance of 'common sense anti-racism' is the process of 'othering' – the construction of an overtly racist group against which the speaker's values are implicitly contrasted (Benwell, 2012, p. 365).

In problematising the actions and viewpoints of others in charge of policing nightlife, police officers sought to present themselves as 'anti-racist'. However, there were slippages in some police officers' accounts where they justified discrimination towards Gypsy and Travellers as good policing practice. Scott does this by stating that 'it is a fact' that travellers are a 'nightmare' when they get into a night-time venue. The discrimination faced by Gypsy and Traveller groups at night is therefore presented as a natural and unavoidable outcome of essentialised Gypsy and Traveller behaviour. Ahmed argues that race 'sticks' (2004, p.10) to individuals. She writes, 'racism works to produce race as if it was a property of bodies (biological essentialism) or cultures (cultural essentialism)' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 9). This means that in being ascribed a particular racial/ethnic identity, Gypsy and Travellers are read, governed and responded to in certain (more punitive) ways by the police.

The next section reveals the increased responsibility placed on licence holders to operate their venues according to standards set by individual police licensing officers in Greenshire.

<u>Licence holders and responsibilisation techniques</u>

The Licensing Act (2003) placed increased responsibility on the licence holder to be 'fit and proper' and to govern their venue according to 'acceptable business practice' (Talbot, 2007, p. 30). Talbot's study of 'Southview' revealed how Black licensees were less likely to be interpreted as 'fit and proper', with white licensees benefitting from early warnings of police inspections (2004, p. 896). The House of Lords Select Committee reviewed the Licensing Act (2003) in 2017 and as a result there is no longer a requirement for the licensee to be 'fit and proper' (House of Lords Select Committee, 2017). My findings build on this by exploring how licensing practices are made at a time when moral judgements about a licensee's character are no longer upheld by the Licensing Act (2003). I argue that the nature of the licence holder's relationship with the police impacts their ability to host more varied and racialized night-time events. Scott, a police licensing officer from the licensing team who regulates *Monarchy,* shares:

> Have you heard about *Monarchy*? They were having high levels of crime and disorder, there was lots of fights, not focused around ethnic minorities. The difficulty with *Monarchy* is it doesn't really have a genre so it attracts (*long pause*), lots of different communities, which is what is brilliant about it. Lots of army personnel go, quite a large Eastern European population too, lots of locals if that's the right terminology. It has a real mix of people and it isn't because of that that there were clashes at all. We found they were generating a lot of crime and disorder at kick out time, it's the management again. In a lot of incidents, they were almost always unable to identify who was doing what. We put that to the venue, to say this is something that is going to cost you your licence so you need to think of measures to improve that.

> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

The pressure placed on licence holders to police their venues according to rules set by individual police licensing officers was a theme which arose throughout the fieldwork.

Licensing officers presented their attentiveness to the licence holders' ability to police their venue as evidence that they were not racist, as their concern was with the licence holder and their ability to govern their venue, and not the perceived race or ethnicity of the clientele. In the above quotation, Scott builds his identity as welcoming of diverse night-time participants by arguing that the mix of different communities at *Monarchy* is 'brilliant' and argues that the crime and disorder at the nightclub was not due to the differing 'mix' (races and ethnicities) of the clientele. Scott also evidences an awareness of the importance of appropriate language, questioning whether the word 'locals' is the 'right terminology'. Licence holders demonstrated an awareness of operating in ways which would be acceptable to police licensing officers, telephoning police licensing officers about racialized night-time events as these differed from mainstream night-time events. Licence holders did this despite these events not breaking any of their licensing conditions. Scott shares:

> If they have a nightclub licence until 3 in the morning, that doesn't say you can only hold 'normal' club events, if they wanted to hold a Polish event, or grime music, they can still do that under their premises licence and legally they wouldn't need to notify us but most do.

> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

Rebecca, the venue manager at *Monarchy* also revealed that she made police licensing officers aware of night-time events which differed from those offered to white, local residents:

> When I worked in London with the 696 you very much had to be careful what you put on it because if there was something slightly different, it would have been flanked and I would have been at the police station. Even though we don't have that form here, that feels how it's ran down here, so if I want to host a night that is a bit different, I'll always call them and tell them exactly what it is, I don't hide behind anything.

> (Rebecca, Venue manager at *Monarchy,* April 2018)

Rebecca had previous experience of managing a nightclub in London, where she had submitted the 696 form for a number of night-time events. She stated that although licence

holders do not have to submit a 696 form for live music events in Greenshire, she felt policed in similar ways. The increased police awareness of nights which differed from those offered to white, local residents (predominantly 'urban' nights) impacted the actions of some licence holders. Rebecca describes telephoning police licensing officers to notify them of nights which are 'a bit different'. Throughout the fieldwork, I found some licence holders would telephone their police licensing officer to notify them if they were putting on a night-time event which was interpreted as having the potential of attracting large Black crowds. Licence holders are therefore concerned with holding night-time events which are considered acceptable based upon the standards set by individual licensing officers or licensing teams. Although the application for a TEN or a premises licence does not request information on the race or ethnicity of the target audience, the type of music that will be played or the name and alias of the performer (as the 696 form requested), licence holders supply this information either on TEN applications or through more informal communications such as telephone calls to police licensing officers. Unlike Talbot's research (2004) which focuses on police licensing officers' prejudiced interpretations of Black licensees (resulting in the closure of their venues), my research reveals how licence holders themselves actively anticipate and attempt to negotiate police licensing officers concerns regarding racialized night-time events.

William problematises the ways in which existing licenses are not reviewed, arguing that he needs to keep in contact with licence holders to ensure they have not got into 'bad habits':

> The difficulty with licences is that they're not renewed, there is no process to go 'right everything is going alright here, everyone is happy, tick, tick, tick'. That doesn't happen. Once you've got it, you've got it, there is no checklist. Venue managers can get into bad habits or laziness…

> (William, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

As the licences of night-time venues are not vetted, William implies that police licensing teams need to keep in contact with licence holders to ensure that they continue to operate appropriately. In interviews with police licensing officers, they framed their role as helping licence holders, both by providing advice which would allow licence holders to retain their premises licence, whilst also providing useful 'tools' to police venues on the door. At the time of the research, 'gang' lists made up only of young Black men using intelligence and

information from police databases, were provided to some licence holders by police licensing officers. Scott reveals:

> Scott: we will notify the pubs and clubs, it's not a banned list, you can't legally ban people, we would love to but we can't… so we go to the clubs with a list and say, 'there is your information, you choose to let them in'.

> Interviewer: you mentioned you don't see that list as having anything to do with race?

> Scott: It's not key, absolutely. It is part of a wider force focus on gangs. There is a gang matrix where affiliated gang members are scored in terms of their criminality. We release the top ten images of those gang members to our pubs and clubs. It isn't a banned list. It's saying, these people are predominantly using drugs, carrying knives, they're a risk. When it comes down to self-policing, how can they self-police if you don't give them the information?

> Interviewer: of that top 10, are quite a lot of them Black?

> Scott: predominantly yeah. At present, I think all are, yeah.

> (Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

Racist public police practices, such as the formation of 'gang' lists, are shared with some licence holders by police licensing officers and are used to police night-time venues in Greenshire. Techniques of discursive deracialization (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) are drawn upon by Scott, who argues that race is unimportant in the construction of 'gang' lists (despite each individual on the list being Black at the time of the fieldwork). Scott reaffirms the unimportance of race in the construction of 'gang' lists by stating that race is 'not key, absolutely'. In using techniques of discursive deracialization, negative representations of young Black men as 'gang' members are presented as having little relevance to race. The increased focus on responsibilisation techniques under the Licensing Act (2003) means that discriminatory 'gang' lists becoming reframed as 'information sharing' techniques which help pubs and clubs self-police at night. By deracializing these 'gang' lists, they become reframed as the legitimate actions of the police force in helping night-time venues self-police.

Yet race is absolutely central to police licensing officers mental models of deviance and criminality, with some of the resulting effects being the creation of 'gang' lists which consisted only of Black males at the time of the fieldwork, as well as the increased investigations into TENs for 'urban' nights with Black performers.

This section has outlined how increased responsibility is placed on licence holders to operate according to the standards set by police licensing officers. This research challenges neoliberal conceptions of the night (Roberts, 2009, Hadfield, 2014, Shaw, 2015) by revealing how the public police remain central to the construction and governance of nightlife in Greenshire. This can be seen in the power of police licensing officers in their response to TEN applications and through their relationship with licence holders (and its consequential effects). In relation to objective 5, this research reveals how the actions of the private police are informed by the concerns of the public police, with licence holders sharing that they will telephone police licensing officers to notify them of racialized night-time events and performers even though they are not required to by law. This adds to wider theories of policing by drawing attention to the power of the public police in their relationship with private policers of nightlife. Finally, this research reveals faults in the Licensing Act (2003) by drawing attention to the subjective (and racist) ways that the licensing objectives are interpreted and applied and the impact this has on the marginalisation of racialized night-time events and performers.

The next section explores how licence holders, who reveal a heightened awareness of retaining their licence, govern their night-time venues in ways which lead to the segregation or exclusion of minority ethnic groups.

Licence holders: the management of inter-racial and ethnic interaction at night

This section explores how inter-racial and ethnic interaction is interpreted by licence holders as problematic at night. This results in licence holders holding specific nights for Black audiences (referred to as 'urban' nights) and the exclusion of Black night-time participants at the door of some venues. Jason explains:

> We might get four Black guys turn up from the city, they will get knocked back, the
> reason is we don't want the different, you know.. the clash. We will turn around and

say 'lads, you wanna come to the 'urban' night tomorrow, what are you doing, it is the wrong night tonight'.

Whilst Black night-time participants were integrated through being welcomed on 'urban' nights at *Altitude*, they remained segregated from weekend nights at the club. Jason explains that his reason behind doing this is 'the clash', drawing upon the notion that mixed racial and ethnic interaction at night is more likely to result in disorder. In addition, an increased awareness surrounded Black night-time participants whose IDs were registered to London addresses, evidencing how fears around race are also informed by the presumed deviancy of urban areas. The refusal of Black night-time participants from London on weekend nights is legitimised by Jason, who saw this as an appropriate way of governing the nightclub. Whilst Black participants, predominantly men, were refused access to weekend nights at *Altitude*, white locals did not face the same restraints in accessing *Altitude* on weekends or 'urban' nights. During observations, I noted that 'urban' nights were attended by a mixture of white locals and young Black individuals. No inter-racial disorder occurred during my observations of 'urban' nights.

During a night-time economy meeting, Jason explained that he refused access to Gypsy and Traveller groups at *Altitude*. In interview, Jason drew upon a management discourse which problematised inter-racial interaction to legitimise the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller groups:

It's not really a traveller thing, like I said, you have to manage groups, yeah? Now for instance we might have a (*long pause*)… quite a girly night, say we had a DJ from the local radio station, like girls coming with a table booked. Trouble is travellers create a mixed group and people think that, whether they were travellers or whatever, you would think 'this ain't gonna work'. This job is managing people, the staff, customers, the authorities, my main role is to manage people, you have to think, if I'm gonna have 600 people in tonight, I want 600 people who are gonna get on well. I'm not gonna have a potential flashpoint, so it's not really, it's not really travellers.

The above demonstrates how techniques of discursive deracialization (Augoustinos, 2007) are used to legitimise the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller individuals from *Altitude.* Jason uses management concerns to 'sanitize and deracialize racist discourses' (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) which result in the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers and the segregation of Black night-time participants from the venue. Race therefore deeply informs one's access to night-time venues in Greenshire, with white, locals being the 'somatic norm' (Puwar, 2004) who are able to access venues by virtue of their whiteness and localness. White locals also remain the benchmark against which other night-time participants are measured. Management discourses are not only about venue managers' concerns over mixed ethnic interaction at night, but are also centred around an awareness of 'the authorities' (Jason's words) and the importance of retaining their licence. The awareness that they had to be operating in particularly appropriate ways otherwise their licence may be revoked was something which was expressed during informal conversations and interviews with licence holders.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how police licensing officers construct their licensing decisions as objective, legitimate and fair, based upon the four licensing objectives set out in the Licensing Act (2003). Yet licensing agreements in Greenshire are informed by localised policing practices and the individual subjectivities of the police licensing officer. In relation to objective 2, this chapter has evidenced how police investigations into TENs to determine the racialized nature of the audience or performer are commonplace. These concerns appear more heightened in West Greenshire, which has experienced an increase in the numbers of Black students from London in recent years. The perceived co-operation between the licence holder and police licensing teams means that some venues benefit from licensing agreements with late night opening hours and are able to host 'urban' nights regularly without extensive police investigation. Local authority licensing officers also reveal concerns for night-time events with an assumed Gypsy or Traveller audience, requesting extra conditions or refusing a TEN in an attempt to contain (Mulcahy, 2012) Gypsy or Traveller individuals to 'traveller' pubs outside of the main high streets. Some police officers and licensing officers also supported the segregation of Gypsy and Traveller groups from the main high streets.

In relation to objective 5, the responsibility of licence holders to police their night-time venue, as set out by the Licensing Act (2003), means that they are increasingly aware of

operating their venues in ways which are deemed acceptable by police licensing officers. This means that despite the 696 form being scrapped in November 2017 for racism, the racialized nature of the audience, performer and music to be played is provided by licence holders on applications for TENs or through telephone calls between licence holders and police licensing officers. Management discourses are also drawn upon by licence holders, who employ racist door practices to restrict the access of Black and Gypsy and Traveller individuals on weekend nights in Greenshire due to fears regarding inter-racial disorder with white locals. This chapter evidences that licensing practices continue to be informed by wider racial prejudices which construct Black crowds and Gypsy and Traveller individuals as problematic night-time participants. By continually applying an objective framing to licensing practices, this makes their racialized nature difficult to acknowledge and therefore alter. The next two chapters demonstrate how the governance of Black night-time participants and Gypsy and Travellers differed at night: Black night-time participants are evaluated by their ability to 'show' and 'do' whiteness on weekend nights, and for the most part remain segregated to 'urban' nights, whilst Gypsy and Travellers faced explicit surveillance and exclusion at night.

Chapter 6. Policing 'urban' nights

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the policing of 'urban' nights in Greenshire. In relation to objective 3, this chapter draws from an observation of an 'urban' night at *Altitude,* coupled with interviews and informal conversations with door staff, police officers and venue managers who share their experiences of policing nightlife 'on the ground'. I outline how the commercialisation of traditionally Black or Black inspired music, particularly hip hop and R&B, is drawn upon by the public and private police to present Greenshire's nightlife as multicultural and diverse. However, police stories of previous 'urban' nights reveal how the presence of Black individuals in a predominantly white space leads to the white individual feeling under threat (Tate, 2016). In fulfilling objective 4, I reveal how door staff problematise Black night-time participants for cultural differences in dress, dance, body language, word choices and speech patterns, with these used to reinforce institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) of the Black male gang member from London. Hyper vigilant policing tactics are employed by door staff and venue managers on 'urban' nights, used to police both the door and night-time venue, with door staff reproducing white, local cultural modes of acceptability in these two settings. Despite this, when Black night-time participants question their exclusion from night-time venues on the ground of their race, they are constructed as illegitimate complainants through references to 'the race card'. In relation to objective 5, I reveal how door staff share a social script (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) with the public police, using identity codes (IC codes) to describe the race of Black night-time participants in their communications with door staff and venue managers. I argue that this shared social script reveals a form of self-identification with the public police in policing racialized minorities at night.

Policing nightlife in Greenshire

Night-time research highlights the role of door staff (Hobbs et al., 2003, O'Brien, 2009, Søgaard, 2014), the police (Talbot, 2004, Hadfield 2006, Talbot 2007), venue managers (Talbot, 2004, Søgaard, 2017, Kosnick, 2018, Eldridge, 2019) and more recently, street pastors (Middleton and Yarwood, 2015) in governing nightlife. Policing research has also drawn attention to the increase in plural providers of policing (Crawford and Lister, 2004,

Lister, 2006, Crawford, 2014), referred to by Crawford and Lister (2004) as the 'extended policing family'. Policing is also not only conducted by social actors, but is dispersed across a range of agencies and processes (Lister, 2006, Bayley and Shearing, 2011, Crawford, 2014). This chapter will pay attention to police actors (both public and private), as well as policing practices. At the start of my observations I noted the lack of public police officers on the street at night and became aware of the importance of door staff, venue managers and street pastors in the policing of nightlife in Greenshire. My research diary reveals:

> *Tonight I went to the police station for my first night of observation. Officers explained that the nightlife is managed more by door staff and venue managers, with the presence of police officers much less than it was a decade ago. I drove around with officers in the car, responding to calls from the control centre, but rarely did we get out and patrol the high street.*

> *(Diary notes, February 2018)*

This chapter is focused on the perspectives of, and practices employed by, door staff and venue managers. I also draw upon observations of an 'urban' night at *Altitude*. *Altitude* hosted 'urban' nights on a weekly basis, with these nights taking place on a more infrequent basis at other venues across Greenshire. This chapter focuses on how 'urban' nights are conceived by door staff, venue managers and police officers. The implications that these perceptions have for the governance of 'urban' nights and Black night-time participants is uncovered. In this chapter, I draw upon the following methods:

- **Interviews.** I conducted thirty-six semi-structured interviews with door staff, venue managers, police officers, street pastors and taxi drivers throughout my fieldwork. I use these interviews to reveal how door staff, venue managers and police officers problematise 'urban' nights and events which draw a Black audience.
- **Observations.** I spent one night observing door staff at an 'urban' night at *Altitude.* On this night I also observed the venue manager, bar staff and night-time participants (both waiting outside to get into the nightclub, as well as on the dance floor). This night of observation was one of ten nights of observation conducted alongside police officers, police licensing officers, door staff and venue managers. I reflect upon this

night of observation to think about how 'urban' nights are governed in particular ways.

- **Informal conversations.** Throughout my observations I had numerous conversations with venue managers, door staff and police officers. I reflect on the conversations I had in backstage settings (Goffman, 1990) to explore how management discourses, utilised by venue managers and door staff, prioritise feelings of white safety inside the nightclub.

Nightlife in Greenshire

Throughout the fieldwork, venue managers, door staff, police officers and bar staff presented nightlife in Greenshire as diverse and multicultural. The diversity of music played in nightclubs and the existence of 'urban' nights were used by venue managers to construct Greenshire as a welcoming place at night. Darren explains:

> We have urban nights, garage nights, all varieties of music, because it is quite a multicultural place, one of the clubs around the corner from here, they had an urban night there and another has RnB nights.

> (Darren, Police Officer, February 2018)

The increased commercialisation of music associated with Black culture, particularly hip hop and R&B, was drawn upon by venue managers and bar staff to present night-time venues as diverse. The increase in the music made by Black singers being played inside the nightclub was also reinforced by venue managers and bar staff. Caleb and Michael share:

> I think the music we play now, people like Stormzy, it's more Black oriented, whereas years ago when I first became a venue manager we would have played white people, like the Spice Girls and that. Now we play Stormzy, Beyonce, Jay Z, more sort of Black singers that are trendy and it is more acceptable isn't it, the culture has grown here definitely.

> (Caleb, Venue Manager at *Teasers*, March, 2018)

The music we play now is commercialised, radios are playing it more frequently and at festivals you see more urban people, hip hop people, they're headlining now. Lots of people are here for it and to be fair, if they are Black, Asian, Chinese, it doesn't matter. They're university students, it's such a mixed minority university with so many different races, I think that's all the better really.

(Michael, Bar Staff at *Altitude,* 2018)

The mainstreaming of music of Black origin, such as hip hop and R&B, is called upon by Michael and Caleb to present the nightclubs and nightlife in Greenshire as diverse. Michael notes how this has led to an increase in the presence of Black and minority ethnic individuals inside the nightclub, stating that their presence is 'all the better really'. In doing this, Michael draws upon a post-race rhetoric (Tate, 2016) by deemphasising the race and ethnicity of the clientele, stating 'if they are Black, Asian, Chinese, it doesn't matter. They're university students…'. This chapter argues that the categorisation of 'urban' nights, language used by my research participants to refer to night-time events where a mixture of grime, drill and bashment is played and higher numbers of Black night-time participants attend, is indicative of a white, local benchmark through which this night-time event stands out. Aside from 'urban' nights, nightlife in Greenshire tended to be mainstream, with chart music and old-school cheese played. Some venues catered for older clientele, through 'over twenty one' entry policies and higher priced drinks, whilst others encouraged younger audiences through their marketing and the promotion of buy one get one free offers on cheap drinks. Whilst there was some differentiation in the age of clientele attending each venue, the majority were white and local. The criminalisation of grime and drill has been highlighted in the academic literature (Fatsis, 2018, Fatsis, 2019, Ilan, 2020). This chapter extends upon the literature by exploring how 'urban' nights, where drill, grime and bashment are played, are spoken about and policed by the public and private police. The next section reveals how 'urban' nights, and the Black night-time participants that attend these, are noted by door staff and venue managers in terms of their difference, deviance and threat (van Dijk, 1992).

The noting of 'urban' nights: difference, deviance and threat

Early on in the fieldwork, door staff and police officers made me aware of 'urban' nights, speaking about these in ways which indicated how they differed from weekend nights. Vivid and in-depth descriptions of 'urban' nights were provided by door staff during their interviews. Kenny and Toby, door staff at *Altitude*, share:

> The urban night, it's a busier night, they're more violent, there's a lot of gang culture. They all 'come on' and stick together.

> (Toby, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March 2018)

> I mean it's a different class, a different clientele to a normal Friday and Saturday night, the urban night. We know it's a different clientele and you've got to manage that clientele. They're more street, more let's put it, gangster wise, than on a Friday and Saturday night. If it kicks off, you know from past experience, it kicks off on a bigger volume than it would do on a drum and bass night or a Friday and Saturday night.

> (Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March, 2018)

Police officers described 'urban' nights as gathering larger numbers of night-time participants (particularly those from London who reside in Greenshire for part of the year to study), as well as generating increased levels of violence. Julie, a police officer at Penton, states:

> 'Urban' nights draw a much bigger crowd, a very big crowd, you've got people coming from the city, from the student campuses, because it's a big night and that's just a massive population to try and deal with. Suddenly, you know, Penton is full of people and that's a big thing and it's a big risk because you've got the risk of escalated violence and mob mentality. People get in a fight; lots of people start getting involved.

> (Julie, Police Officer, March 2018)

The ways in which 'urban' nights stood out is indicative of the normative white, local backdrop of nightlife in Greenshire. These nights are noted in terms of their difference from mainstream nights, described as busier, more aggressive and more violent. In addition, these nights are also linked to a 'gang culture' and 'mob mentality', with night-time participants described as 'gangster'. In the above interview snippets, the race of the night-time participants is not explicitly mentioned, yet I noted a marked increase in Black night-time participants in attendance at the 'urban' night at *Altitude* in comparison to weekend nights. These Black night-time participants are a mixture of students who are studying at the university campuses in Greenshire, as well as Black individuals who travel from London to attend them. Rebecca, the venue manager at *Monarchy,* reveals how 'urban' nights and the Black students that attend, are noted by locals. She states:

> I shouldn't have to say I'm hosting an 'urban' night, because I'm not, I'm doing a student night, so I'll never class it as that. Here it's very much 'we slice our bread this way, we walk this way, we dance this way'. The locals are not open to anything new. Say it's a student night, the students are about and their music comes on, the locals will leave the dance floor and be like 'well what is this? It's the type of place where everyone stops and looks and goes 'who is that, who are they?', it's very, very insular, very insular indeed.

> (Rebecca, Venue Manager at *Monarchy,* April 2018)

Drawing upon a post-race rhetoric (Tate, 2016), Rebecca explains that she prefers to call what are commonly referred to as 'urban' nights, 'student nights'. In doing this, Rebecca draws upon post-race sensibilities in constructing the race of the clientele at 'urban' nights as unimportant to their identity. However, race is central to understandings of acceptable forms of embodiment and behaviour which are noted by locals when students attend the nightclub. The use of the pronoun 'we' (Wiggens, 2017, p. 122) insinuates a commonality between the normative night-time participant, who, in Rebecca's words, slices their bread, walks and dances in certain ways. The use of 'we' is also indicative of a racialized norm, which predicates itself upon particular (white, local) norms of behaviour and embodiment at night. Black night-time participants, who dance and walk in certain ways, appear visible within the context of nightlife in Greenshire due to the white local being the norm. The ways in which white locals dancing and walking is considered the benchmark for acceptable forms of

embodiment at night is produced through the presence of Black individuals who do not adhere to this benchmark. Black night-time participants are noted by locals who will stop, look and question 'who is that, who are they?' Ahmed argues that the noting of racialized minorities 'tells us much more about what is already in place than it does about 'who' arrives' (cited in Held, 2015, p. 39). Puwar writes:

> Social spaces are not blank and open for anybody to occupy. There is a connection between bodies and space, which is built, repeated and contested over time. While all can, in theory enter, it is certain types of bodies that are tacitly designated as being 'natural' occupants of specific positions. Some bodies are deemed as having the right to belong, while others are marked out as trespassers, who are, in accordance with how both spaces and bodies are imagined …circumscribed as being 'out of place' (Puwar, 2004, p. 8).

I argue that the specific ways in which 'urban' nights are categorised and noted is indicative of a racialized 'somatic norm' (Mills, 1997) which is white and local. The next section explores police officers' stories of previous 'urban' nights and their interaction with Black night-time participants. I argue that these are indicative of the threat, terror and anxiety that is produced in white police officers when they meet large numbers of Black individuals. These feelings are indicative of a white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018) which is produced in police officers through the very presence of 'urban' nights and Black night-time participants in a historically white space.

Protecting white space and constructing the white police officer as under threat

Throughout the fieldwork, police officers shared in-depth and vivid stories of previous 'urban' nights. On one occasion, the police had been called by fast food workers and residents complaining of disorder in the high street following the end of an 'urban' night. Darren, a police officer at Penton, described this during his interview:

> It was after an 'urban' night, there were groups of Black males and females, all sort of early, mid-twenties, white people too, they were going up to McDonald's, pushing through the doors and they only had four door staff on McDonald's who were getting overwhelmed by pure physical numbers. We were looking at offences of affray,

potential violence, people were just pushing through and threatening the staff in there. We had to shut the store. I was being ignored completely, as if we were not even a foot from each other, here verbal communication and presence alone is enough to get people to go 'okay, we'll do this or that' but people weren't listening. They'd come from the city and I have friends who police there, they say people don't listen, it's different there. We police by consent here and it's quite alien for Greenshire to suddenly go 'well no one is listening to us or doing anything at all'. I had my entire team there which is unheard of, everyone from my office is there because I believe there will be a fight. We started employing basic public order tactics which is serious, we had firearms coming too and a dog handler came down for us. We were overrun, we were outnumbered, it was scary.

(Darren, Police Officer, March 2018)

These detailed recollections indicate the importance of this event in Darren's mind (Wiggens, 2017, p. 122-125) with the presence of groups of Black night-time participants creating feelings of fear and unsafety, which was also felt by fast food workers and residents at this time. Darren's pattern of talk, initially describing night-time participants as Black, followed by 'white people too', is indicative of his increased awareness around the language of race. These white night-time participants quickly become invisible, with threat and deviance attached only to Black night-time participants. These individuals stand out as 'bodies out of place or unexpected bodies – they are highly conspicuous – this is a visibility that comes from not being the norm' (Puwar, 2004, p. 49). They are described as different because they 'don't listen', with Darren indicating that policing approaches in metropolitan contexts are different from Greenshire's approach of policing by consent. Darren draws upon extreme case formations (Wiggens, 2017, p. 125) to invoke the maximal properties of the event and emphasise the perspective of police officers. He does this when he states that 'no one was listening to us', the police were 'ignored completely' and he had his 'entire team' there. Puwar argues that the presence of racialized bodies which are 'out of place' creates vigilance which borders on paranoia and anxiety in the white individual (Puwar, 2004, p. 49). This anxiety and paranoia could be seen in the fast food workers and residents who reported the incident, and the police officers who attended the incident. Black night-time participants presented a threat due to their very presence in Penton's night-time high street, a place which is reserved for white locals. The fear of the racialized 'Other' had real effects, with police

officers deploying public order tactics and firearm officers in response to the perceived threat.

As police officers come into contact with Black individuals, their numbers are amplified (Puwar, 2004, p. 49), with Darren stating the police felt 'overwhelmed by pure physical numbers' and 'we were overrun, we were outnumbered'. This language details the ways in which police officers, who were almost always white, demonstrated a fear of being overwhelmed by Black individuals who should not be filling night-time spaces en masse. Lefebvre argues that spaces are 'determined by what may not take place there' (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 224). By stating that police officers felt 'outnumbered, overrun and scared', Black night-time participants become constructed as belonging to outside city spaces. As Tate (2016) argues, racism's invisible touch often leaves a mark through contact and the stirring of emotion, which is demonstrated in particular at the end of this quotation when Darren reminds me that this incident was 'scary'. Tate writes 'what is interesting about the use of fear is that it reproduces the *white* self as under threat, the victim who has been affectively and materially touched by the need to keep the touch of the Black other at a distance' (Tate, 2016, p. 81).

In sharing her depiction of the same incident, Julie, a police officer at Penton, essentialises Black night-time participants as disrespectful of authority and pushing their luck in interactions with police officers. Julie states:

> Once we had an 'urban' night, they all came out the club and headed to McDonald's but it had closed. So, we had 200 people outside McDonald's not happy that it had closed. This isn't the city, nothing is 24 hours. Most of them were students and they had come down to study here and some had just come down from the city to listen to the DJ they wanted to listen to. We had like 200 people outside McDonald's, they're all milling about and a few people were getting chopsy, saying 'I'm not allowed in, what because I'm Black', I'm like 'because it's shut', like the colour of your skin doesn't mean they'll stay open for you. I'll record everything and if they want to have a conversation about that then they can. They'll be like 'well can I just go in to…' I'll say 'no', they'll say 'can I just use the toilet?' and I'll say 'can you use a toilet in a shut shop?' You think what is the matter with them…they think they are King of the world!

Here, Julie uses repetition (Edwards and Potter, 1992) to reinforce the number of Black individuals outside McDonalds, repeating that '200 people' were trying to enter the fast food chain. Doing this presents police officers as outnumbered (as described by Darren) and therefore under threat. The use of reported speech also adds authenticity to Julie's account (Wiggens, 2017), with Julie drawing upon the reported speech of Black individuals to essentialise them as disrespectful towards authority. Julie also describes Black individuals in terms of the metropolitan context in which they come from, stating that 'this isn't the city, nothing is 24 hours'. In doing this, the expectations and behaviour of Black night-time participants are depicted as out of place and better suited to metropolitan contexts. The city is produced as a Black space, against the invisible white, local cultural norm of Greenshire which is upheld by Julie. Hankins et al. write:

> Racialized places serve to maintain hegemonic conceptualizations of whiteness by constantly constructing the feared non-white place and reciprocal identity, to which the idealized white space (and identity) can be juxtaposed (Hankins et al., 2012, p. 383).

Julie also reinstalls a racial ordering which prioritises whites, stating that Black individuals 'think they are King of the world'. This is indicative of the effects of white fragility, defined as:

> much more than mere defensiveness or whining. It may be conceptualised as the *sociology of dominance:* an outcome of white people's socialization into white supremacy and a means to protect, maintain, and reproduce white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, cited in DiAngelo, 2018, p. 106).

Julie uses this incident to dominate Black night-time participants, reminding them of their place and protecting Greenshire as a space reserved for white locals. I argue that the presence of Black individuals from metropolitan areas disorientates the whiteness of Greenshire's nightlife and those with a responsibility for policing it. Disorientation is a term used by Puwar (2004), who explores the effects of the presence of Black bodies in traditionally white,

male institutions. Disorientation refers to how the Black body 'presents a dissonance. A jarring or framing that confuses and disorientates' (2004, p. 42). The very presence of Black individuals at night confuses and disorientates Greenshire, a place reserved for white locals. Police officers' vivid recollections of one-off incidents following 'urban' nights are indicative of this disorientation. Puwar states:

> their very presence, as 'equal' members… who take up a different rhythm in the occupation of space, challenges the ways in which racialized bodies have been categorised and fixed (Puwar, 2004, p. 42).

Door staff and 'urban' nights: reproducing white cultural modes of acceptability

In this section I outline how 'urban' nights, and the increased numbers of Black night-time participants who attend them, disorientate door staff. I draw upon the night of observation at an 'urban' night at *Altitude,* as well as interviews with door staff at both *Altitude, Outlaws and Eclectic,* to reveal how door staff reproduce white, local cultural modes of acceptability in governing nightclubs.

Body language, word choice and speech patterns

Throughout the fieldwork, door staff interpreted the body language, speech patterns and word choice of Black night-time participants as indicative of an 'attitude' and a disrespect towards authority. Kenny, door staff at *Altitude*, shares:

> Kenny: If they turn up being rude to me, I'll be rude back, at the end of the day respect works both ways, so if you can't turn up somewhere, all you've got to say is 'evening'. If you turn up (Kenny walks with his arms out wide to the side of his body and leans in the opposite direction in a 'bowling' fashion, and states in a low voice 'I wanna come in'), if you have that attitude at the front door, then what's that attitude going to be when someone bumps into you in the club? As a door man, you don't get to sit there and think about it for an hour, you have to make the decision. If he's got the attitude on the front door, then why do we let that attitude in the club, because that attitude can escalate to something else, so you stop it straight away. I see it mostly

from the Blacks, because I don't know if it's a gangster thing or, I don't know, but we definitely see it more from them, the attitude.

Interviewer: how would you describe that attitude?

Kenny: it's body language and sayings, a lot of their sayings I don't understand, they might have a different meaning for something that I have a meaning for, so if they're saying something I'll say 'boys, I don't know what you mean, so you either tell me what's going on, because I need to know what's going on, lets chill, relax'. It's their attitude, it's nothing to do with their skin colour. It doesn't matter who turns up but if you turn up and you've got attitude already, before you've even got in the venue, why? You've obviously had a problem during the day, you think you'll come out, have a few beers, chill out, you don't, you have a few beers and you get more hyped up because of the music, someone bumps into you, someone spills your drink, so do you stop that early on or do you let them go in and see what happens?

(Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March, 2018)

Much of the night-time literature has highlighted the importance of the 'door' for the assessment of night-time participants (Hobbs et al., 2003, O'Brien, 2009, Preiser, 2016), with more recent literature indicating race as intrinsic to social sorting practices and exclusion at the door of nightclubs (Rigakos, 2008, Measham and Hadfield, 2009, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017). I extend upon this literature to demonstrate how social sorting practices are informed by white, local modes of acceptability. Here, Kenny problematises the body language, word choice and linguistic style of Black night-time participants, stating that these indicate an 'attitude'. Kenny draws upon discursive de-racialization techniques (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133), omitting the importance of the race of night-time participants, stating these having 'nothing to do with their skin colour'. However, when forms of embodiment and behaviour differ from the white, local normative benchmark, they are attached to the pre-existing institutionalized mental model (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) of Black male gang membership (Williams, 2015, Williams and Clarke, 2016). van Dijk explains that institutionalized mental models refer to socially shared mental representations and knowledge, seen in shared social scripts as well as general opinions, attitudes and ideological systems which organise attitudes (such as sexism and racism) (ibid.). Here, the body

language, word choice and speech patterns of young Black men are attached to the pre-existing institutionalized mental model of Black male gang membership when Kenny states these might be a 'gangster thing'. The detailed performative nature of this recollection, with Kenny drawing on the reported speech and bodily movements of the Black male is revealing of how the performances and embodiments of Black men stand out due to their difference from the norm (Wiggens, 2017, p. 122-125).

The behaviour, embodiment and speech patterns of Black night-time participants were linked to potential deviancy by door staff, who described them as needing to be 'kept an eye on' in their advice to one another. In some cases, Black night-time participants (predominantly young, Black men) are searched prior to entering the nightclub due to differing ways of walking, talking and moving at night. The below provides a few examples which were observed on the door of the 'urban' night at *Altitude*:

> Black night-time participant approaches the nightclub swaggering or 'bowling' → they are interpreted by door staff as having an 'attitude', or in more extreme cases, as carrying drugs, a weapon and/or being part of a 'gang→ door staff generate a conversation with Black night-time participants to test their 'attitude'→Black night-time participant either (1) challenges door staff or (2) succumbs to door staff's authority.

> In case (1) → the night-time participant is 'kept an eye on' and/or searched before entry to the club→ drugs and weapons are not found→ door staff upheld notions of Black deviancy, often stating that they were probably carrying drugs in more concealed places.

> In case (2) → the night-time participant is provided entry to the nightclub→door staff maintain notions of Black deviancy, stating that they will still 'keep an eye' on them.

The body language presented at the door and in the nightclub are interpreted through the white lens of door staff. I argue that some of the core themes of the policeman's working personality (Skolnick, 1966), such as the perception of danger, suspicion and authority, also informed the behaviours and thought processes of door staff. Door staff spoke of the need to

be efficient in making decisions about night-time participants on the door. Toby, Head of door staff at *Altitude*, states:

> You have to make a judgement on that front door and I always say you have 3 seconds to make it, you look at someone and you have 3 seconds before you say something, whether that's you're not coming in or not, you have to make that judgement call. You're there to perform a really brief risk assessment and it doesn't matter who they are really, if you think they're gonna cause trouble then don't let them in, because from our point of view it's much easier to stop the trouble on the front door rather than think you'll take the risk and let them in and then you've got a big fight inside.

> <div align="right">(Toby, Door Staff at Altitude, March 2018)</div>

Decisions to provide night-time participants with access had to be made speedily to keep nightclub queues moving. The literature reveals how door staff describe the door as a crucial place in setting the tone for inside the venue, drawing upon a 'safety first' attitude in their decisions (Hobbs et al., 2003, p. 121). In the quotation above, Toby speaks of a 'brief risk assessment' which is made on the door, similar to Søgaard (2017) who found door staff tested Black night-time participants for their 'attitude'. The sense of danger and suspicion in door staff fuelled racialized distinctions on the door, between the legitimate 'us' (door staff) and the illegitimate 'them' (Black night-time participants) (Augoustinos, 2007). It was at the door that the embodiments, behaviour and performances of Black night-time participants were quickly assessed against institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) of Black deviancy and 'gang' membership. The speed at which these decisions had to take place reinforced 'us' and 'them' distinctions between door staff and night-time participants, particularly when they were Black and male. In some cases, Black night-time participants spoke in local accents in their interactions with door staff, queued outside the nightclub and dressed in similar ways to their white counterparts (with men wearing smart shoes, jeans, a shirt, no headwear and short, cropped hairstyles). These representations of white localness meant that these Black night-time participants were treated with less suspicion by door staff. The next section explores how the style of dress worn by some Black night-time participants was problematised by door staff.

<u>Dress</u>

May and Chaplin (2008) and May (2014) draw attention to the way in which dress codes are used by nightclubs in 'Northeast' in the US to exclude Black night-time participants. Whilst dress codes in Greenshire did not explicitly discriminate against traditionally Black forms of dress, door staff used their interactions with young, Black men to reaffirm heteronormative white ways of dressing at night. Toby and Kenny share:

> It's very popular for males to wear their trousers hanging down below their bum, which is more in Black and minority ethnic groups, so that's kind of the thing now. A lot of people seem to do it don't they I think, but in America I thought in prison that means that you are that way inclined doesn't it, and I point it out to some of them sometimes… and they're like 'nah, nah, it's part of my image', I'm like (rolls eyes) 'okay'.

> (Toby, Door Staff at *Altitude,* March 2018)

> All I see is obviously the lads with their trousers right down, and we all just take, have a little joke with them and say 'do you know what that means in America?' and they'll say 'yes but we're not in America' and we'll say 'yes but we know what it means don't we'. We try have a laugh and joke with them, we'll say guys we know it's your dress code and all that, but the dress code for the venue is smart so pull your trousers up, and number one, I don't get paid enough to see your backside walking about so…

> (Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude,* March 2018)

The door staff at *Altitude* used homophobic 'jokes' with Black night-time participants to reaffirm the attire they would prefer to see night-time participants wearing in the venue. In paying attention to non-verbal communication (Wiggens, 2017, p. 134), Toby rolls his eyes when describing the attire of Black men, demonstrating how their style of dress is out of place in Greenshire. Kenny also reaffirms white, local ways of dressing by telling young Black men that they should be dressed smart with their trousers pulled up. Whilst dress was

not used to exclude any night-time participants on the 'urban' night observed at *Altitude,* door staff reminded Black men to pull their trousers up, restricting access to the nightclub until this had been done. Door staff also explained during their interviews that Black men tend to wear tracksuits to nightclubs. They argued that these are against the nightclub's dress code policy with night-time participants reminded of this at the door. Door staff explained that the Black night-time participant usually replies by outlining the brand and high cost of the tracksuit, appealing to economic forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) to gain access to the club. However, their race masked indicators of economic capital, with door staff drawing upon the dress code policy to deny them access. Whilst research has explored how racialized minorities are policed on 'the door' (Rigakos, 2008, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017), the next section outlines how Black individuals who gained access to the nightclub faced increased surveillance once inside.

Dance

In interview and during the observation of the 'urban' night at *Altitude,* door staff problematised the dance style of Black night-time participants for invading others' personal space. Following the observation, I noted the following in my research diary:

> *A few of the door men took me around the club tonight to show me how Black night-time participants dance. They said that their dancing concerned them as they take up more space when they dance, bumping into each other and getting easily hyped up. They believed the invasion of personal space between night-time participants meant that things were more likely to 'kick off'.*

> *(Diary notes, March 2018)*

On 'urban' nights, the style of dance displayed by night-time participants was different to those performed on weekend nights. Some night-time participants popped, locked and break danced, displaying dance styles which are traditionally associated with hip hop music and culture. Black night-time participants were observed drawing upon these dance styles more regularly, with some white night-time participants also exhibiting similar styles on the dance floor. The following is indicative of how the dance styles of Black night-time participants were interpreted by door staff:

155

Black night-time participants dance in ways that used their full body and/or in large groups → these are interpreted by door staff as Black night-time participants looking to start a fight→those with the most exuberant dance styles are pulled aside by door staff and told to calm down→Black night-time participant either (1) submits to authority of door staff or (2) door staff are challenged by the Black night-time participant→ when challenging door staff, the Black night-time participant is asked to leave the club.

The snippet from the research diary indicates how the dancing of Black night-time participants is noted in terms of its difference (van Dijk, 1992) from the dancing that is usually observed by door staff on the dance floor. This style of dancing is interpreted by door staff as more likely to lead to the escalation of violence inside of the nightclub, due to the physical contact with other night-time participants and the perceived aggressiveness of the dance style. Black night-time participants are told to 'calm down' by door staff, sometimes resulting in challenges from the night-time participant who would tell door staff to leave them alone and stated they were doing nothing wrong. This means that door staff provoke the behaviour of which the Black night-time participants were initially suspected of (Young, cited in Hall et al., 1978, p. 41). Whilst white night-time participants also exhibited styles of dance associated with hip hop culture, these did not indicate the same level of suspicion in door staff. The race of the night-time participant, coupled with their dance style and the numbers of individuals they were dancing with, made them visible to door staff. In some cases, door staff walked through large groups of Black night-time participants popping, locking and displaying UK Drill dance styles (see: DRILLR TV 2018, Chops Daily, 2019, Urban Dictionary, 2019) in an attempt to disperse them. I argue that pre-existing mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) predicated on the idea of Black deviancy inform door staff's interpretation of the dance styles displayed by Black clientele. This section has revealed how forms of embodiment, speech, performances and practices which are not characteristically white and local reinforce an already existing suspicion in door staff regarding young Black night-time participants. The next section uncovers how ideas regarding Black deviancy inform the ways in which 'urban' nights are governed by door staff and venue managers.

<u>Governing 'urban' nights</u>

This section explores how shared ideas around the deviancy of 'urban' nights and Black night-time participants led to hyper-vigilant policing techniques utilised by door staff and venue managers when working these nights.

<u>Door staff</u>

Door staff explained that on 'urban' nights they will search all night-time participants on entry to the venue. Joel, a member of the door team at *Eclectic* and *Outlaws* shared:

> Joel: On an 'urban' night we will search everyone, we have had times in the past where we've not searched someone and they've gone 'well you didn't search him and he's white and you're searching me because I'm Black' so we'll search everyone.

> Interviewer: So do you do that to avoid those accusations?

> Joel: Not just that, we've had a lot of knife incidents from that night and drug issues, so everyone has to be searched. I don't want to sound racist but it is more aggressive.

> (Joel, Door Staff at *Outlaws* and *Eclectic*, April 2018)

Here, Joel shows the hyper-vigilant approach of door teams when working 'urban' nights, with everyone searched on the door. Comparatively, on the weekend nights observed, approximately ten percent of night-time participants were searched. Joel refers to the external reality (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127) of previous 'urban' nights, which have generated higher levels of knife related incidents and drug issues. In doing this, the increased search procedures on 'urban' nights become part of good policing practice, rather than the way in which the Black night-time participant (usually young, Black and male) is fixed by the gaze of door staff (Puwar, 2004). Puwar argues that the Black body is:

> burdened by the claims Black bodies can make on the world. In contrast, a white body is much more likely to be automatically accepted; their right to enter and exist is not an issue in quite the same way (2004, p. 42).

The intense search procedures of night-time participants on 'urban' nights (who are more likely to be Black) is therefore legitimised against what is perceived as the real threat of knife crime and drugs. Kenny, door staff at *Altitude* shared that he wore a stab proof vest on 'urban' nights and explained that he would provide me with one to be worn during my observations. Kenny reveals:

> Kenny: Look 10 years ago I never wore a stab proof vest, for the last four years, every 'urban' night I wear one. I had to invest in one.
>
> Interviewer: Really? Was someone stabbed on a previous 'urban' night?
>
> Kenny: No, we've never had anyone stabbed, but it's a precaution… To be fair I'll try wear them most nights now, you can never be too safe.

> (Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March 2018)

Kenny also displays increased hypervigilance in his approach to working 'urban' nights, sharing that he has begun to wear stab proof vests when working this night. Whilst there had been no stabbings on 'urban' nights in Greenshire, I became aware throughout the fieldwork that a stabbing had taken place on a weekend night at a nightclub in Forsham. This incident was not referred to in interviews with door staff who did not display the same levels of hypervigilance when working weekend nights. This approach is revealing of how Black night-time participants, particularly those from London, continue to be interpreted as weapon carriers (Fatsis, 2018, Fatsis, 2019). Interestingly, during my observations of the 'urban' night, I was not provided with a stab proof vest and I did not witness any door staff wearing a stab proof vest. The next section explores how venue managers also governed 'urban' nights in particular ways which differed from the techniques observed on weekend nights.

Venue managers

Throughout the fieldwork, venue managers spoke of the tension between white locals and Black night-time participants from London, a theme outlined in the previous chapter. This

resulted in Jason, the venue manager at *Altitude,* segregating large numbers of Black night-time participants to 'urban' nights. Jason, the venue manager at *Altitude* reveals:

> Jason: There will be times where we'll knock back people and won't tell them why but we'll know what the reason is in our heads, you know four army lads, I'm gonna knock them back because, I'm not gonna tell them 'sorry lads I'll knock you back because you're in the army' but I will turn around and say 'not tonight lads' because you think that could be a clash. Same as if we had a student night on a Tuesday, it's all 18, 19 year olds from the university and then we might get four Black guys turn up from the city, they will get knocked back, the reason is we don't want the different, you know, the clash, we turn around and say 'lads, you wanna come to the urban night tomorrow, what are you doing, it's the wrong night tonight'.

> Interviewer: You know you said more Black people come to 'urban' nights, would you potentially go to 10 white local guys that were trying to get in 'actually, nah, this isn't going to work?'

> Jason: nah, nah, nah, nah. They'd be fine, we'd let them in, it just depends on who they are, you'll see it tonight, there's a load of white people that come to the event, you have to know the people, yeah, you have to think 'I've seen these people before'.

> (Jason, Venue Manager at *Altitude,* April 2018)

In this quotation, Jason shows a responsibility for governing the safety of the venue. Jason speaks of the 'clash' that Black men from London, as well as 'army lads', present to the ambience inside the night-time venue. In doing this, Jason draws from the notion that inter-racial interaction is problematic, issuing Black night-time participants from London with reminders to attend on 'urban' nights. The ways in which access to the nightclub is also informed by class is indicated when Jason speaks of denying entry to 'army lads'. The literature has highlighted how white working class groups, such as 'chavs' in the UK (Hayward and Yar, 2006) and 'white trash' in the US (Hartigan, 1997, Webster, 2008) suffer stereotypes and social exclusion. This is indicative of what Webster (2008) calls a 'hierarchy of whiteness', where some whites are seen as 'less white' than others. Through observations, I became aware of informal door practices, supported by venue managers, where night-time

participants are more likely to be denied access for the following: being Black, having Northern accents, appearing to be labourers (noted by door staff primarily through scruffy attire and dirty hands) and being in the army.

Black night-time participants, 'squaddies' and those with Northern accents are problematised for coming from outside of Greenshire. Night-time participants were read by door staff at the door for their 'outsiderness', something which was either made explicit through their race, or was noted in conversations with door staff who paid attention to the night-time participants accent. In some instances, door staff asked for the IDs of night-time participants to check their home addresses. There is a persistent belief in both venue managers and door staff that those from outside of Greenshire are attending night-time venues to cause trouble. A snippet from my research diary reads:

> *There seemed to be a belief amongst venue managers and door staff that Black guys from the city, army men and labourers from the North were coming out in Greenshire at night to cause trouble and then flee the area. The idea that individuals were purposely coming from outside of the area to cause trouble was something which consistently cropped up in conversations with venue managers and door staff tonight.*

> *(Diary notes, March 2018)*

Access to night-time venues is therefore informed by ideas of race and class, as well as ideas of place and belonging. Bauman has outlined how a sense of community is integral to a sense of security (cited in Clarke and Garner, 2010, p. 169), with Clarke and Garner defining community as 'a shared vision, values and responsibility, which fosters a sense of belonging and trust' (2010, p. 169). I argue that the risk-averse nature of venue managers and door staff means that they actively try to create a sense of familiarity and cohesion inside the nightclub, with fear projected onto those seen as a threat to community (ibid.). Clarke and Garner write:

> A key element of community is also the familiarity that goes with it, not just with the people, but also with the local geography, affording a certain sense of ownership of the terrain and creating a feeling of safety (Clarke and Garner, 2010, p. 174).

These night-time participants are problematised by venue managers for not being familiar with how nightlife operates in Greenshire and were seen as a threat because they did not know the venue or the locals inside. The night-time literature has also revealed the hyper masculine characteristics associated with door work, such as toughness and 'muscle' (Monaghan, 2002, Hobbs et al., 2003). Some Black men, labourers and 'squaddies' appeared much more muscular than some door staff and their bodies were read in terms of the potential threat they presented to those inside the venue, as well as those that work there. Whilst Black women were subjected to the same intensive searches on the door at 'urban' nights, they were not explicitly problematised in conversations with door staff or venue managers. Their gender meant that they were less likely to be read as a threat or attached to pre-existing mental models of the male gang member. In a few instances, door staff and venue managers called upon street pastors or friends to deal with their drunkenness, interpreting their behaviour in terms of their vulnerability.

This section reveals that there are particular rites of passage that night-time participants either had, or in some cases, could present themselves to have, which increased their ability to access night-time venues in Greenshire. Whiteness generated feelings of familiarity in venue managers and door staff, with Jason summarising this through feelings of having had 'seen them before'. Speaking in a Southern accent, dressing smartly and appearing non-threatening in both physique and body language also aided access to night-time venues in Greenshire, due to these fostering feelings of familiarity and consequentially, belonging. The whiteness and non-metropolitan nature of Greenshire means that night-time participants are assessed for their sameness and familiarity by venue managers who support informal door practices which exclude those from outside of Greenshire.

'The race card': Black night-time participants as illegitimate complainants

The above has demonstrated how Black night-time participants (particularly young Black men) experience heightened levels of policing at night in Greenshire. Despite the examples of racist policing practices described above, when Black night-time participants complained of racism at night, door staff delegitimised these complaints. Black night-time participants were described by door staff, venue managers and police officers throughout the fieldwork as 'using the race card'. Josh, a member of door staff at *The Kings Arms,* and Toby, a member of door staff at *Altitude* explains:

Every night without fail 'it's because I'm Black, isn't it?' you're like 'yeah ok', it's because you're white and they're Black and they're getting chucked out of a nightclub, it's only natural they're going to throw that out and call you a racist and shit like that.

(Josh, Door Staff at *The Kings Arms*, April 2018)

If someone is thrown out or refused entry from a club then it's 'oh are you not letting us in because I'm Black?' you're like 'no, you're the only person that has pulled that up, no one else has pulled that up, you're the only person', I always say to people 'it's boring, it's not the 80s anymore mate, the racism isn't alive and kicking like it was then, people don't care you know, the only people that care about your skin colour is you because you're using it as an excuse, you're being thrown out because you're drunk and you get 'nah, nah, it's because I'm Black and you're racist'.

(Toby, Door Staff at *Altitude,* March 2018)

These quotations are indicative of how the denial of racism (van Dijk, 1992, Augoustinos, 2007), operated 'on the ground' at night, with door staff constructing complaints by Black night-time participants as attempts to 'save face' when being thrown out of a nightclub or refused entry at the door. The denial and historicising of racism are themes which were explored in Chapter Four and the quotation above reveals how Toby draws upon a post-race discourse (Nayak, 2006, Tate, 2016) in his interactions with Black night-time participants at the door. Toby explains that he will tell Black night-time participants 'it's not the 80s anymore mate, racism isn't alive and kicking like it was then'. Doing this denies the importance of the Black night-time participants race, with Toby reminding them that the reason they are being thrown out is because they are drunk. Being thrown out of a nightclub or refused entry at the door are therefore presented as separate issues which racism cannot influence (Capdevila and Collaghan, 2008). Door staff also described being at 'full capacity' to deny participants entry at the door, with the most common response for the denial of entry or throwing someone out of the nightclub being, 'I don't have to give you a reason'. By referring to the 'race card', the complaints of Black night-time participants are discounted, 'reflecting a widespread assumption that Blacks, unlike whites, cannot be objective on racial

162

issues and will favour their own no matter what' (Bell, cited in Capdevila and Collaghan, 2008, p. 5).

Through observations, I noted how door staff provided a leeway to some white local night-time participants. After an observation on a weekend night, I noted the following in my research diary:

> *Two white men were kicked out of a nightclub tonight for smuggling in cocaine. They complained to door staff saying that they just wanted a bit of fun and if they chucked it in the bin could they come back in the club. Door staff explained to them that they wouldn't be allowed back in the club but if they were to return in future to make sure they weren't carrying drugs on them.*

> *(Diary notes, March 2018)*

In this incident, the two men attempt to build sympathy in door staff to negotiate continued access to the nightclub. Despite their criminal activity, they are reminded of the no drug policy by door staff who then speak about their future access to the nightclub. This same leeway was not observed in interactions with Black night-time participants. In these incidents, some Black individuals questioned whether their exclusion from the nightclub was informed by their race. This resulted in anger, frustration and defensiveness in door staff and venue managers, who explained that Black individuals use 'the race card' when they are denied access or asked to leave a nightclub. In referring to 'the race card', Black night-time participants are depicted as oversensitive, exaggerating and 'seeing racism where there is none' (van Dijk, 1992, p.91). In some instances, this resulted in reversal techniques used by door staff whereby they laughed off accusations of racism by joking that Black night-time participants were being discriminatory towards them. Kenny, a door man at *Altitude* reveals:

> They just play the race card and that's happened to me, where I kick guys out and they say 'you're doing it because I'm Black' and I say 'nah you're kicking off because I'm ginger', at the end of the day, I don't care where anyone is from, I don't care what colour they are, if you've done something wrong and you've got to leave it is as simple as that. As soon as they say it, it does bug me, I think hold on a minute

mate, it's not what colour you are, or where you work or where you're from, its you've done something wrong so you have to leave.

(Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March 2018)

In the above quotation, Kenny reverses the charge of racism by joking with Black night-time participants that they are being discriminatory towards him because of his hair colour. Kenny denies the importance of the Black night-time participants race in stating 'I don't care where anyone is from, I don't care what colour they are'. Kenny draws upon the behaviour of the Black night-time participant to remind them that they are being thrown out of the nightclub because of their actions and not their race. However, the above sections have indicated how forms of acceptability and belonging at night in Greenshire are inextricably tied up with practices, performances, behaviour and embodiments which are white and local.

The next section reveals how complaints of racism are pre-empted by door staff, who employ the language of the public police and refer to the diversity of their door teams to present themselves as not racist.

Managing racial accusations on the door: 'covering your arse' continued

Door staff shared that they used a number of techniques to mitigate accusations of racism at night. An increased number of Black or minority ethnic door staff were called upon by venue managers and head door staff to work 'urban' nights. An unwritten rule also existed between door staff that Black or minority ethnic door staff should eject Black night-time participants from the nightclub if necessary and possible. Studies have found that race and ethnicity are forms of 'methodological capital' (Gallagher, cited in Gunaratnam, 2003, p. 64), in the research relationship, helping researchers to build rapport, cooperation and trust with ethnic minority participants. In a similar vein, door staff believed that the 'Otherness' of door staff, presented through their race, ethnicity or nationality, was more likely to reduce accusations of racism.

Door staff also drew upon the language of the public police in their descriptions of Black individuals. The use of identity codes (referred to as 'IC' codes or the 6+1 categories) have been used historically by the public police to describe the perceived ethnicity of an individual

(National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC), 2002). IC codes contain a list of six possible races and ethnicities, plus another consisting of an 'unknown' category. Media stories have criticised the use of IC codes, stating these are most commonly drawn upon by the public police in their descriptions of Black individuals (Kirk, 2017). Joel shares that door staff also use IC codes in their descriptions of Black individuals at night. He states:

> Joel: We'll think 'right this IC3 male needs to be kicked out so it would be better if a doorman who was an IC3 kicked him out'. Absolutely we do that. We do that a lot, especially on urban nights, we will have more IC3s as door men that come and work that night.

> Interviewer: what do you mean by IC3?

> Joel: an IC3 is Caribbean, African race. An IC1 is white. We use codes as we can describe them better without avoiding accusations. If you're on the radio and someone's next to you and you say 'that Black guy' then they get offended but with these codes they have no idea what you are talking about. The police use the same codes too.

> (Joel, Door Staff at *Eclectic* and *Outlaws,* April 2018)

Here, Joel reveals how the language of race employed by the public police is commonplace amongst door staff, who use IC codes to describe racialized minorities at night. In paying attention to Joel's pattern of talk (Augoustinos, 2007, Wiggens, 2017), he initially refers to Black individuals as 'IC3s'. Once he is asked to explain what this means, Joel makes a comparison between Black individuals as 'IC3s' and white individuals as 'IC1s'. Joel then outlines how IC codes are primarily drawn upon in door staff's descriptions of Black individuals, aiding in avoiding accusations of racism. By employing the language of the public police, Joel reveals how door staff and the public police share a social script (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99). This social script is indicative of door staffs' self-identification with the public police in the policing of racialized individuals at night. Paltridge argues that language often signifies shared ideologies, activities and beliefs:

language is both a shared and local practice, and the meanings that are made through the use of language are based in the ideologies, activities and beliefs of what it means to be in a particular place, at a particular time and in a particular setting (Paltridge, 2006, p. 18).

Police stories of previous 'urban' nights, and the interpretation of Black cultural forms of embodiment, performances and behaviours are indicative of a shared belief between police officers, door staff and venue managers, who interpret 'urban' nights and the Black individuals that attend them in terms of their difference, deviance and threat (van Dijk, 1992). This shared belief legitimises the hyper-vigilant policing of 'urban' nights displayed by door staff and venue managers. Drawing upon historical police practices, such as the use of 'IC codes', also means that door staff are able to protect themselves from accusations of racism whilst using night-time radios. Some of the night-time literature has evidenced how night-time radios fuel exclusion at night (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, Rigakos, 2008). This finding extends upon this literature to reveal how the language of the public police is employed by door staff on night-time radio systems used to communicate with other private police (venue managers and CCTV operators). Toby, head of the door team at *Altitude,* draws attention to his 'multicultural door team' when Black night-time participants raise racial accusations at the door. Toby shares:

> You'll be stood there and you'll show them. The door team at Altitude consist of door men who are Polish, Romanian, Nigerian and South African. It's a very multicultural door team and you'll point that out to them but if you're throwing them out or refusing them service then you're racist.

> (Toby, Door Staff at *Altitude*, March 2018)

This quotation reveals how the visible diversity of the door team, here presented primarily through the differing ethnicity and nationality of door staff, is drawn upon by Toby in racial accusations raised at the door. The visible diversity of the door team is used as evidence that the practices employed by door staff are not racist. Despite the differing ethnicities and nationalities of door staff, this chapter demonstrates how 'urban' nights experience hyper-vigilant policing techniques which are upheld by door staff irrespective of their race, ethnicity or nationality. I recall informal conversations with door staff of differing races,

ethnicities and nationalities who described Black night-time participants in terms of their 'attitude' and problematic dance styles, as well as their potential criminality (linking them to the racialized stereotype of the 'gang', weapon carrier and drug dealer). I argue that these door staff therefore adhere to 'whiteliness' (Reddy, 1998), sharing a social and political view akin to the white, local door staff that they work alongside. Reddy argues

> learning 'whiteliness' is how various immigrant groups, initially defined as 'other' by the white majority… become white. Whiteliness is learned and can therefore be unlearned, it can be engaged in by people who are not white and rejected by those who are (Reddy, 1998, p. 1).

Conclusion

This chapter argues that the noting of 'urban' nights is revealing of the presence of a white, local lens through which night-time events, and night-time participants are interpreted. Black night-time participants from London stand out from the white backdrop of Greenshire's nightlife not only due to their race but also due to cultural differences in dress, dance style, word choice, speech patterns and body language. In addition, the differing temporal rhythms of London, with night-time venues open late and fast food restaurants open twenty-four hours, mean that Black night-time participants from London are constructed as having expectations of nightlife which are better placed to the metropolitan contexts in which they have travelled from. I argue that door staff produce white, local cultural modes of acceptability at the door and in the nightclub, reminding Black night-time participants to 'pull their trousers up', whilst walking through large groups of Black individuals dancing in an attempt to disperse them. 'Urban' nights differ from the white, local cultural norm due to the music played and the presence of large numbers of Black night-time participants from London. This results in hyper-vigilant policing techniques, utilised by both door staff and venue managers, and are evidence of the perceived threat that race poses to Greenshire's nightlife. 'Urban' nights experience heightened numbers of door staff, particularly those who are not white and British, an increased number of searches at the door and the presence of door staff inside the night-time venue. On these nights, door staff anticipate racial accusations from Black night-time participants and seek to 'cover their arse' through the presence of multicultural door teams. Finally, the use of 'IC codes' (NPCC, 2002) are used by door staff in their communications on night-time radios with other private policers to save them from

accusations of racism. I argue that the adoption of the language of the public police by the private police is indicative of a self-identification with the police in policing racialized minorities at night in Greenshire.

Chapter 7. 'They just are a problem': the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers at night

<u>Introduction</u>

This study seeks to deconstruct narrow constructions of whiteness and pay attention to how the privileges of whiteness do not benefit all white individuals (Bhopal, 2018). In relation to objectives 3 and 4, this chapter explores how Gypsy and Traveller groups are 'not white enough' (Bhopal, 2018, p. 29), resulting in their exclusion from night-time venues in Forsham. This chapter will go on to explore how Gypsy and Travellers are excluded through a historical policing practice known as 'no no-ing'. In completing objective 5, this chapter examines how the public police draw upon police intelligence and crime reports to advise venue managers of 'recommended no nos'. The use of night-time radio systems and CCTV cameras by the private police to monitor the whereabouts of Gypsy and Traveller individuals and exclude them on 'the door' is also uncovered in relation to objective 3. This chapter will consider how racism towards Gypsy and Travellers is acknowledged by the public police and argues that this is little more than positive self-representation (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129). The public police respond to complaints of racism from Gypsy and Travellers at night by defending and legitimising the actions of the private police, as well as drawing upon the behaviour of Gypsy and Travellers to blame them for their exclusion. This chapter argues that the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from nightlife is framed as 'good policing practice' and central to the reproduction of social order at night. How ideas of 'order' are constructed, and who these benefit in terms of their access and experiences at night, is considered.

<u>Setting the scene</u>

I became aware of the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller groups from night-time venues in Forsham early on in the fieldwork following an interview with a venue manager. The following snippet from my research diary was written after an interview with Caleb, the venue manager at *Teasers*:

> *I interviewed Caleb tonight. He told me that Gypsy and Travellers are 'no nos' and that they will be refused entry to nightclubs and bars in Forsham because they are a problem. I asked him what problems they presented and he said primarily fighting,*

refusing to listen to door staff and himself and sexually assaulting female dancers in the club.

(Diary notes, March 2018)

This chapter reveals how the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers is constructed as a necessary part of the reproduction of social order at night by the private and public police. This chapter is primarily based upon interviews with, and observations of, the public and private police in Forsham. This is not to say that the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers did not occur in other areas of Greenshire. Door staff, venue managers, licensing officers and police officers responsible for policing the night in other areas of Greenshire also problematised the presence of Gypsy and Travellers at night. These insights have also informed this chapter.

Whilst Chapter Five outlines how Gypsy and Travellers face discrimination through licensing practices, this chapter explores how the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers works 'on the ground' at night. I outline how historical public police practices are used by the private police to exclude Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues. I reveal how door staff, venue managers and CCTV operators work together, using radio systems and CCTV cameras to ensure that Gypsy and Travellers do not gain entry to night-time venues on the main high street in Forsham. In comparison to denials of racism which are present in the police rhetoric regarding the governance of Black individuals at night, the public police acknowledge the racist practices of door staff and venue managers in excluding Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues in Forsham. Whilst racism is recognised, the public police show support for the actions of the private police, drawing upon the external reality of Gypsy and Traveller behaviour (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127) to construct them as problematic to the social order at night. Police officers also construct themselves as unable to challenge the private operating practices of licensed premises and the staff that work there, irrespective of their diversity training which outlines that the Equality Act (2010) seeks to protect individuals from race discrimination (as outlined in Chapter Four). This chapter draws upon the following methods to explore the normative exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers at night:

- **Interviews.** I conducted semi-structured interviews with police, police licensing officers, venue managers and street pastors throughout my fieldwork. I draw upon these interviews to reveal how the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller individuals at night in Forsham is an ordinary part of policing the night-time scene. I reveal how

some police officers and street pastors identify the treatment of Gypsy and Travellers at night as racism.

- **Night-time economy meetings.** I attended and observed two night-time economy meetings. These were attended by police officers, police licensing officers, licence holders, venue managers, bar staff, taxi drivers and street pastors. I reflect upon discussions had in these meetings which reveal the continued ambiguous racial status of Gypsy and Travellers.

- **The diversity training.** I draw upon observations of the police diversity training to reveal how police officers are made aware of the racial status of Gypsy and Travellers and are reminded of their protection from racial discrimination under the Equality Act (2010).

- **Observations.** I conducted observations alongside door staff, venue managers, volunteering paramedics, police licensing officers and police officers at night. I explore the public polices response to complaints of racism from Gypsy and Travellers. I reveal how the public police show support for the exclusionary actions of the private police, indicative of a solidarity between the public and private police in policing Gypsy and Traveller groups at night in Forsham.

- **Informal conversations.** Throughout the fieldwork I had informal conversations with street pastors, venue managers, police licensing officers, local authority licensing officers and police officers. I draw upon these conversations to explore how Gypsy and Travellers are discussed and understood outside of formal settings.

Gypsy and Travellers and the language of race, ethnicity and culture

Before going on to discuss my research findings, I want to remind the reader of my key terms and how these relate to Gypsy and Travellers. Race, ethnicity and culture are concepts that are often interpreted in various and contradictory ways (Gindro and Moore, 2003). Generally, 'race' is used to refer to the biological and the physical, whilst ethnicity refers to cultural difference (Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p.12). Ethnicity is often used as a synonym for culture, with culture referring to the shared customs, values and beliefs which characterise a social group which are passed down from generation to generation (Gindro and Moore, 2003). This thesis is concerned with the social construction of 'race' and 'ethnicity' and how these create boundaries between and around individuals (ibid.). As stated in the introduction, the

identification of the racial status of Gypsy and Travellers is slowly increasing, in an academic and institutional context at least, with this reflected in laws such as the Equality Act (2010) and police diversity training in some police forces. However, Gypsy and Travellers have an ambiguous racial status due to their whiteness. This chapter deconstructs whiteness by revealing how 'hierarchies of whiteness' (Webster, 2008, p. 295) result in Gypsy and Travellers not being 'white enough' (Bhopal, 2018, p. 29) to access and experience the main night-time high street in Forsham.

The term 'Gypsy and Traveller'[6] is used to describe English Romany Gypsies, Irish, Scottish and Welsh travellers, bargees, travelling show people and New Age Travellers. The diversity of individuals that are considered under the term is indicative of the nuances and complexities in the 'Gypsy and Traveller' identity (ibid.). I therefore refer to the process of racialization as this reveals the ways in which particular ethnic or racial identities are ascribed to a range of different individuals at particular moments in time. In using this term, I draw attention to the process in which Gypsy and Travellers become racialised, rather than writing about 'race' or 'ethnicity' as fixed entities (Murji and Solomos, 2005). In this chapter, I pay attention to how ideas of race, ethnicity and culture are intertwined in my research participants' understandings of Gypsy and Travellers and in their policing practices at night.

Racism, discrimination and prejudice

The negative treatment of Gypsy and Travellers is commonly referred to as 'discrimination' or 'prejudice' (Goodman and Rowe, 2014). The term 'discrimination' is often used to refer to actions which disproportionately impact a group (Braham, 2003), whilst 'prejudice' is used to refer to beliefs, thoughts, feelings or attitudes that someone holds about a group (Murji, 2003). As I will demonstrate later, the use of the term 'discrimination' and not 'racism' to describe practices which disadvantage Gypsy and Traveller groups is inevitably influenced by the racialization of Gypsy and Travellers as white. I remind the reader of the definition of racism that I am using in my thesis:

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[6] I recognise the problems with using an all-encompassing term to describe a diverse ethnic group. This term encompasses a variety of groups such as: Irish, English, Welsh and Scottish travellers, as well as Bargees, Showmen and women and New Age Travellers. Those from English Romany backgrounds are also included in this term. This mirrors a range of academic work which has also referred to 'Gypsy and Travellers' (James, 2007, Brown and Scullion, 2009, Bhopal, 2011, Garner, 2017, Bhopal, 2018).

whereas racism is often reduced to racist ideology, it is here understood as a complex societal system of ethnically or 'racially' based domination and its resulting inequality (van Dijk, 1993b, p.145).

Racism consists of a social and cognitive subsystem. The social subsystem is constituted by social practices and discrimination at local level. This includes relationships of power abuse by dominant groups, organisations and institutions. The cognitive subsystem is described as the mental basis of discriminatory practices which consist of biased models of racial/ethnic events and interactions (ibid.). I argue that racism informs both prejudice and discrimination. In this chapter, I use the term racism to reveal how understandings of Gypsy and Travellers, and their exclusion from nightlife, can be categorised as such.

<u>Gypsy and Travellers in the UK and Greenshire</u>

There is no accurate account of how Gypsy and Travellers came to the UK, however, their presence can be cited as far back to 1500 years ago (Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p.30). Gypsy and Traveller groups include those from a diverse range of communities, and more recently, New Age Travellers, who do not have ethnic roots but have chosen to live a nomadic and travelling lifestyle (Bhopal, 2018, Chapter Three). In 2011, (the time of the last census), 58,000 individuals in England and Wales identified themselves as Gypsy or Irish Traveller. Research evidences how Gypsy and Travellers face the lowest levels of educational attainment, poor health compared to other ethnic groups, are more likely to suffer with poor mental health and are over-represented in the prison population. In 2013/14, 4% of the prison population were Gypsy, Romany or Traveller compared to 0.1% of the census population in 2011. Media representations of Gypsy and Travellers continue to fuel racism, with Gypsy and Travellers either represented as an underclass unable to abide by the law, or as associated with a level of extravagance that equates to bad taste (ibid.).

Greenshire is a primarily white British county, with Gypsy and Travellers accounting for a little under one percent of the total county population. Originally, Gypsy and Travellers were first noted in Greenshire for providing temporary labour on farms before traditional farm work disappeared following the Second World War. Gypsy and Travellers settled in Greenshire following the decline in work, with many moving from caravans and trailers into

houses. In Greenshire, 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' forms of whiteness are apparent (Bhopal, 2018). As Bhopal states:

> a particular kind of whiteness is privileged and protected…. whiteness attributed to Gypsy and Traveller communities is a form of *non-acceptable* whiteness, which does not have the same status or privilege accorded to those from white middle-class backgrounds (Bhopal, 2018, pp. 29-30).

Acceptable whiteness is defined by conforming to society's expectations, being a good citizen by paying taxes, with language, dress, education and taste used to distinguish one group from another. Gypsy and Travellers are interpreted as not adhering to these codes of conduct and are therefore representative of an 'unacceptable whiteness' (ibid.). In Greenshire, derogatory terms such as 'pikey' are commonly used to refer to Gypsy and Traveller individuals and demonstrate one way in which Gypsy and Travellers present non-acceptable whiteness. Media reports in Greenshire have also highlighted the continued discrimination Gypsy and Travellers face with regards to their settlement, finding employment and the bullying of Gypsy and Travellers children in school. Whilst Gypsy and Travellers have a white ethnic identity then, they do not have access to the same advantages associated with acceptable whiteness and continue to be on the margins in all areas of society (Bhopal, 2018). As Holloway states:

> Gypsies have an ambiguous relationship to whiteness – on the one hand they are not necessarily a visible minority which is easily distinguishable from the rest of the population, on the other, boundaries of whiteness are not always embracing of this group (Holloway, 2005, p. 353).

The Gypsy and Traveller as the stranger

Drawing upon the work of Bhopal and Myers (2008), I argue that Gypsy and Travellers can be understood in relation to Simmel's concept of the stranger. Simmel writes, 'the stranger … is not… the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather, is a person who comes today and stays tomorrow' (Simmel, in Wolff, 1950, p. 402). I argue that the Black night-time participant is an individual 'who comes today and goes tomorrow', shown in the number of individuals who either travel back to London following a night out or the

university campuses which act as a temporary residence for some of the year. Gypsy and Travellers differ from the Black night-time participant as they reside in Greenshire and present an 'identifiable enemy within' (Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p. 71). Gypsy and Travellers are not perceived as 'exotic new arrivals', as their whiteness provides a sense of familiarity in Greenshire that people of colour cannot provide (Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p. 80). Martin, a white police officer from Forsham explains how he does not necessarily perceive Gypsy and Travellers as distinctively different from him:

> Traditionally from school and all the way through you talk about race as in Black and minority ethnic, you would almost always be talking about people of different skin colour. The Traveller and Gypsy community, for me, they're still, this is my own personal feeling, they're still the same ethnicity as myself but they have a different lifestyle, that's how I see it.

(Martin, Police Officer, February 2018)

This quotation demonstrates how the terms race and ethnicity are used interchangeably, with Martin stating that he is of the same 'ethnicity' as Gypsy and Travellers. The whiteness of Gypsy and Traveller individuals initially creates a sense of familiarity to the normative white resident. However, cultural differences result in distinctions between 'us' (the white, local) and 'them' (Gypsy and Travellers). The police diversity training paid attention to how the behaviour of Gypsy and Travellers is distinctively different to the societal norm. The presentation given by the GLO explained that Gypsy and Travellers differed in their relationship to education and schooling, relationships and marriage, male and female roles and death. Differences in the way in which Gypsy and Travellers converse, particularly with those in authority, was also problematised throughout the fieldwork. During an informal conversation with a volunteering paramedic, she explained how Gypsy and Travellers differed in their interactions with her:

> *Katherine explained that the main group they have problems in dealing with at night is travellers. She said when one hurts themselves, the whole group gathers around, talking over each other and talking over her when she is trying to speak with the injured person. She said the men are ridiculously protective of traveller women when they hurt themselves and push her to get information on what is going on. Katherine*

said this makes it hard to deal with the incident in the moment as she has little time to think.

In a similar vein to Black night-time participants from London (see Chapter Six), Gypsy and Travellers are also problematised for congregating in large groups and speaking over those in authority. Gypsy and Traveller men are portrayed as over-protective of Gypsy and Traveller women. Anthony, a police officer in Forsham, explained the language and dress of Gypsy and Travellers differed from the norm. Anthony shares:

Interviewer: How are Gypsy and Travellers identified then?

Anthony: Normally it's when they approach a club but working around here you can recognise travellers, they do have their own dress code and if they speak, they do have their own sort of language, certain words. It's easy to pick up and realise they're from the traveller background but generally it's when they've approached the club a lot of clubs will go (holds his hand out to signify 'stop'). You can see from the dress sometimes but generally it's the language used…

Interviewer: So how does a traveller dress differently?

Anthony: Generally, you can see, if someone's there when you visit the traveller sites, you can tell if they're living there or if they're a visitor, if you deal with them a lot so you recognise their dress…

(Anthony, Police Officer, February 2018)

Whilst the whiteness of Gypsy and Travellers produces a familiarity with other white locals, Gypsy and Travellers stand out from the norm in numerous ways. Katherine outlines that Gypsy and Travellers congregate in large groups, speak over her and consequentially fail to listen. Gypsy and Traveller men are also depicted as taking an overly protective stance of Gypsy and Traveller women. Anthony reveals how the dress and language of Gypsy and Travellers differ, stating that it is easy to identify an individual's Gypsy and Traveller

heritage due to these cultural signifiers. Interestingly, when asked how travellers dress differently, Anthony does not provide a definitive response and states that his persistent dealings with them means he can easily pick up on their Gypsy and Traveller identity. Gypsy and Travellers are therefore similar, in their whiteness and residency in Greenshire, and different, through cultural signifiers such as their dress, language, interaction with authority and movement and congregation in large groups. This means that Gypsy and Travellers are 'not white enough' (Bhopal, 2018, p. 29), and their difference is depicted in ways which are revealing of the desired night-time participant. The desired night-time participant moves in smaller groups or pairs, does not speak over authority, does not adhere to strict gender roles, speaks in plain English and dresses in a particular way. Bauman writes:

> If strangers are the people who do not fit the cognitive, moral or aesthetic map of the world… by their sheer presence, if they, therefore, make obscure what ought to be transparent, confuse what ought to be a straightforward recipe for action, and/or prevent the satisfaction from being fully satisfying, pollute the joy with anxiety… if, in other words, they befog and eclipse the boundary lines which ought to be seen, if, having done all this they gestate uncertainty, which in turn breeds the discomfort of feeling lost – then each society produces strangers (Bauman, 2015, p. 46).

Bauman argues that there are two strategies used in dealing with the stranger, firstly, assimilation, making the different similar by forbidding all traditions which do not conform to order. The second strategy is anthropoemic, which means the vomiting of strangers from the orderly world. This is a strategy of exclusion, leading to confining or expelling strangers, and when neither of these options are available, destroying them physically (Bauman, 2015, pp. 47-48). Chapter Five reveals how strategies of containment (Mulcahy, 2011) are used in licensing practices to ensure Gypsy and Travellers remain in rural 'traveller pubs' and do not encroach on the territory of local residents. In the next section, I demonstrate how the public and private police take an anthropoemic stance (Bauman, 2015) to Gypsy and Travellers, denying them access on the door of night-time venues in Forsham. I explore how surveillance and historical policing practices are used to displace (Mulcahy, 2011) Gypsy and Travellers from the main high streets in Forsham.

Gypsy and Travellers as 'no nos' and collaboration between the public and private police

In this section I introduce 'no no-ing', a police practice used to exclude night-time participants from night-time venues in Greenshire. Early on in the fieldwork, I became aware of night-time participants being referred to as 'no nos'. Descriptions of night-time participants/groups are provided via radio systems used in communications between the private police at numerous night-time venues. On hearing the description of the night-time participant/s and the directive 'recommended no no', this would usually lead to the exclusion of the night-time participant/s from all venues in the main high street in Forsham. Karen, a street pastor in Forsham, shares that Gypsy and Travellers are commonly referred to as 'no nos':

> They're 'no nos', they're referred to as 'no nos'. They never cite the reason of race and ethnicity, it's usually due to intoxication or having false ID. It's quite subtle but it is there, door staff will say that there is a group of Travellers in town and we need to be a bit more 'on watch' in case they cause trouble. Now I don't think that would have been the case with just a group of anybody, to 'watch out'.

> (Karen, Street Pastor, March 2018)

Recently, the Traveller Movement has revealed that Gypsy and Travellers are frequently denied access to restaurants, pubs and bars across the UK due to instruction from the public police (The Traveller Movement, 2018, p. 11). This quotation from Karen reveals how the practice of 'no no-ing' Gypsy and Travellers is upheld on the ground by the private police. The private police appeal to the external reality of Gypsy and Traveller behaviour (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127), described by Karen as intoxication or the use of false ID, in their reason for 'no no-ing' this ethnic group. This means that this policing practice is presented as having little to do with race and ethnicity. At the same time, Gypsy and Traveller behaviour, (despite the differing and complex heritage of individuals that make up this ethnic group which was described earlier), is essentialised and used to support the surveillance of this ethnic group on the main high street in Forsham.

Nightlife in Forsham is increasingly policed by the private police, particularly door staff, venue managers, volunteering paramedics, CCTV operators and street pastors. There has

been a stark decline in the number of police officers patrolling the night-time high street, from a minimum of twelve police officers deployed to the high street a decade ago, compared to some weekends during the fieldwork when only private police were observed. Despite this decline, public police briefings are used to inform the exclusionary actions of the private police 'on the ground'. I became aware through the fieldwork that the 'no no-ing' of Gypsy and Travellers is a long established policing practice which is used to refuse them access on the door of night-time venues in Forsham. Whilst the presence of police officers on the street is low in Greenshire, the public police will telephone the private police to advise them of recommended 'no nos'. Alex, a police sergeant with ten years' experience of policing the night-time high street in Forsham reveals:

> We will do anyone causing trouble in the night-time economy. Say you go out, you drink and get into a fight with a girl in there and end up getting turfed out, you'll go in the briefing, 'right this girl was seen here.. here is a picture of her' and they'll brief all the designated premises supervisors. They'll show them a picture of you, they'll say she's caused trouble, be aware she drinks a lot and she is in the town so it is up to you if you want to let her in… then it works that you'll go out and they'll remember you from the briefing and they'll go 'nah sorry mate, not tonight, not tonight'. We do that in Forsham, so it would be the police may call up and say 'there are two lads, they're drunk, they will cause trouble, advise them to go home, recommended no nos'… so it's not 'don't let these people in your premises', it's just a recommended no no for that night. You see them walk up the street and they're turned away from everywhere because you know if they don't go home and they get in and drink more, they will cause problems. If there is a reason for travellers not being allowed in, as a sergeant I'm alright with that, but if it's 'we know they're pikeys, they'll cause trouble', because don't get me wrong, experience would suggest travellers in a licenced premises is going to have your heckles up, they've got a big history of causing trouble, travellers, as a whole, not individuals, do have history on licenced premises (laughs), but not all of them you know (laughs), so if they've got that belief that those ones are part of a group that cause trouble then I have no issue with them saying 'no no' but the racist language isn't appropriate.

(Alex, Police Officer, March 2018)

179

This quotation reveals how public police briefings are used to discuss problematic night-time participants, with the public police telephoning venue managers to advise them of night-time participants who should be excluded from their night-time venue. Alex reveals how the public police share information, including photographs, of problematic night-time participants with venue managers. As well as formal collaborations between the public and private police, seen in night-time economy meetings, informal collaborations exist between the public police and venue managers who discuss the exclusion of night-time participants on the telephone. Alex downplays the power of the public police in no no-ing, arguing that this is 'recommended', however, in my observations venue managers always adhered to the advice from police licensing officers (in part due to their need to hold on to their licence, a finding outlined in Chapter Five). Alex does not question the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers, stating 'experience would suggest that travellers in a licensed premises is going to have your heckles up', but problematises the racist slur used to refer to Gypsy and Travellers (despite using this to make his point). In doing this, Alex narrowly constructs racism as a question of language. This was mirrored in a night-time economy meeting with street pastors and a police officer where the racist slur used to refer to Gypsy and Travellers was problematised, whilst at the same time the racist slur was repeatedly used to make their point. Bhopal and Myers state:

> Gypsies occupy a seemingly unique niche as the only group that can be disparaged in absolutely racist terms with little or no comeback on the perpetrator… whereas in many contexts the use of racist language or behaviour results in censure for the racists, the same depth of opprobrium is rarely displayed when Gypsies are the target (Bhopal and Myers, 2008, p. 78).

In narrowly constructing racism as language, the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from nightlife remains an accepted norm. Alex argues that Gypsy and Travellers have a 'big history of causing trouble in licensed premises'. He argues that the public police draw on 'evidence' in police briefings (most notably intelligence and/or crime reports) and in their communication with the private police. Gypsy and Travellers are still not featured in official monitoring systems for the criminal justice system in the UK, however, Gypsy, Roma and Irish Travellers are said to make up approximately 5% of male prisoners (compared to 0.1% of the UK population) (The Lammy Review, 2017, p. 11). The criminalisation of Gypsy and Traveller groups results in institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) which

maintain the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues in Forsham. This means that some Gypsy and Travellers, in Alex's words, are 'known for causing trouble'. These institutionalized mental models mean that the public police draw upon 'evidence' to maintain the practice of no no-ing in Forsham. Richardson refers to this as the 'circuitous route of discourse as control' (Richardson, 2006, p. 94). Richardson states:

> It serves as an example of how the motive to 'other' reinforces the stereotype and that this reinforced image causes a moral panic and need for further surveillance. This then produces more discriminatory discourse that reinterprets the Gypsy/Traveller stereotype and so it goes on (Richardson, 2006, p. 94).

The next section explores how the practice of 'no no-ing' works at night in further detail.

<u>The practice of 'no no-ing'</u>

In this section, I outline how the practice of 'no no-ing' Gypsy and Travellers works 'on the ground', revealing how a policing gaze casts this group as inherently deviant (Richardson, 2006). The practice of 'no no-ing' Gypsy and Traveller groups is a normative part of governing the night-time high street in Forsham, upheld through radio communications between door staff, venue managers and CCTV operators. The following snippet from an interview with Caleb, the venue manager at *Teasers,* demonstrates how this works:

> Caleb: We have got our doors and our arms out to anyone that comes in. Travellers seem to be a big problem in this area, touching the girls, they've got a lot of cash, but they are just yeah, they are a bit of a problem, they want to fight all the time.
>
> Interviewer: what's the main issue with the travellers?
>
> Caleb: They just don't listen to house rules. They're told they can't proposition girls, no exchanging phone numbers, no touching girls and as soon as they come in a girl will walk past and they'll grab her bottom or something so they're immediately kicked out. We just don't tolerate it. Unfortunately, I'm not being racist against travellers but we tend to not let them in.

Interviewer: oh right, can you tell at the door that they are travellers then?

Caleb: Yeah, just the way they talk, their English is not the Queen's English. We pick up the link radio that's used around the town.

Interviewer: okay, so you'll communicate with others not to let them into their venues?

Caleb: Yeah we had a group on Saturday we were told not to let in, because you've got CCTV in town as well. The CCTV operators told us on the radio. They were coming from one bar, they were refused entry, they then got refused at another bar, then a club. Refused entry at all three.

Interviewer: had they been causing an issue somewhere?

Caleb: They just didn't let them in because they just are a problem.

*(*Caleb, Venue Manager at *Teasers,* March 2018*)*

This quotation demonstrates how the private police work together to exclude Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues on the main high street in Forsham. I argue that the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers is a result of active interpretation and domination by the public police (described in the section above) and the private police (Richardson, 2006). Foucault defines the gaze as:

The gaze is not faithful to truth, nor subject to it, without asserting, at the same time, a supreme mastery: the gaze that sees is a gaze that dominates (Foucault, cited in Richardson, 2006, p. 79).

The gaze can be explicit, for example, through the use of CCTV, however it can operate more broadly through society's gaze and networks of control which are not upheld by one person (ibid.). The gaze becomes internalised, generating social norms which persons are measured against. Richardson writes, 'this internalisation would normally manifest in a person inculcating a social norm, to the extent that they did not know that it wasn't their own

original thought or idea' (Richardson, 2006, p. 81). Through Caleb's recollection, it is apparent that the gaze works in explicit ways, through the use of CCTV cameras and night-time radio systems which are used to communicate the presence of Gypsy and Travellers in town and to monitor their whereabouts. Descriptions of Gypsy and Traveller groups are provided using the night-time radio system, alongside a 'recommended no no', and Gypsy and Travellers are then refused entry at the doors of night-time venues on the high street. This is evidence of how policing is upheld not only by social actors (Brodeur, 2010), but also radio systems and CCTV cameras which are used to support the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller groups at night. The internalisation of the gaze is revealed when Caleb states, 'they just didn't let them in because they just are a problem'. There is a fixity of prejudice towards Gypsy and Travellers in the governance of nightlife, with no other racial or ethnic group persistently denied access through 'no no-ing'. This is not to say other racialized individuals do not experience exclusion from nightlife, however, this manifests differently (as outlined in the previous chapter). Anthropoemic strategies (Bauman, 2015, pp. 47-48) are drawn upon to expel Gypsy and Travellers from nightlife, with this ethnic group unable to navigate access to night-time venues on the main high street in Forsham.

The exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues is also informed by the risk-averse nature of venue managers and door staff. In Caleb's recollection, Gypsy and Travellers have not gained access to night-time venues and have therefore not been witnessed causing any trouble. Yet, Caleb reminds me that Gypsy and Travellers 'are a problem' and their exclusion is therefore necessary to maintain order at night in Forsham. Cultural signifiers which differ from the white, local norm, such as the language and word choices used by Gypsy and Travellers, are drawn upon by Caleb to problematise this ethnic group. Carrying large amounts of cash was described as indicative of Gypsy and Travellers' inherent deviant nature, with some research participants taking this as evidence of tax evasion. Caleb also draws upon stereotypes of Gypsy and Traveller men, stating that they sexually harass female dancers in the nightclub. Through observations, it became clear that techniques of neutralisation are used by the private police when the same behaviour is presented by white, local men. In an incident where a group of white, local males were reported as inappropriately touching women in the nightclub, door staff drew upon their drunkenness to subtly excuse their behaviour. These men were told to 'wind their necks in and control their drinking' and their access to the nightclub remained. Door staff and the venue manager explained that sometimes men can drink too much and they need to issue these reminders to

them. However, when the same behaviour is presented by Gypsy and Traveller men it is used to reinforce existing stereotypes. Richardson states:

> It helps to explain how the objective 'reality' of Gypsy and Travellers is internalised into subjective reality, but then enters a dialectical process with objective reality; a cycle of definition and social construction of reality continues (Richardson, 2006, p. 82).

Dress codes

Much of the night-time literature reveals how dress is central to bouncers' sorting practices (Hadfield, 2008, May and Chaplin, 2008, Rivera, 2010, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2014). The last chapter also reveals how door staff reinforce white, local heteronormative forms of dress in their interactions with Black men at the door. In this section I reveal how dress code policies are informed by ideas of white, local acceptable ways of dressing and are drawn upon at the door to refuse access to Gypsy and Traveller groups. Following a night of observation alongside Scott, a police licensing officer, I noted the following in my research diary:

> *I saw numerous signs in the windows of nightclubs tonight which stated, 'no heavy jewellery' or 'no vests, no hats, no heavy rings and no joggers'. Scott said these dress code policies are ways of saying 'no travellers please'. I asked Scott how or if Gypsy and Travellers navigate these dress codes. Scott said he knew of some Travellers changing their dress to get into nightclubs but that they mainly went out during the week when they knew businesses needed their money.*
>
> *(Diary notes, April 2018)*

This study reveals how venue managers construct dress code policies in ways which allow them to exclude Gypsy and Traveller night-time participants. During interviews, venue managers explained that dress codes are a way of maintaining the venue's reputation and the type of clientele that they want to attract. Whilst May (2014) found that Black styles of dress were excluded through dress code policies, in Greenshire, dress code policies are constructed around the ideals of acceptable whiteness (Bhopal, 2018, p. 30). Dress code policies displayed at nightclub doors in Forsham requested night-time participants wear smart trousers or dark jeans, no trainers, no 'work man attire', no heavy jewellery and in some instances, no

headwear. Scott, a police licensing officer, argues that these are ways of saying 'no travellers please'. As nightclubs are privately owned, venue managers are able to create dress code policies without these being scrutinised.

Night-time participants are viewed through what Feagin (cited in May, 2014, p. 88) refers to as a 'white racial frame', benefitting from displays of acceptable whiteness (in both their dress and speech). The ways in which dress is used to police Gypsy and Travellers differs from the Black night-time participant, whose attitude is informally tested by door staff at the door (Hobbs et al., 2003, Søgaard, 2017). Whilst Black night-time participants could negotiate access to night-time venues by responding correctly to the advice and 'jokes' of door staff, who frequently remind them to 'pull their jeans up because they're not in prison', Gypsy and Travellers cannot negotiate access to night-time venues. Dress code policies are explicitly called upon to exclude Gypsy and Travellers at the door of night-time venues in Forsham. Scott argues that Gypsy and Travellers are aware of this gaze, with some either altering their dress or choosing to go out in the week when they are less likely to be denied access. The temporal nature of Gypsy and Travellers access is revealing of how the private police work together to reserve weekend nights for white locals, with Gypsy and Travellers and Black night-time participants more likely to gain access on weeknights (a theme highlighted in the previous chapter). Whilst some police officers recognise the ways in which dress code policies unfairly discriminate against Gypsy and Travellers, they argue that the private operating practices of licensed venues means that licence holders and those working on their behalf can exclude who they want to from their venue. The next section argues that whilst the public police recognise the racism towards Gypsy and Travellers at night in Forsham, this is little more than a form of positive self-representation (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129).

‘That's racist!': highlighting racism as positive self-representation

In this section, I reveal how the public police identify the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller groups from night-time venues as racism. I argue that the diversity training, which is heavily informed by the Equality Act (2010), informs this recognition, by making public police officers aware that Gypsy and Travellers are an ethnic group protected from racial discrimination by the Act. Daniel and Scott share:

I think the big problem in Greenshire is racism towards travellers, so we see it here, where they'll call up on the radio saying 'there's a load of travellers, don't let them in'. They treat travellers differently because they don't see being a traveller as being a racial thing.

(Daniel, Police Officer, May 2018)

I would say, from my experience, not necessarily from a police perspective bizarrely, but from a pub and club perspective, the travelling community is still the one community that there are some reservations about.

(Scott, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

The exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues was highlighted as racism in many interviews with police officers. Police officers 'other the racist' (Benwell, 2010, p. 373), arguing that venue managers and door staff support racist practices. By constructing an overtly racist group (the private police), against which their views are implicitly contrasted (the public police), the public police build their identity as 'not racist'. I argue that the recognition of racism by the public police is revealing of the stigma associated with racial prejudice which permeates the public policing context (ibid.). This same stigma did not exist in door staff and venue managers. During a night-time economy meeting with street pastors and one police representative, Karen raised that she felt uncomfortable with the racist language used to describe Gypsy and Travellers over the radio system. Following this meeting, I interviewed Alan, a street pastor who worked alongside Karen. Alan shared that prior to the meeting, he had not considered what he describes as the 'prejudice' towards Gypsy and Travellers at night:

Travellers is an interesting one actually, I hadn't thought about it until Karen said in the meeting. There is definitely an issue on Saturday nights with groups of travellers that come in and I think arguably that is probably the group in Greenshire where there is the erm, (long pause), the potential inbuilt prejudice against them. A lot of the door staff will be very open and vocal about 'we don't let travellers in because we know they're gonna kick off'. You know I don't know if we brought this up at the meeting but there was some negative language over the radio and the use of the word 'pikey'

and things like that and you're thinking 'hang on a minute, should you be saying that?'

(Alan, Street Pastor, April 2018)

Here, Alan explains that door staff are 'very open and vocal' about their exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues. Throughout observations, door staff spoke openly about their exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from their venues, drawing upon discourses which indicated the importance of this exclusion for ensuring social order at night. This is indicative of the differing sensitivities surrounding Gypsy and Traveller individuals which exist in public and private policing contexts, with the private police (particularly door staff) much more explicit about their exclusionary practices. In paying attention to non-verbal communication, Alan's long pause, before he refers to 'inbuilt prejudice', reveals that whilst discriminatory actions are acknowledged, they are not described as racist. Goodman and Rowe state:

> There is a hierarchy of prejudices where only racism is deemed too extreme to acknowledge […], while prejudice towards Gypsies is not denied […], this means that while there is a taboo in place, the taboo is only against racism, which is presented as the most extreme form of opposition […], rather than prejudice and hatred, which are deemed acceptable (Goodman and Rowe, 2014, p. 43).

Alan questions the use of racist slurs to refer to Gypsy and Traveller groups, revealing the way in which racism is narrowly constructed as a matter of language (a theme which has been revealed throughout other chapters). Despite the acknowledgement of racism towards Gypsy and Travellers by police officers and a street pastor, the next section reveals how their exclusion from night-time venues remains an ordinary part of policing nightlife in Forsham. I explore how the response of the public police to complaints of racism from Gypsy and Travellers are indicative of their support for the exclusionary practices upheld by the private police. Despite the acknowledgement of racism by the public police then, this is no more than an 'empty rhetorical device' (Gillborn, 2006, p. 14), with the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers maintained by both the public and private police.

<u>Raising complaints to the police: defending, legitimising and blaming techniques</u>

Throughout the fieldwork I became aware of Gypsy and Traveller groups calling upon the public police to complain of racism from door staff and venue managers at night. William, a police licensing officer in Forsham explains:

> I've had allegations against door staff refusing travellers because they were travellers. I haven't been able to confirm it one way or another because when you speak to the door man they're not going to admit it … there are certainly allegations made but you have to remember that people get rejected from a club, they get ejected, they get embarrassed and sometimes they just say things.

> (William, Police Licensing Officer, February 2018)

William indicates that for him to question racism, door staff must admit to being racist and acting in a racist manner. Despite the well-known exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers, articulated in interviews with the public police, William disregards their complaints of racism, arguing that racism is called upon as a technique to 'save face' when they are denied access to a night-time venue. Laura, a police licensing officer, reveals how she responded to one incident where complaints of racism were raised by a group of Gypsy and Travellers:

> I've had travellers approach me complaining of not being allowed into clubs. It was a case of they weren't told they weren't coming in because they were travellers, they were a loud group anyway. They were told they weren't coming in because of how they were behaving. We did tell them to make sure they logged it, you don't know the ins and outs, she was quite loud and as much as you could chat to her and ask what they said directly, she was just like <u>'no it's because I'm this and because I'm that'</u> and it's like 'well they've not said that, so it's very hard for us to confront them'. Obviously, clubs and pubs do have their own licensing rules so it is up to them who does and does not come in. We have our radio system so people get blocked from pubs and clubs <u>but I've never heard it's because of ethnicity, I've heard it's because of fights, because of drunkenness, because of threatening behaviour kind of thing.</u>

> (Laura, Police Officer, February 2018)

Techniques of discursive deracialization (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) are used by Laura, who disregards the ethnicity of Gypsy and Traveller groups and refers to claims about their behaviour to legitimise their exclusion. Laura states, 'she was quite loud', 'they were a loud group anyway' and 'because of how they were behaving'. References to the behaviour of the group means that Gypsy and Travellers are blamed for their exclusion and the discriminatory actions of the private police remain unquestioned. Throughout observations I observed a large number of night-time participants who were loud and heavily intoxicated that continued to access bars and nightclubs in Forsham. These night-time participants appeared local and white. Institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) of Gypsy and Travellers as loud and disregarding of authority reinforce a longstanding policing practice which results in their exclusion from nightlife, indicative of Richardson's 'circuitous route of discourse as control' (2006, p. 94). In her interaction with Gypsy and Travellers, Laura advises them to 'log' their complaint but does not challenge their exclusion, revealing how the public police remain complicit in the exclusion of this ethnic group. In a similar vein to William, Laura argues that it is hard for the public police to confront the private police because the private police have not admitted to being racist. For one to challenge racism then, the actor must admit to acting in a racist manner. Throughout the fieldwork, the private operating practices of night-time venues were referred to in the private police's exclusion of night-time participants. Venue managers and door staff stated that this meant they could exclude individuals/groups without having to give a reason. The next section unpacks this theme further.

'It's a private premises, we don't have to give you a reason'

Throughout the fieldwork, the public and private police explained that the private operating practices of night-time venues means that venue managers, and those working on their behalf, are able to refuse access to anyone without having to give them a reason. Martin, a police officer in Forsham, shares:

> Martin: We do get groups of travellers turned away because the experience people have is they cause problems, door staff do turn travellers away.
>
> Interviewer: What do they say they're not letting them in because of?

Martin: They just say no. I don't think they give them a reason, then we get called because there is a big disturbance and the group will be moaning because they are being turned away because they're travellers.

Interviewer: And what is said to you when you attend?

Martin: The doormen say they just don't want them in there, it's up to them, they can let whoever they want in there.

Interviewer: okay, so they don't have to give a reason?

Martin: No, it's a private premises, we can't make them let people in, we can't stop them from letting people in. They can refuse entry at any time for any reason they want and they don't have to tell anybody. They are a law unto themselves almost, there is no law governing what they do. If they don't want people in and they don't like the look of you then they'll tell you no. That's it, we can't do anything about it.

(Martin, Police Officer, February 2018)

Here, Martin explains that those working for night-time venues are able to refuse access to anybody without giving a reason. This evidences that the Equality Act (2010), which outlines that businesses which provide a service are not able to discriminate based upon an individual's race (and eight other protected characteristics), has little impact on the ground. The ungoverned nature of the private police means that those working for night-time venues are able to refuse access to anybody without giving a reason. Despite having conducted diversity training which informs them of the importance of upholding the Equality Act (2010), the public police refer to the private operating practices of night-time venues to construct themselves as powerless in challenging racism. I argue that by not challenging the racism they witness towards Gypsy and Traveller groups at night, the public police are complicit in maintaining their exclusion with racist policing practices remaining embedded and normative. By referring to complaints of racism from Gypsy and Travellers as 'moaning', Martin reveals the way in which these complaints are heard, resulting in their dismissal and the complainer constructed as harbouring a grudge (Ahmed, 2018).

Kenny, a member of door staff at *Altitude* in Forsham, compared the increased accountability of the public police with the ungoverned nature of door work. He argues that this lack of accountability means that door staff can deny entry to anyone without having to give a reason. Kenny states:

> No I haven't had diversity training and I wouldn't go to it if I had to. Does that mean they're going to have training on us? The police have so much red tape amongst them, they have to do everything by the book, whereas us door men, if we don't want to let someone into the venue, we don't have to. It's a private premises, it doesn't matter who they are. I just think the police ain't got the powers as what they should have.

(Kenny, Door Staff at *Altitude,* March 2018)

Kenny outlines a difference between door staff, who are able to act in ways which remain ungoverned, and the public police, who are constrained by 'the book'. The literature on the public police reveals the myriad of ways in which the public police are increasingly accountable (Lister and Rowe, 2015, Rowe, 2020). Kenny argues that 'red tape' hinders the work of the public police, stating 'the police ain't got the powers as what they should have'. Despite door staff being relatively unpoliced in comparison to the public police, they have to retain an SIA licence to work on the door in the UK (Security Industry Authority, 2020). I became aware throughout the fieldwork that this training does not cover the topic of race or diversity. Throughout interviews with door staff, diversity training was depicted as a threat to the autonomy of the public and private police, with many door staff sharing Kenny's feelings in stating they would not attend this training. Diversity training disorients and displaces the predominantly white, male and British member of door staff as the centre from which all others deviate (Puwar, 2004, p. 42). Talk of diversity training led to door staff drawing upon a discourse of 'us' (the private police) and 'them' (Black and minority ethnic individuals). Kenny does this when he states 'does that mean they're going to have training on us?' (van Dijk, 1993a). Kenny also denies the importance of race and ethnicity in his refusal of night-time participants, drawing upon techniques of discursive de-racialization (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) when he states, 'it's a private premises, it doesn't matter who they are'. However, the exclusion of an ethnic group reveals how ethnicity (and the cultural differences associated with this) remains central to exclusion at night. The next section concludes the chapter by

paying attention to how the public police engage in a language of soft-antiracism (Blommaert and Vershueren, 1998) and argues that this does little to change racist policing practices used to police Gypsy and Travellers at night.

The public police and soft anti-racism

Whilst racism towards Gypsy and Travellers is acknowledged by police officers, their exclusion is constructed as necessary for the maintenance of social order at night in Forsham. Racism is therefore deemed acceptable and forms part of the 'good governance' of nightlife. Martin shares:

> You might say there is some racism there because there is a big group of travellers but you know, to be honest, from experience I would probably agree with them as well because when you get a big group of traveller lads together we tend to have problems. They drink and drink and drink and end up fighting. I'm guessing doormen are very good at what they do because they see people day in and day out, whether it's drink, drugs, and they will obviously know who they will see, who they think will be a problem and who isn't.

> (Martin, Police Officer, February 2018)

Despite the acknowledgement of racism from police officers, Martin constructs the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers as necessary when he states, 'from experience I would probably agree with them as well' and 'I'm guessing doormen are very good at what they do'. This reveals a solidarity between the public and private police in the maintenance of the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from nightlife. Martin refers to past behaviour of Gypsy and Traveller men fighting and drinking to excess to legitimise their exclusion in the present. The same stereotypes do not exist for the acceptable white, local, night-time participant, where disorderly behaviour was more likely to be neutralised through references to drunkenness. I argue that the acknowledgement of racism towards Gypsy and Traveller groups by the public police is indicative of what Blommaert and Vershueren describe as a 'soft anti-racism' (1998, p. 178). They state:

soft anti-racism […] tends to concentrate more on one's own individual intentions than on the actual harm or exclusion suffered or experienced by minority members (Blommaert and Vershueren, 1998, p. 173).

The recognition of racism that the public police highlight is used to build their positive self-representation in interview, whilst the original goals of anti-racism (to challenge racism) are left behind, and racist, exclusionary practices remain unchallenged. Whilst the language of race and racism has changed in public police settings, demonstrated in interviews with police officers, 'business-as-usual forms of racism' (Delgado and Stefancic, cited in Gillborn, 2006, p. xvi) continue to inform the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues in Forsham. Policers wear a 'cloak of benevolent assistance' (Edelman, cited in Gordon, 1998, p. 149), whereby the exclusion of particular groups from an area appears to be about the police providing order and protection and the racism that Gypsy and Travellers face becomes reconstructed by the private and public police as good policing practice. Excluding Gypsy and Travellers maintains social order at night in Forsham. However, what an 'orderly' night is, and for whom and whose access is honoured and whose is denied, is inherently caught up with institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) which are shared by the public and private police. In a similar vein to the presence of a pre-existing mental model of young Black men from London (a theme explored in Chapters Five and Six), a pre-existing mental model of Gypsy and Travellers meant they continued to be read by the police as disorderly, deviant, more likely to drink to excess, be violent, loud and refuse to listen to authority. By drawing upon pre-existing mental models, the racist exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers, upheld through historical policing practices such as 'no no-ing', becomes masked in policing discourses about the smooth running of nightlife in Greenshire.

Conclusion

This chapter reveals how the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller groups is an ordinary part of policing the night-time high street in Forsham. This chapter explores how a racialized 'gaze' (Foucault, cited in Richardson, 2006), works both explicitly, through the use of CCTV cameras, radio systems and dress code policies used to exclude Gypsy and Travellers from accessing night-time venues, and implicitly, through an internal shared understanding amongst the public and private police that Gypsy and Travellers are problematic night-time participants. I reveal how despite the public police acknowledgement of racism towards

Gypsy and Travellers at night, this acknowledgement is no more than a form of positive self-representation (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 129), with the public police also informing the exclusion of Gypsy and Traveller groups through policing briefings and advised 'no nos' to venue managers. In addition, the public police's response to complaints of racism made by Gypsy and Travellers at night reveal a solidarity between the public and private police in their exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from nightlife. Institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) of Gypsy and Travellers, who are described as loud, congregating in groups, refusing to listen to authority and drinking to excess (to name a few), are called upon by both the public and private police. Gypsy and Traveller behaviour is therefore essentialised and is attached to pre-existing mental models of Gypsy and Traveller individuals/groups (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99). Additionally, techniques of neutralisation are used by the private police when similar behaviour is presented by white, local, night-time participants. I argue that the private operating practices of licensed premises means that racist policing practices such as 'no no-ing', upheld 'on the ground' primarily through radio communications between the private police at night, continue to go unchallenged.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter explores the main contributions of the study and details how the research builds upon, and deviates from, the existing literature set out in Chapter Two. Firstly, I remind the reader of the research aim and objectives that guided the study and I then explore three main themes which arose during the fieldwork: the denial of racism and the significance of race, governing nightlife: the acceptable, white, local frame and protecting white space: the threat of race. I then suggest directions for future research and outline implications from the research. The research undertook an ethnographic approach, drawing from ten nights of observation and thirty-six interviews with the public and private police in Greenshire. Critical discourse analysis was used as the analytical framework which guided this study as this allowed for the exploration of the discursive construction of racialized Others and their governance at night in Greenshire. In doing this, the study draws attention to how discrimination, prejudice and racism manifest within a socio-political climate where overt racism is increasingly met with hostility (Foster et al., 2005, Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, McLaughlin, 2007, Loftus, 2008, Loftus, 2010a). By exploring the thoughts and practices of the public and private police, as well as policing processes such as night-time radios and CCTV cameras, this thesis reveals how a person's race is central to the ways in which they are governed at night. In revealing how the public and private police produce nightlife as a racialized white space, this research contributes to McLaughlin's much needed 'critical police studies' (2007, p. xi).

My research extends the academic literature on race and nightlife. Since the work of Talbot (2007), whose ethnography of 'Southview' explored how racial prejudices and structural changes to nightlife resulted in 'subcultural closure' (Talbot, 2009, p. 14), the academic literature on race and nightlife in the UK has been sparse. Much of the current research on race and nightlife focuses primarily on the door in contexts outside of the UK (May and Chaplin, 2008, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017), and my research extends upon this literature to explore how nightlife is governed by an array of public and private police actors and practices. In doing this, I provide a critique of the neo-liberal conception of the night (Roberts, 2009, Hadfield, 2014, Shaw, 2015) and reveal how the public police continue to govern nightlife in a number of different contexts. This research outlines the importance of public police led night-time economy meetings, public police licensing practices and

historical public policing practices in segregating racialized night-time events and marginalising and excluding racialized night-time participants in Greenshire. Whilst much of the literature on race and nightlife has focused on city-centre contexts (Talbot, 2004, Talbot and Böse, 2007, Talbot, 2007, May and Chaplin, 2008, Hankins et al., 2012, May, 2014, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017, Oloukoï, 2018), this research deviates from this literature to explore how nightlife is produced in a distinctly non-metropolitan, white space. Doing this reveals how the protection of white space is central to the governance of traditionally Black night-time events and racialized night-time participants at night in Greenshire. The norms of acceptable whiteness (Bhopal, 2018) permeate police licensing practices, policing practices upheld 'on the ground' by door staff and venue managers, and police intelligence shared in night-time economy meetings and during telephone calls with licence holders. I therefore deviate from Shaw's (2015) conception of the neoliberal night by uncovering how the public police continue to inform the ways in which racialized night-time participants and events are policed in Greenshire. The influence of the public police can be seen through police power in licensing decisions and the language of race which originates with the public police but is drawn upon by both the public and private police in their interactions with racialized minorities. Before outlining the main contributions of the study, it is worth revisiting the research aim and objectives which guided the research. This thesis aimed to *critically explore how race is produced through the governance of nightlife in Greenshire.* The objectives for this research were:

1. To examine how formal understandings of race, acquired via the police diversity training and agenda, impact the public police's understandings of race and the interaction between the public police and racialized minorities at night.
2. To critically assess the factors underpinning police licensing decisions and how/if these are informed by ideas of race.
3. To explore how ideas about race influence the public and private police response to racialized night-time participants 'on the ground'.
4. To examine how police understandings of race are made within a provincial context which is predominantly white and to discover how these are informed by the wider political, social and cultural context in which they are formed.
5. To critically assess the relationship between the public and private police in policing nightlife and the implications this has (if any) for policing racialized minorities at night.

This chapter pays attention to the central findings of the research study in alignment with the research aim and objectives. I then provide directions for future research and uncover the policy implications from the research.

<u>Findings</u>

1. <u>The denial of racism and the significance of race</u>

At the time of writing, Black Lives Matter protests are occurring in the UK and the US following the murder of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor by the public police in the US (BBC News, 2020). These murders sparked a series of worldwide protests to end police brutality towards racialized minorities, with marches taking place in Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield, Leeds, London and more (Baggs, 2020). Despite the continued damaging effects of police racism, and the over-representation of Black and minority ethnic individuals at all stages of the criminal justice system (Shiner et al., 2018), racism continues to be denied by both the public and private police in the governance of nightlife in Greenshire. This study extends upon the most recent work on policing and race, which argues that discrimination in public police settings is more implicit, subtle and covert (Foster et al., 2005, Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, McLaughlin, 2007, Loftus, 2008). In this section, I explore how a denial of racism is upheld within the public police institution, reflecting on diversity training and interviews with police officers, before exploring how this denial is upheld 'on the ground' in public and private police interactions with racialized minorities. As such, this study moves away from previous literature which situates discrimination within backstage contexts upheld primarily by white male police officers (Loftus, 2008, Loftus, 2010a), to explore how the denial of racism permeates a number of different policing contexts and is upheld by both public and private actors. In doing this, this study reveals how the denial of racism is one way in which racism manifests (Pitcher, 2015, Chapter One), privileging the thoughts, feelings and beliefs of primarily white public and private police actors.

In completing objective 1, Chapter Four draws upon observations of the police diversity training, attended by new recruits during their initial six months of training. This chapter reveals how racism is denied in the present and is placed in the past through the discourses and stories drawn upon by diversity trainers. Throughout the training and in conversation with diversity trainers, racism was narrowly attached to the slave trade and to older

generations and new recruits were presented as non-prejudiced and non-discriminatory. As such, the diversity training did not explicitly pay attention to the topic of race, despite being heavily informed by the Equality Act (2010) and the nine protected characteristics, of which race is one. Whilst new recruits raised past incidents of police racism for discussion, such as the murders of Stephen Lawrence and Mark Duggan and the Brixton riots, diversity trainers responded in ways which closed down further discussion. In response to Lawrence, diversity trainers argued that at this time there had been a heavy focus on race, underlined by the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000), and this had resulted in a disregard for the eight other protected characteristics. Interestingly, at the time of Lawrence's murder, Greenshire supported attendance from a Black community group who presented during the training of new recruits. I became aware throughout my observations that following cuts in public police resources, this training was cut due to beliefs that police racism was no longer an issue. This resulted in diversity trainers closing down discussions of police racism, directing conversations towards less sensitive topics, such as gender and female promotion. In closing down discussions of police racism, this topic is silenced in the training room with new recruits taught that past incidents of police racism are not up for discussion. This produces police racism as a topic which is difficult for them to discuss openly, with the following sections outlining the impact this has on public policing practices. I argue that the silencing of racism in the diversity training is revealing of how the thoughts and feelings of the police institution are prioritised over Black and minority ethnic groups who continue to be over-represented at every level of the criminal justice system.

The same sensitivities that surrounded visible ethnic minorities did not surround Gypsy and Traveller groups. During the training, a presentation was given by a gypsy liaison officer on Gypsy and Traveller communities in Greenshire. It was at this point in the research that I became aware of the ambiguous racial status of Gypsy and Travellers, with the public police much more open in their discussions of Gypsy and Traveller groups than visible ethnic minorities. Following the presentation on the Gypsy and Traveller community in Greenshire, new recruits were keen to ask questions and there was an open dialogue between the GLO and new recruits. Whilst an open discussion was generated, this discussion focused on the policing of Gypsy and Traveller communities, and offered practical advice for new recruits attending Gypsy and Traveller encampments (for example, only attending when Gypsy and Traveller men are present). Gypsy and Travellers are therefore produced as a group that new police recruits will be in frequent contact with.

The denial of racism upheld by the public police is informed by the increased policing of the public police (Walker, 2001, Mawby and Wright, 2005, Caless and Owens, 2016, Rowe, 2020). Throughout the fieldwork, I was regularly referred to as the 'spy' or 'the girl from PSD' (Professional Standards Department), and before introducing myself to new recruits in training, the diversity trainer joked, 'don't worry, I've looked you up, you don't need to introduce yourself, I have all I need to know from your university profile!' The suspicion in the public police reveals the ways in which public police officers work to protect themselves and their environment, with some police officers sharing stories of friends who had been investigated by PSD throughout the fieldwork. The same level of suspicion was not shown in the private police, who operate in ungoverned ways. Venue managers and door staff are much more open regarding their governance of Black night-time participants and Gypsy and Travellers, openly referring to Black night-time participants potential 'gang' connections and Gypsy and Travellers' inherent deviancy and inability to listen to authority.

In this sense, many of the public police officers I interviewed tripped over themselves to present themselves, and the institution, as 'not racist', whilst the private police cited the exclusion and segregation of racialized minorities in discourses regarding good policing practice. Where racism was questioned by street pastors, conversations centred on the explicit racial slur used to refer to Gypsy and Traveller groups, whilst their exclusion was unproblematised and reinforced as necessary to securing an orderly night-time venue.

In response to complaints of racism raised by racialized minorities at night, the private police cited the behaviour of the night-time participant to reaffirm that their race was unimportant to their governance. In some instances, door staff also explained that they were at 'full capacity' and that they 'don't have to give a reason' behind their refusal of access to the night-time reference. Throughout the fieldwork, both the private and public police repeatedly made reference to 'the race card', believing that Black and ethnic minority night-time participants 'use' their race to help them 'save face' when they are being thrown out of, or are refused access to, a nightclub. This term is used to undermine and belittle the claims of racialized minorities and depict racialized groups as manipulating and exploiting a system where their race is presented as of increased importance. In instances where Gypsy and Travellers complained of racism to the public police, the behaviour of the group (as loud and refusing to listen) was referred to by the public police to legitimise their exclusion.

Whilst on the one hand racism is denied, through public police discussions which historicise racism, it is also produced as significant. References to the way in which racialized minorities behave at night, using the 'race card', as well as institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) where Black night-time participants and Gypsy and Travellers are produced as more likely to be deviant, disorderly and problematic at night, re-inscribe the centrality of race at night. The importance of race is upheld by the public and private police in two ways. Firstly, they appeal to the external reality of racialized minority behaviour (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127) at night and ascribe this behaviour to an entire racial or ethnic group. Racialized minorities are therefore caught in a silent double bind, whereby if they draw attention to the racism they face at night, they are blamed for 'using their race', institutionalized mental models are strengthened, and racialized minorities are reproduced as problematic to nightlife (Hooker and Tillery, 2017). Secondly, techniques of discursive deracialization (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 133) are also drawn upon by the public and private police to deny the importance of race to one's access and experiences at night. Racism is constructed as something which cannot impact one's access or experiences of nightlife in Greenshire, whilst at the same time, the public and private police essentialise racialized groups by making generalisations about their perceived problematic behaviour at night. Race is therefore central to the production and governance of nightlife, with the responsibility for navigating this placed upon racialized minorities themselves. The next section draws attention to the importance of acceptable whiteness (Bhopal, 2018) at night, revealing how one's behaviours, embodiments, practices and performances are governed through what I call an acceptable, white, local frame.

2. <u>Governing nightlife: the acceptable, white, local frame</u>

This research extends the literature on nightlife by revealing how nightlife is produced and preserved as a white space for acceptable, white, local night-time participants, particularly in a provincial context which has been the focus of this research. In relation to objectives 2 and 3, this thesis outlines the effects this has on police licensing practices as well as the governance of racialized night-time participants 'on the ground'.

2.1 Licensing

This research reveals how police licensing officers produce nightlife as white space at a time when formalised, explicit racism is replaced by more subtle and informal forms (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007, Loftus, 2008). Most notable are the erasure of the 696 form, banned by the London Mayor for its racist application by the public police, as well as the Licensing Act (2003) which no longer requires licensees to be judged in licensing applications as 'fit and proper' (a term which Talbot (2011) found that police licensing officers were less likely to attribute to Black licensees). Despite these changes, police licensing officers in Greenshire continue to maintain nightlife as white space through their response to Temporary Event Notices (TENs). Licence holders submit TENs for night-time events which alter from those allowed by their licence, such as hosting a live performer or requesting an extension to their opening hours. Despite the disgust shown by the public police towards the 696 form, with many showing shock at the racist questions which made up the form, the same information was requested from licence holders via telephone calls from police licensing officers. Licence holders shared that a tentativeness surrounded night-time events with Black performers or Black promoters due to police fears of Black 'gangs' attending from London. Police licensing officers use the internet and social media to conduct research on Black performers (usually young, Black and male), demonstrative of the numerous sites through which Blackness is governed. In some cases, licence holders no longer submitted TENs for Black cultural night-time events, due to the increased questioning they received from police licensing officers. In the words of Rebecca, the venue manager at *Monarchy:*

> It feels like, and you would only understand this if you'd ever worked with that form, it feels like I'm policed for my student event via that form.

> (Rebecca, Venue Manager at *Monarchy*, April 2018)

This thesis reveals that despite never having used a 696 form or equivalent in Greenshire, the public police oversight of licensing, particularly TENs, leads to the interrogation of licence holders who are asked to provide information on the racialized nature of an event.
I extend upon the recent literature which draws attention to the criminalisation of drill and grime (Fatsis, 2019, Ilan, 2020) by revealing how the public police governance of Black events and performers takes place through their informal investigations into TENs. Finally, I

reveal that in their investigations and response to TENs, police licensing officers produce the night as a space reserved for the attendance and enjoyment of white locals.

The thesis also reveals how licensing practices and arrangements are extremely localised and are based upon the area and the subjective perspectives of individual licensing officers/teams. I argue that whilst the night is produced as white space in Greenshire, police licensing officers in West Greenshire work harder to 'defend their turf'. West Greenshire benefits from quick transport links to London and the police licensing officers in this area showed increased awareness of the ability of Black 'gang' members to quickly travel from London to Greenshire to attend night-time events. West Greenshire has also recently benefitted from a new university campus attended by increased numbers of Black and minority ethnic students. A pre-arranged bus is organised to take students from West Greenshire to South Greenshire on a week night for the 'urban' night hosted at *Altitude*. I argue that the spatial segregation and displacement of Black students from West to South Greenshire at night is supported through this bus service and the more risk-averse licensing team in West Greenshire who responded to TENs in ways which produced nightlife in this area as a space reserved for white locals. This research extends upon the literature then by outlining how public police licensing practices are extremely localised and are informed by the perceived speediness at which night-time events can be accessed by racialized minorities outside of Greenshire.

Finally, in exploring how licensing practices produce the night as white space, I uncover how local authority licensing officers respond to TENs in ways which seek to contain Gypsy and Travellers to 'traveller pubs' in rural areas. I draw upon Bhopal's (2018) theorisation of 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' whiteness to argue that local authority licensing officers produce night space as a place for acceptable, white locals. Fears over Gypsy and Travellers 'over-running' night-time venues resulted in local authority licensing officers weighing up TENs with regards to the likelihood of a high Gypsy and Traveller audience. This resulted in TENs being declined or extra conditions being requested for night-time events with an assumed Gypsy and Traveller audience. This research finding was only articulated in conversation with local authority licensing officers, with police licensing officers tending to concentrate their efforts on governing Black cultural events and performers. This is an important finding which future research should look to explore in more detail.

2.2 'On the ground'

This study explores the actions of door staff, venue managers, street pastors and CCTV operators in producing nightlife as white space 'on the ground'. For example, an acceptable, white, local frame is used to govern racialized night-time participants at the door and in the night-time venue. Night-time participants are expected to queue in an orderly fashion outside of the nightclub, show door staff respect in their verbal communication and body language and dress smartly. Where night-time participants transgress these boundaries, door staff issue reminders that access to the nightclub is based upon the norms of acceptable whiteness. Gypsy and Travellers are problematised for moving in large groups and speaking over authority with Gypsy and Traveller males depicted in terms of their likelihood to fight and sexually harass young women in night-time venues. Unlike May and Chaplin (2008) and May (2014), whose research reveals how dress codes discriminate against Black cultural forms of dress in 'Northeast' in the US, I found that the style of dress worn by Black males was informally governed through interactions between door staff and Black night-time participants on the door of night-time venues. Door staff issued young Black men with reminders to 'pull their trousers up', drawing upon homophobic 'jokes' to reinforce white, heteronormative ways of dressing at night. The access of these Black men would be restricted until their trousers had been pulled up, with this taken as a mark of respect for authority. Whilst dress code policies did not explicitly discriminate against Black cultural forms of dress, some drew on traditional forms of traveller dress (such as no heavy jewellery, no gold rings, no vests and no 'work man attire') to deny access to Gypsy and Travellers, as well as Northern male labourers and 'squaddies'. These reveal how class informs one's access, with working class men and Gypsy and Travellers interpreted as detrimental to the venue's reputation. The ambiguous racial status of Gypsy and Travellers means that whilst these dress code policies clearly discriminate against Gypsy and Travellers, they are not interpreted as racist, but are legitimised in wider discourses used by the private police about the venue's reputation and class. Race preceded class in determining the governance of racialized minorities, most obvious in Black men who pointed out the cost of their tracksuit or trainers, appealing to forms of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in their conversations with door staff at the door. Despite these appeals, their exclusion was upheld in most cases, with door staff drawing upon discourses regarding the respectability of the venue and its reputation.

My research also contributes to the night-time literature in exploring how the body language, word choice and speech patterns of Black night-time participants are also drawn upon to warrant extra governance at the door. Door staff cited Black men 'bowling' (walking with their arms out wide to the side of their body and leaning in the opposite direction) and using words that they did not understand as indicative of an 'attitude' at the door. Whilst much of the night-time literature has indicated how race is key to social sorting practices at the door (Rigakos, 2008, Measham and Hadfield, 2009, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017), my research extends upon this to reveal how door staff view Black male night-time participants through an acceptable, white, local frame. I argue that the speed of door work gives rise to social categorisations between primarily white door staff and Black male night-time participants, who interpret young Black men through institutionalized mental models (van Dijk, 1993a, p. 99) of the Black male 'gang' member.

In extending upon the literature which explores the governance of racialized minorities at the door (Rigakos, 2008, Measham and Hadfield, 2009, Søgaard, 2014, Søgaard, 2017), my research reveals how Black individuals are also increasingly governed once inside the nightclub. An increased presence of door staff is seen both on the door, as well as inside the nightclub, on 'urban' nights. The dance styles of Black night-time participants on 'urban' nights were described by door staff as aggressive, invasive of the space of others and evidence of 'looking for a fight'. My research reveals how the white gaze of door staff results in Black cultural forms of dance, such as bopping, popping and locking, being interpreted in terms of their deviancy. The risk-averse nature of door staff (Søgaard, 2017) enhances this white gaze, with door staff drawing upon 'techniques of dispersal', where they police their use of space by walking through groups of Black night-time participants in an attempt to disperse them. My research therefore draws attention to how Black night-time participants face increased surveillance and governance inside night-time venues, with dance styles which deviate from those permitted by the white, local backdrop read by door staff as indicative of deviancy. This study adds to the literature on the governance of racialized night-time participants by exploring how forms of embodiment, practices, performances and behaviours, which are not characteristically white and local, generate an increased suspicion in door staff and venue managers.

<u>2.3 When the threat is inside: Gypsy and Travellers</u>

Whilst nightlife is governed through a white local frame, I reveal how this is an *acceptable* white local frame (Bhopal, 2018), extending upon the academic literature to reveal how Gypsy and Travellers are expelled from night-time high streets in Greenshire. I think about the way in which this group differs from their visibly ethnic counterparts, and reveal how cultural signifiers are identified by the private police to exclude Gypsy and Travellers from nightlife. I argue that the whiteness of Gypsy and Travellers in Greenshire, and their residency in the area, means that on the one hand they are seen as similar to my research participants, with many describing them as the same 'ethnicity' as themselves. Yet, the way in which Gypsy and Travellers use nightlife was depicted as problematic by both the public and private police. My research importantly draws attention to how historical policing practices, referred to as 'no no-ing', are deeply embedded in the governance of night-time venues. This study therefore reveals that despite the Equality Act (2010), which protects Gypsy and Travellers from race discrimination, historical policing practices which maintain the exclusion of this ethnic group from nightlife remain deeply embedded in the actions of both the public and private police. This research outlines the collaboration between the public and private police in maintaining the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers through 'no no-ing'. I demonstrate the number of policing contexts through which their exclusion is maintained, upheld via public police briefings and night-time economy meetings which draw upon police intelligence and crime reports, as well as through the practice of 'no no-ing' upheld primarily by the private police on the ground.

This research contextualises the recent publication by the Traveller Movement (2018), which shares reports of the public police advising bar and restaurant owners to deny access to Gypsy and Travellers across the UK by revealing the number of public and private policing contexts through which their exclusion is upheld. In Greenshire, night-time radios and CCTV cameras are used by the private police to monitor the whereabouts of Gypsy and Travellers and communicate descriptions with one another to allow for the efficient exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers from night-time venues on weekend nights. My research extends upon the literature on exclusionary Barwatch/Pubwatch schemes (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002, Rigakos, 2008) to reveal how night-time radios and CCTV cameras are used in the process of 'no no-ing'. This research finding importantly adds to the growing literature which has explored the governance of Gypsy and Traveller settlements (James, 2007, Mulcahy, 2011)

and the racism they experience within the context of education (Bhopal, 2011), to reveal how Gypsy and Travellers suffer racism at night. Whilst some Black night-time participants managed to navigate access to night-time venues through appearing acceptably white, Gypsy and Travellers were always refused access to night-time venues in Forsham due to fixed claims about their deviancy, inability to listen to authority, their movement in large numbers and their sexual harassment of local women. This is not to say that the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers was only upheld in Forsham, and I recall interviews with police officers in other geographical areas who also problematised the presence of Gypsy and Travellers at night. Whilst the public police recognise racism in the exclusion of Gypsy and Travellers, they did not support complaints of racism by Gypsy and Travellers at night. I argue that the public and private police have a shared understanding that this ethnic group is problematic to nightlife, and therefore racism becomes justified if it ensures an orderly night. This finding draws attention to how 'hierarchies of whiteness' (Webster, 2008) play out at night and reveals that simply 'being white' in itself does not guarantee access to nightlife. Webster writes:

> white ethnicity is generally invisible and unexamined in racism, crime and justice debates. Serving mostly as a default comparator to describe visible minority experiences of crime and criminal justice processes, white ethnicity is seen as unproblematic as an ethnicity except as a potential source of racism (Webster, 2008, p. 293).

By exploring the concepts of acceptable and unacceptable whiteness (Bhopal, 2018), I reveal how Gypsy and Travellers, an unacceptable white group, suffer racism through the governance of nightlife in Forsham. The next section explores how the public and private police work together to protect the night as a space for white, local night-time participants.

3. Protecting white space: the threat of race

In completing objective 4, this thesis situates police understandings of racialized minorities within the white, provincial context in which they are formed. This builds on research which explores how racialized minorities are Othered in areas which are white and non-metropolitan (Jay, 1992, Agyeman and Spooner, 1997, Neal, 2002, Leitner 2012) to reveal the consequences this had for racialized minorities and night-time events in Greenshire. In

relation to objective 5, I demonstrate the local nature of racialization in Greenshire (Clarke and Garner, 2010) and outline how the public and private police work together to protect Greenshire as a white space at night.

3.1. The threat of racialized night-time participants 'en masse'

For many of my research participants, 'urban' nights required a particular kind of governance that differed from more mainstream weekend nights. These nights were described in ways which depicted their difference, in terms of the increased physical presence of Black night-time participants from outside of Greenshire, but also in terms of their deviance and threat. This research reveals how fears of racialized minorities at night are concerned with them appearing, and taking over nightlife, 'en masse'. I reveal how these fears of Black night-time participants taking up a traditionally white space were shared by the public and private police, as well as in telephone calls to the public police from residents and fast food workers. Gypsy and Travellers tended to move in larger groups at night, and fears of Gypsy and Travellers taking over venues meant that their place was in more rural 'traveller pubs'

This study reveals how fears of the racialized Other are centred on imagined hordes of Black night-time participants arriving from London to attend nightlife in Greenshire. One incident of dealing with the effects of kick out from an 'urban' night in Penton remained firm in the minds of many of the public police I interviewed. On this night, the public police received a number of telephone calls from fast food workers and residents complaining of large numbers of Black night-time participants trying to access a closed McDonalds. The very presence of a large number of Black night-time participants is interpreted as a threat, with this having real consequences for their governance on this night. All police officers in Penton were called to attend to provide police presence, and the sergeant who was in charge this night shared that police officers began employing public order tactics, called upon attendance from the firearms team and the dog unit. Black night-time participants from London are described in terms of their lack of respect for the public police and their differential temporal expectations of nightlife (defined here as expectations that fast food shops will be open twenty-four hours). I draw upon this incident to evidence Tate's (2016) concept of racism's invisible touch, revealing how the presence of a large number of Black night-time participants leaves white police officers feeling scared, outnumbered and overrun. These one-off events have important consequences for the racialization of space, with Black night-time participants

constructed as better suited to the city spaces in which they reside at night (where fast food shops are open twenty four hours and the public police draw upon different policing tactics to govern them). In doing this, the protection of the white officer is privileged, who no longer has to feel threat and terror at the very presence of Black night-time participants taking up space in a place which has not traditionally been reserved for them.

3.2. The threat of racialized outsiders to white locals

My research also reveals how the private police segregate Black night-time participants from attendance at mainstream weekend nights, with these reserved for white locals. Søgaard (2017) has recently drawn attention to how some nightclubs in Aarhus, Denmark, operate 'informal quota systems' on ethnic minority men, restricting their access to no more than 10% of the clientele. My research builds on this to reveal how venue managers support the segregation of large numbers of Black night-time participants from weekend nights due to discourses which problematise inter-racial interaction. These discourses inform informal door policies whereby Black night-time participants will be denied access on weekend nights, and reminded to attend on the 'urban' night. Chapter Five reveals the increased responsibility placed on venue managers to appropriately govern their night-time venue, with many revealing the importance of retaining their licence. This resulted in venue managers drawing upon their own techniques of social categorisation and exclusion to create a 'safe' atmosphere inside the nightclub. Black night-time participants are problematised for the 'clash' they present to white locals, with Rebecca, the venue manager at *Monarchy* revealing how white locals are used to 'slicing their bread' a certain way at night. This means that Black night-time participants are read for 'the clash' they present to white locals, with Black night-time participants who appear acceptably white, through their dress, local accent and speech patterns and their ability to queue outside the nightclub, finding it easier to navigate nightlife in Greenshire. This mirrors the findings of May (2014), who revealed that middle class Black men were able to 'crack the code', and through dressing in white ways, gained access to night-time venues in the US. My findings extend upon this by revealing how Black night-time participants could present markers of whiteness through their accent, speech patterns and by queuing outside of the nightclub.

I argue therefore that the restriction of Black night-time participants is about protecting Greenshire as a white space, with Black night-time participants from outside of Greenshire depicted as more problematic than ethnic minorities who reside in Greenshire. The public and private police drew upon discourses that those from outside of Greenshire are more likely to cause trouble at night due to their limited connection to the area and their 'clash' with white locals. Being Black was an important marker of 'outsiderness', and Black night-time participants were tested for their connection to Greenshire. In some cases, Black night-time participants were asked for IDs by venue managers and door staff to check whether they were registered to London home addresses. In cases where they were, venue managers advised Black night-time participants to attend on the 'urban' night which was presented as more suited to them. Whiteness produced a familiarity in venue managers that night-time participants had been 'seen before'. However, there were a small number of instances where whites gave away their outsiderness through strong accents or muscular physiques (taken as evidence of being in the army and not residing in Greenshire). These whites were also denied access due to the perceived threat they present to white locals. This research questions narrow depictions of London as Black space and Greenshire as acceptable, white space, by outlining the increasing number of Black students who attend the university campus in West Greenshire to study. This means that for some of the year they reside in Greenshire, however, their continued connections to London and their Blackness means that they are 'out of place' (Puwar, 2004), in the traditionally white space of Greenshire. Black night-time participants, and whites from outside of Greenshire, are depicted as better suiting the outside spaces from which they have travelled, with the access and experiences of white locals privileged by venue managers and door staff.

3.3. The threat of race: 'covering your arse'

Whilst the racialized night-time participant presents a threat to the public and private police as well as white locals' experience of nightlife, accusations of racism also present a real threat to the reputation of the police force, the night-time venue and the moral character of those that work there. Despite the increased governance and surveillance of racialized minorities at night, the public and private police work to 'cover their arse' from accusations of racism. This theme initially became apparent in my observations of public police stop and search training which was introduced by the trainer as 'cover your arse training', mirroring earlier police ethnographies which reveal the 'cover-your-arse' mentality common in police

organisations (Manning, 2003, Van Maanen, cited in Chan, 1996). In this training, new recruits were taught of the increased awareness needed when stopping and searching racialized minorities and the trainer reinforced the importance of citing the reasons for the stop and search (drawing upon the police officer's external reality of the situation) in an attempt to deny any racist intention behind the procedure (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127). Police officers are keen to reinforce the behaviour of a racialized individual or group in an attempt to downplay the importance of their race in their actions with racialized minorities. This research extends the literature by revealing the work that the private police do to avoid accusations of racism at night in Greenshire. For the private police, these included calling upon more ethnic minority door staff to work 'urban' nights, an informal understanding between door staff that ethnic minority door staff would deal with disputes raised by ethnic minority clientele, and the use of public police language in referring to racialized minorities on night-time radio systems. The use of identity codes, used to describe the race of the night-time participant without having to explicitly say so, importantly reveals a shared social script between the public and private police in governing racialized minorities at night. Through drawing upon the language of the public police, the private police attempt to avoid accusations of racism from racialized night-time participants who most likely do not know what these identity codes refer to. The presence of ethnic minority door staff was also highlighted by door teams following accusations of racism from night-time participants, with the visible presence of ethnic minority staff taken as evidence that the practices upheld by the door team are not racist. This thesis challenges this by revealing how both white and ethnic minority door staff govern night-time venues according to 'whiteliness' (Reddy, 1998), interpreting racialized night-time participants in terms of their threat and deviance.

Directions for future research

I recognise that this research has not been able to address all areas which are important to this area of study. Throughout the fieldwork, some findings emerged more strongly than others and it has not been possible to explore all possible avenues in the thesis. In this section, I will explore some of the emerging findings which I have not been able to pay attention to in the thesis and make recommendations for future research.

This study sought to address the languages and practices of those responsible for policing nightlife, and not those who are policed at night. Whilst this study has provided an important

contribution to the ways in which both the public and private police produce nightlife as an acceptable white space, I have been unable to focus on racialized minorities' experiences of nightlife and racism at night. During the fieldwork, I became aware that racism towards fast food workers and taxi drivers remains prevalent at night. Due to my perceived connections with the public police, and my own racialization as white, I found it difficult to obtain any insight into this from workers themselves. I conducted an interview with one taxi driver, however, all others I approached were not open to discussing their experiences of working at night. Fast food workers shared fears that speaking about their negative experiences might have a detrimental impact on their businesses. I believe that further research should explore night-time workers experiences of racism whilst working at night. This research would benefit from being conducted by a researcher of colour, whose race may act as a form of 'methodological capital' (Gallager, cited in Gunaratnam, 2003, p. 83) in building a rapport and trust with racialized night-time workers.

Similarly, further research on racialized minorities' experiences of nightlife would augment my research findings. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to explore the experiences of racialized minorities themselves, however, this research has evidenced the ways in which Black promoters, Black performers, Black cultural events and Gypsy and Travellers face increased surveillance and governance at night. By speaking with these individuals themselves, we would be informed about the diverse ways in which nightlife is experienced by racialized minorities and we would be provided with an insight into the ways in which governance and surveillance is navigated and negotiated. Whilst this research has focused specifically on race, it is also clear that the intertwinement of race and gender informs policing practice. This research has outlined how it is primarily male racialized night-time participants who are problematised by the public and private police. The ways in which gender intertwines with race in understandings of deviancy and how these impact the governance of male racialized minorities at night is an area for future exploration. In doing this, future research should pay attention to the culture of the private police, informed by machismo and toughness, in thinking about the consequences this has for night-time participants who appear hyper-masculine.

This study has also revealed a number of interesting findings for future research on the public police and the topic of race. Whilst this research explored the governance of nightlife specifically, it became clear that the topic of race and racism generated particular responses

and emotions in public police officers. An exploration of public police understandings of racism, and past incidents where their conduct has been called into question on the grounds of racism, would be revealing of how the topic of racism is heard by public police officers. Throughout the fieldwork, the public police shared frustration, anger, resentment and defensiveness, particularly towards the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and future research would benefit from thinking about the wider institutional effects that this murder, and the Macpherson Inquiry (1999), had on the culture of the public police. This research has uncovered that despite front-facing changes, seen in diversity agendas, diversity training, BAME staff groups, the creation of GLOs as well as other examples, challenging police action on the grounds of racism leads to the consolidation and preservation of a white hegemonic police culture. Future research would do well to draw attention to how the increased accountability of the public police can further embed racial hatred, frustration and resentment in police officers.

This research has also drawn attention to the relatively ungoverned nature of the private police and the autonomy of door staff and venue managers in determining one's access, experiences and governance at night. Throughout the fieldwork, I became aware that both door staff and venue managers had not had any training on the topic of diversity, race or ethnicity. Future research would benefit from observations of door staff's SIA training, as well as interviews with SIA trainers and door staff on the training. How this training is constructed, who this is constructed by and what topics this covers (and does not cover) provides important insights into what is deemed important in the training of the private police. Future research would draw attention to the contradictions between the Equality Act (2010), which reveals how those providing a service cannot discriminate on the grounds of race (and eight other protected characteristics), and the ungoverned nature of those who are responsible for the governance of nightlife. This research would provide important recommendations for the governance of the private police, whose actions need to be made visible and accountable.

Implications from the research

This research has raised important implications for future policy, training and learning points for both the public and private police. Most obviously, public police diversity training is created locally and the progression of diversity is scrutinised by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of

Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS). In Greenshire, this means that diversity training is conducted by primarily white, male, ex-police officers turned diversity trainers. There is little explicit discussion of the topic of race or police racism. The construction of diversity training needs to draw from the experiences of those who continue to be under-represented in the force, and over-policed, for this to be made meaningful. Whilst the HMICFRS scrutinise the progression of diversity in the police force, they must move beyond the narrow focus on the recruitment of Black and minority ethnic police officers and staff to think more broadly about police culture and the continued over-policing of Black and minority ethnic groups. Throughout the research, a white hegemonic police culture was upheld by both white and Black and minority ethnic police officers and staff, and it is clear that the force needs to do more than simply employ more visible ethnic minorities to dislodge an embedded police culture. The public police need to move beyond the 'quick fix' approach, and honour and realise that poor police race relations are historically engrained with the consequences and effects felt by Black and minority ethnic communities in the UK and beyond.

In addition, policy makers need to reconsider licensing law and dislodge the power of the public police in response to Temporary Event Notices (TENs). Whilst the local authority is said to have the 'final say' in licensing decisions, it is clear from the fieldwork that the public police have the largest amount of autonomy in licensing decisions, particularly TENs. The local authority generally accepts representations by the public police on the grounds of the four licensing objectives and needs to think critically about the ways in which these are interpreted and applied to racialized night-time events and performers. The impact that the racist interpretations of these licensing objectives has on the segregation of Black cultural events and Black performers is significant. Licensing law needs to be re-examined to promote cultural diversity at night, and licensing authorities need to reconsider licensing applications with an aim to promote, rather than marginalise Black cultural events.

This research perhaps raises more questions than it answers, for example, how do we challenge racist viewpoints and practices when the public police make reference to police intelligence and crime reports? How do we question the racist actions of door staff and venue managers when they cite the disorderly and/or loud behaviour of racialized minorities to legitimise their governance and exclusion? How do we hold the public and private police accountable for racist practices which are cited as central to the reproduction of social order

at night? I believe that we need to start by unravelling how the concepts of deviancy and threat continue to be overly applied to racialized minorities. We need to start from a point of agreement that public and private police understandings and practices are inherently about race and work to maintain and uphold the ideals of acceptable whiteness at night. The public police need to be understood as white, elite institution which serves and protects the interests of whites and is therefore not fully representative of the population it is supposed to serve. In thinking more specifically about law, we need to think critically about whose interests this serves, questioning the disparities between the Equality Act (2010) and the continued segregation, marginalisation and exclusion of racialized minorities and night-time events. Deeply ingrained historical policing practices, such as no no-ing, need to be made visible and the public and private police must be held accountable for them to be dislodged from the governance of night-time venues. Similarly, night-time economy meetings and public police briefings need to be made observable to outsiders. A key theme to arise from this thesis is thinking about how whiteness is central to whose experiences are preserved and protected at night. This is a missing element in the literature on race and nightlife which this thesis has attempted to address.

Who is my research of interest to?

On a national scale, this research will be of interest to Police and Crime Commissioners and the College of Policing, who have a national remit to set standards in professional development, training, development, skills and qualifications (College of Policing, n.d.) and the Office of the Home Secretary. The research will also be of interest to the National Police Chief's Council (NPCC) and to those running training courses of the SIA licence required for door staff in the United Kingdom. There are several community groups and activist organisations who will be interested in my research findings: The Traveller Movement, Stopwatch and Monitoring Groups. The research will also be disseminated through peer reviewed conference presentations, journal articles and a summary of findings will be sent to all research participants.

On a more local scale, this research will be of interest to Greenshire Police Force and the Police and Crime Commissioner at Greenshire. I will be contacting all of my research participants to provide them with a short, succinct summary of the research findings and will look to create dialogue with my research participants which encourages learning from the

research. I will be arranging a meeting with senior level police officers and the Police and Crime Commissioner in Greenshire to discuss my research findings and suggested changes to police training and policy. I will encourage the police to draw from the experiences of Black and minority ethnic individuals in the training room and will explore how the police diversity training can be used to draw attention to how Black and minority ethnic individuals experience policing. I aim to extend police understandings of racism from one of language to also include police action and practice. At the time of the fieldwork, street pastors also showed a keen interest to develop race and diversity training. I will be setting up a meeting with the head of the street pastors in Forsham to discuss the research findings and the possibility these have for feeding into the development of race and diversity training for street pastors in Greenshire.

Conclusion

The viewpoints of the private and public police and the policing practices drawn upon in a number of differing policing contexts reveal how nightlife in Greenshire is produced as an acceptable, white space. The increased accountability of the public police, and the increased need to present the police organisation as diverse and inclusive of all, results in public police officers tripping over themselves to present themselves, and the wider police organisation, as 'not racist'. Contrastingly, the private police also deny racism, however, they cite the increased governance and exclusion of racialized minorities in discourses of good policing practice and the importance of reproducing social order at night. Who the reproduction of this social order serves, and whose access and experiences are privileged at night has been a central theme of this thesis. Despite the differences in the denial of racism upheld by the private and public police, both groups maintain the notion that Black night-time participants and Gypsy and Travellers require particular techniques of governance at night. This governance produces nightlife as a space reserved for the experiences of white locals. Race is therefore central to the reproduction of nightlife, demonstrated in essentialised notions of racialized minority behaviour, coupled with discursive deracialization practices (Augoustinos, 2007, p. 127) utilised by the public and private police to downplay the significance of race. I argue that these discursive techniques are produced in specific ways in a context which is white and non-metropolitan, with the public and private police issuing reminders that racialized minorities belong either outside Greenshire or in 'traveller' pubs in rural areas. Whilst on the one hand my research participants worked to discursively produce

race as irrelevant, at the same time they produced race as significant and central to the production and governance of nightlife in Greenshire.

Participant Information Sheet

Researcher:

Nikhaela Wicks of the Department of History, Sociology and Criminology at the University of Westminster.

Supervisors:

Ben Pitcher and Adam Eldridge of the Department of History, Sociology and Criminology at the University of Westminster.

Email:

W1610276@my.westminster.ac.uk

Description of the research project:

This project aims to find out how police officers and night workers understand and respond to Black and minority ethnic communities at night.

I will be conducting interviews with police officers and night workers and will also be observing some police officers at work. There may be some questions that you may not want to discuss and you are free to refuse to answer these. You can withdraw from the research at any stage. Identifiable information from the research will be destroyed and disposed of.

Confidentiality agreement:

Information obtained from the research will only be used for the purpose of the research project. Transcripts of the interviews will be made, the recordings will be destroyed and no identifiable information will be published. Only I will have access to tape recordings and notes made throughout the research. However, if past actions of a serious criminal nature are disclosed, these will be passed on to the police.

Results of the research:

You will be given the option to receive my findings chapters via email. I am also happy to provide you with my findings in a way which may be more suitable to you (through an informal chat on the phone or a bullet point report).

Voluntary participation:

Your participation in this project is wholly voluntary. You can refuse to answer questions and can withdraw from the research process at any time. You will not be penalised for withdrawing from the research.

Please read:

If you have any further queries, then please do not hesitate to ask me. If you understand the aims of the research project and wish to participate, please fill in the appropriate fields:

I have been given the Participation Information Sheet and/or had its contents explained to me.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and I am satisfied with the answers given.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I understand I have a right to withdraw from the research at any time and I do not have to provide a reason.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I understand that if I withdraw from the research any data included in the results will be removed if that is practicable (I understand that once anonymised data has been collated into other datasets it may not be possible to remove that data).	Yes ☐	No ☐
I agree to have my interview digitally recorded.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I would like to receive information relating to the results from this study.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I wish to receive a copy of this Consent form.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I confirm I am willing to be a participant in the above research study.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I note the data collected may be retained in an archive and I am happy for my data to be reused as part of future research activities. I note my data will be fully anonymized.	Yes ☐	No ☐

Consent Form

I…………………………………………………… confirm that I have read and understood the information presented about.

Participant name (please print): ………………………………………………….

Participant signature: …………………………………………………………………….

Date:………………………………….

Appendix B

Interview Schedule

1. Background

-Can you tell me about your role and what you do?

-How long have you worked as…?

-Do you do a lot of work at night?

2. Training

- Have you had any diversity training? Expand.
-Can you tell me what you understand by the term 'diversity'?
- Why do you have diversity training? Where is it used?
-Are you trained to deal with Black and minority ethnic communities in any specific way?
Why do you think this is? Were there any problems that prompted this?

3. My Research

My research is about the policing of Black and minority ethnic communities at night…

-What do you understand by the word 'policing'? (I also provide my understanding here).

-Do you think Black and minority ethnic communities are policed differently than white communities in Greenshire?
What does this mean/represent?
(prompt) Some examples might be when it comes to securing Temporary Event Notices, or public events?

- Has the policing of BAME communities improved in recent decades? What happened?

4. Incidents

You've probably heard about certain clubs in London baring Black women, or of clubs losing their license due to certain genres of music [if not, explain] – are there any examples like that here?
        [if no] Why? What do you think you or venue managers here are doing differently?

You might have heard of the 696 form, a form used by the MET police to inform licensing decisions [if not, explain] – are there any examples like that here?

        [if no] Why? What do you think licensing officers here are doing differently?

Are there any particular hotspots or clubs which are associated with the BME community?
        From a policing perspective, do they raise any specific issues?

Are there any particular incidents to do with race that you have witnessed or been involved in at night? What happened?

What went wrong in these incidents?

5. Future

How do you think we could better manage issues around diversity at night?
  What would you propose?

  Is there anything you'd like to add?

Thanks for your time….

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